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Biblical researches in Palestine, and in the adjacent regions

**Edward Robinson,
Eli Smith**

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LATER

BIBLICAL RESEARCHES

IN

PALESTINE,

AND IN THE ADJACENT REGIONS.

JOURNAL OF TRAVELS IN THE YEAR

1852.

BY E. ROBINSON, E. SMITH, AND OTHERS.

DRAWN UP FROM THE ORIGINAL DIARIES, WITH HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D. LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE IN THE UNION THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY, NEW YORK.

WITH NEW MAPS AND PLANS.

ELEVENTH EDITION.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY CROCKER AND BREWSTER,

NO. 51 WASHINGTON STREET.

LONDON—JOHN MURRAY.

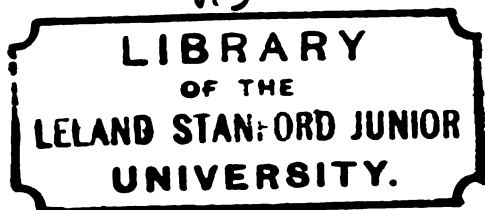
BERLIN—G. REIMER.

1874.

DS107

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1884,

By EDWARD ROBINSON.

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern
District of New York.

JOHN F. TROW,
PRINTER, STEREOTYPES, AND ELECTROTYPES,
377 AND 379 BROADWAY, N. Y.

TO
CHARLES BUTLER, ESQ.
OF NEW YORK,
THE EARNEST PROMOTER OF CHRISTIAN LEARNING AND OF CHRISTIAN ENTERPRISE,
A FRIEND OF MANY YEARS STANDING,
TO WHOSE ENCOURAGEMENT AND AID
IN THIS SECOND JOURNEY TO THE HOLY LAND
THE AUTHOR HAS BEEN GREATLY INDEBTED,
THIS VOLUME
IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

P R E F A C E.

THE occasion and plan of this second journey in the Holy Land are set forth in the beginning of the introductory Section.

During the more important part of the journey, my companion in travel was, as before, the Rev. Eli Smith, D. D. He went with me to Jerusalem and the vicinity of Hebron; and thence northwards as far as to Hasbeiya. From Hasbeiya the Rev. W. M. Thomson accompanied me to Bâniâs and back; and then, on the way to Damascus, until within a day's journey of that city. From Damascus, the Rev. S. Robson became my companion to Ba'albek and around the northern end of Lebanon to the cedars, and so to Beirût.

That very much of the success and comfort of the journey depended on the long and familiar acquaintance possessed by my companions with the language and character of the people, I need not here repeat. Each of them kept his own separate journal of daily occurrences and observations. These were kindly left in my hands; and have been freely used in the preparation of this volume. To these friends, the public, as well as myself, are under lasting obligations.

The present volume is strictly supplementary to the former *BIBLICAL RESEARCHES*; and is published in connection with the new edition of that work. It is also issued separately, for the convenience of those who already possess the first edition of the *Researches*.

The observations made during this second journey, rendered necessary a new construction of the Maps of Palestine. This has been done by Kiepert of Berlin, with his accustomed scien-

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tific skill. It will be seen, that the routes of the different years very rarely coincide.—The other maps also are republished; that of Sinai with some corrections; and the interior of Jerusalem is given according to the Plans of Tobler and the English engineers.

In the Index of Arabic Names and Words, the Arabic letters have not been employed. These are sometimes important to the scholar; but never to the great mass of general readers. Yet the system of notation in respect to Arabic names will be found sufficient, in nearly every case, to indicate to scholars the proper Arabic letters; and this is strictly all that is required. This notation, however, is fully carried out only in the Index of Arabic Names and Words.—The slight variations which occur in the spelling of several names, have arisen from like variations in the popular pronunciation.

For an exposition of the system of notation above-mentioned, the reader is referred to the specifications immediately following the Preface in the new edition of the former *Researches*, Vol. I; as also to Dr Smith's Essay on the Pronunciation of the Arabic, in the Appendix to the first edition, Vol. III. pp. 89–111.

With this volume closes, of course, the record of my personal observations in the Holy Land. The principles according to which it has been prepared, are the same with those, which lie at the basis of my former work. If it shall be deemed a worthy supplement to that work, I shall be satisfied. To these my *BIBLICAL RESEARCHES* in the Holy Land, the fruit of thirty years of preparation, and of personal travels in 1838 and 1852, I can hope to add nothing more. The work is now published as a whole, and in a permanent form.

The great object of all these travels and labours has been, as formerly announced, to collect materials "for the preparation of a systematic work on the physical and historical geography of the Holy Land." To this work, so much needed, should my life and health be spared, I hope speedily to address myself.

With the renewed expression of humble gratitude to God, the author here takes leave of his work; praying that HE, who has thus permitted it to be completed, will continue to make it useful for the furtherance of His truth.

NEW YORK, *July*, 1856.

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FOR THE READER.

The references made to Vol. I, and Vol. II, are to the new edition of the former Biblical Researches. They are followed, in each case, by a reference in brackets to the first edition.

ADDENDA.

PAGE 275. The ruin Beit Fāghûr is probably the *Phagor* (Φαγώρ) of the LXX and Jerome; see p. 156, n. 3. It is also mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome in the Onomasticon, as *Phogor*, situated near Bethlehem; Onomast. art. *Fogor*.

PAGE 370 sq. Hûnîn is mentioned by Bohæddin during the crusades, and also by Abulfeda. See Bohæd. Vit. Salad. p. 75. Ibid. Excerpt. ex Abulf. p. 63. Schult. Ind. Geogr. art. *Honainum*.

PAGE 306. Teyâsir is doubtless the *Aser* of the Onomasticon, a village situated fifteen Roman miles from Neapolis towards Scythopolis, on the public road.

PAGES 310, 314, 329. Rahâb is not improbably the *Roob* of the Onomasticon, situated four Roman miles from Scythopolis.

ADDITIONAL WORKS ON PALESTINE, JERUSALEM, ETC.

MOSTLY RECENT.

This list comprises only the more important or popular works.

I. ITINERARIES, JOURNALS, TRAVELS, ETC.

By actual Residents or Travellers.

* c. 1190. *La Cité de Jherusalem, etc.* This is a topographical description of Jerusalem, as it was when Saladin wrested it from the Franks. First published in Count BEUGNOT's *Assises de Jerusalem*, Paris, 1843. Tom. II. p. 531 sq. Reprinted in the App. to Schultz' *Jerusalem*, Eine Vorlesung, Berlin, 1845, p. 107; Williams' *Holy City*, 1849, Vol. I. App. p. 134. Also in the new edition of *Bibl. Res.* Vol. II. App. II.

* 1314-22. ESTHORI B. MOSE HA-PARCHI, *Khafzor va-ferach*, in Rabinic, Venice, about 1549. Parchi was a very intelligent Jewish Rabbi; and his work is perhaps the best of all the Jewish Itineraries. The topographical portions are mostly translated by Dr. Zunz, in Asher's *Benj. of Tud.* II. pp. 397-448.

To the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries belong the seven Jewish Itineraries published by Carmoly in the following work: E. CARMOLY, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, Bruxelles, 1847.

1802. LT. COL. SQUIRE, *Travels through parts of the ancient Cæle-Syria*; in R. Walpole's *Travels in various Countries of the East*, Lond. 1820, pp. 239-352.

* 1803-10. ULRICH JACOB SEETZEN, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, etc.* 3 Bde, Berlin, 1854-55.—These volumes comprise all Seetzen's journals until his arrival in Egypt.

1836-38. JOSEPH RUSSEGGGER, *Reisen in Europa, Asien, und Afrika*. Stuttgart. 1841-49. 8. 4 Vols.—The author travelled mainly as a geologist. His notices of Palestine are contained in the first and fourth volumes.

1842-43. REV. SAMUEL WOLCOTT, *Notices of Jerusalem; an Excursion to Hebron and Sebbeh or Masada; and Journey from Jerusalem northwards to Beirût, etc.* In *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1843, pp. 17-87.

1842-43. REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS, *The Holy City*, Lond. 1845. 8. Second edition. Lond. 1849. 8. 2 Vols. — Mr. Williams stands forth as the champion of all ecclesiastical and other tradition.

* 1842-47. ERNST GUSTAV SCHULTZ, *Jerusalem, eine Vorlesung*, Berlin, 1845. — *Mittheilungen über eine Reise durch Samarien und Galiläa* [in 1847]. In *Zeitschr. der morgenl. Ges.* 1849, III. p. 46 sq. — Schultz was Prussian consul at Jerusalem, with some interruptions, from 1842 till 1851; in which latter year he died. He was not always an exact observer, and his judgments were sometimes hastily formed; but his bearing was ever kind and gentlemanly.

1842-52. COL. CHURCHILL, *Mount Lebanon, a ten years' Residence, from 1842 to 1853, etc.* 3 Vols. Lond. 1853. 8vo. — This work has many off-hand stories and statements, which are not to be relied upon. The map of Lebanon professes to have been taken from the surveys of the English engineers; but it is full of mistakes.

* 1842-53. W. H. BARTLETT, *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem* [in 1842], Lond. 1844; also in a second edition enlarged. — *The Nile Boat, or Glimpses of the Land of Egypt* [in 1845], Lond. 1849. — *Forty Days in the Desert, in the Track of the Israelites* [in 1845], Lond. no date. — *Jerusalem Revisited* [in 1853], Lond. 1855. — Mr. Bartlett was an artist; and the main purpose of his journeys was to obtain artistic illustrations of the places visited. In this respect, his works are of high value. His descriptions also are written with taste and good sense.

1843. REV. ELI SMITH, *A Visit to Antipatris* [in April 1843]. Also: *Account of an ancient temple on Mount Lebanon* [Deir el-Kül'ah]. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, pp. 478 sq. 557.

* 1843. REV. JOHN WILSON, D.D., *Lands of the Bible visited and described*, Edinb. 1847. 8. 2 Vols.

1843-45. REV. WM. M. THOMSON, *The Sources of the Jordan, etc., as visited in 1843*; in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1846, pp. 184 sq. — *Tour from Beirüt through Northern Syria to Aleppo and back in 1847*; in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1849, pp. 1, 243, 447, 663.

1845. W. KRAFFT, *Die Topographie Jerusalem's*, Bonn 1846.

* 1845-6. TITUS TOBLER, M.D., visited Jerusalem at this time, and has published the following six works relating to the Holy City and its environs: 1. *Bethlehem*, St. Gallen 1849. — 2. *Golgotha*, St. Gallen 1851. — 3. *Die Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*, St. Gallen 1852. — 4. *Denkbücher aus Jerusalem*, St. Gallen 1853. — 5. *Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen*, 2 Bde, Berlin 1853-54. — 6. *Beitrag zur medicinischen Topographie von Jerusalem*, Berlin 1855.

1847. H. GADOW, *Ein Ausflug von Jerusalem über Jericho an den Jordan, das todt Meer, und nach Mär Säba*; in *Zeitschr. der morgenl. Ges.* 1848, II. pp. 52 sq. — *Mittheilungen über die gegenwärtigen Terrainverhältnisse in und um Jerusalem*; *ibid.* 1849, III. p. 35 sq.

* 1848. W. F. LYNCH, Commander, *Official Report of the United States' Expedition to explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan*; published at the

National Observatory, Washington, 1852. 4. Appended is the extensive and valuable geological report of Dr. H. J. ANDERSON, *Geological Reconnaissance of part of the Holy Land*. — This official work was preceded by a more popular one: *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, Phila. 1849. 8.

1849-50. H. A. DE FOREST, M.D. *Notes of a Tour in Mount Lebanon and to the eastern side of Lake Hüleh*; in the Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc. Vol. II. p. 237 sq. — *Notes on Ruins in the Būka'a and in the Belāl Ba'albek*; ibid. Vol. III. p. 351 sq.

1849-51. A. VON KREMER, *Mittel-Syrien und Damascus*, Wien, 1853. 8vo. — Also, *Topographie von Damascus*, 2 Th. Wien 1854-55. 4to. — Of little value.

c. 1850. *The true Site of Calvary*; in the Museum of Classical Literature, 1853. Vol. II. p. 311-476.

1850-51. F. DE SAULCY, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les Terres Bibliques*, 2 Vols. Paris 1853. 8. Also English: *Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands*, 2 Vols. Lond. 1853. — The English title, at least, is a misnomer; the author travelled only around the south end of the Dead Sea. My references to this work are all to the English edition.

1851-52. C. W. M. VAN DE VELDE, *Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, 2 Vols. Edinb. and Lond. 1854. 8.

1852-54. REV. J. L. PORTER, *Excursion to the Summit of Hermon*; in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, p. 41 sq. — *Excursion to the Lakes east of Damascus*, ibid. p. 342 sq. — *Excursion from Damascus to Yabrūd, etc.* ibid. p. 433 sq. — *Notes of a Tour from Damascus to Ba'albek and Hums*, ibid. p. 649 sq. From these papers much information has been extracted relative to the environs of Damascus; as also much was received orally from the author during my visit to that city. To him I was also indebted, in 1852, for a copy of his map of the course of the Barada from its source in Anti-Lebanon. — The substance of the above papers, as also an account of his residence in Damascus, a journey into Haurān, and other excursions, has been since published by Mr. Porter, under the title: *Five Years in Damascus*, 2 Vols. Lond. 1855. This work reached me too late to be of service in preparing my own account of that city and region.

1853. ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History*, Lond. 1856.

II. ADDITIONAL WORKS ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE, ETC.

By writers who had not themselves visited that country.

1. PALESTINE.

* 1835. CARL VON RAUMER, *Palästina*, Leipz. 1835. 8. Third edition, enlarged and much improved, Leipz. 1850. — The work is compiled with great diligence, and forms an excellent Manual.

1841. J. KITTO, *Palestine, its Physical and Bible History*, 2 Vols. Lond. 1841.

1841. S. MUNK, *Palestine: Description, Géographique, Historique, et Archéologique*, Paris 1841. This work was published before the author had access to the Biblical Researches; and, being stereotyped, all later editions remain without change.

* 1848-55. CARL RITTER, *Vergleichende Erdkunde der Sinai-Halbinsel, von Palästina und Syrien*, 4 Bde. Berlin 1848-55. These volumes constitute a part of the second edition of the author's great work: *Die Erdkunde, etc.* viz. Th. XIV. XV. i. ii, XVI, XVII. i. ii. — This is a vast storehouse of all that relates to the geography of Palestine and Syria.

2. JERUSALEM.

1847. JAMES FERGUSON, *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, Lond. 1847.

1852. FALLMERAYER, *Denkschrift über Golgotha und das Heilig-Grab*, in *Abhandlungen der K. Bayer. Akademie der Wissensch.* III. Cl. VI. Bd. III. Abth. Published also separately, Munich 1852. 4to.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

IN THE FORMER EDITION OF THE BIBLICAL RESEARCHES.

Edit. 1. Vol. I. pp. 154, 155. A note is added at the end of the volume (Note XIV.), assigning reasons, why the tract on the south of Jabel Mûsa cannot well have been the position of Israel before the mount. This follows too from the rough and impassable nature of the ground; of which a description is given. See new Ed. Vol. I. pp. 105, 588.

Edit. 1. Vol. I. pp. 174, 175. A note on *Serbâl* is added at the end of the volume (Note XVI.); in which an attempt is made to meet the arguments of Lepsius, who regards this mountain as the Sinai of Scripture. See new Ed. Vol. I. pp. 118, 590.

Edit. 1. Vol. I. p. 555. An addition is made, bringing down the information respecting the Sinaitic inscriptions to the present time. The latest discussion is by Prof. Tuck, in *Zeitschr. d. Morgenl. Ges.* 1849, III. pp. 129–215. The results of his investigations lead to the conclusion, that the inscriptions were the work of heathen Arab tribes then inhabiting the peninsula. These were accustomed to convene at certain seasons, in order to celebrate a festival and offer sacrifices upon an altar of stone, mentioned also by Diodorus Siculus, 3. 42, 43. These gatherings or pilgrimages gave occasion for the inscriptions. The latter extend from before the time of Diodorus Siculus down to the third or fourth century. See new Ed. Vol. I. pp. 128, 129, 595.

Edit. 1. Vol. II. p. 114. Jeba' is the representative of the ancient *Geba*. See new Ed. Vol. I. p. 440.

Edit. 1. Vol. II. p. 124. Taiyibeh answers to both the *Ophrah* and *Ephron* of the Old Testament; the two names being probably identical. It therefore corresponds to the *Ephraim* of the New Testament. See new Ed. Vol. I. p. 447.

Edit. 1. Vol. II. p. 306. A new marginal note gives the suggestion of Seetzen, that the place which he heard of, called by him *Mkauer*, may perhaps be the ancient fortress *Machærus*, where John the Baptist is said to

have been beheaded. It is the ruin of a fortress situated on the north end of Jebel 'Attârûs, overhanging the southern bank of the Zerka Ma'in. See new Ed. Vol. I. p. 570.

Edit. 1. Vol. II. pp. 218, 223, 225, 261. A note is added at the end of the volume (Note XXX.), referring to the subjects of these pages, and giving the main results of Lieut. Lynch's Official Report, relative to the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley. See new Ed. Vol. I. p. 613.

Edit. 1. Vol. II. p. 317. The isolated hill called Tuleil el-Fûl, north of Jerusalem, marks the site of *Gibeah* of Benjamin; which in the former edition was referred to *Jeba'*. See new Ed. Vol. I. pp. 577-579.

Edit. 1. Vol. II. p. 420. A paragraph is added, giving the decisive historical testimony discovered by Rödiger, to the identity of Eleutheropolis and Beth Gubrin, now Beit Jibrîn. See new Ed. Vol. II. pp. 65, 66.

Edit. 1. Vol. II. p. 611. A new marginal note enumerates some of the reasons why Kadesh is not to be sought for at 'Ain el-Kudeirât, as proposed by Mr. Rowlands. See new Ed. Vol. II. p. 194.

Edit. 1. Vol. II. p. 625. The village el-Ghuwein is to be referred to the ancient *Anim*, rather than to Ain. See new Ed. Vol. II. p. 204.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.—BEIRUT AND THE VICINITY.

THE preparation of the former BIBLICAL RESEARCHES IN PALESTINE, combined with the results of personal observation, awakened in the author's mind a more lively sense, than he had ever felt before, of the deficiencies yet remaining in our knowledge of the Historical Geography of that sacred land. Questions not unfrequently arose, which personal inquiry on the spot might have solved in half an hour; but to which no amount of reading or investigation at a distance could ever afford an answer; inasmuch as they had never been brought before the mind of any traveller. In this way the idea and the desire of once more visiting the Holy Land became fixed in the author's mind.

Not that the proper exploration of that land is a thing to be accomplished during one visit, or by repeated visits, of a few months at a time. Nor can such an exploration be regarded as within the power and opportunities of any single individual. To cultivate aright the particular field of historical topography, would require a residence of several years, and a visit to every town and village, to every mountain and valley, to every trace of antiquity and ruin. And when we further take into account how little is yet known of the vicissitudes of the climate and seasons, of the agricultural products, and generally of the geology, botany, beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects; and consider too the importance of a familiar acquaintance with the language and habits of the people, as the only means of holding direct and satisfactory intercourse with them; we shall soon become aware, that neither by one traveller, nor by many, in our day, will all the questions relating to the Holy Land be fully solved.

In my own case, I proposed nothing further on a second visit, than to investigate anew certain points, as to which doubts had been expressed; and to examine some of those portions of the

country not included in our former routes. Such were Galilee, and the regions east and west of the great northern road leading from Jerusalem by Nâbulus. I was willing to leave it to circumstances, whether to enter again the southern desert and perhaps ascend Mount Hor ; as also whether to extend my journeyings northwards as far as to Antioch, or eastwards into Haurân. Nor was I disappointed in being unable, from want of time and other hindrances, to accomplish anything in respect to either of these latter particulars. It was enough, to be permitted once more to contribute my mite for the illustration of any portion of that land, towards which the attention and affections of the Christian world have been now for eighteen centuries so earnestly directed.

Although I had thus for a long time cherished the idea of such a journey, it was not until the summer of 1851, that there appeared any immediate prospect of its being realized. In the autumn of that year, the Directors of the Theological Seminary with which I am connected, took up the subject of their own accord ; and passed resolutions cordially authorizing me to undertake the journey, and granting me the necessary leave of absence. Accordingly I embarked at New York on the 20th of December, 1851 ; was in London on the 1st of January ; and, after a fortnight spent in that metropolis, proceeded to Berlin, where my family were already residing. Here I was greatly indebted to the ready kindness of Ritter and Lepsius ; not to speak of various interviews with Humboldt, Buch, and other veterans of science.

From Berlin to Trieste my route in February 1852 was the same as in November 1837, by way of Halle, Dresden, and Vienna. At that time the journey was slow, dreary, and very fatiguing. Now, thanks to the completion of most of the railway lines, the traveller is carried forward with speed and comparative comfort ; though in Austria, neither the speed nor the comfort of the trains is equal to what is common in Prussia and Saxony. The aspect of the country in winter was of course not otherwise than dreary. The railway over the Semmering was not yet completed ; nor that between Laibach and Trieste ; so that these intervals had still to be traversed by diligences sufficiently uncomfortable. Along the whole of the latter distance, which includes also the Karst, the remarkable tract of high table land near Trieste, we had torrents of rain. On my return in the month of July, I was greatly struck with the picturesque beauty and general fertility of Carniola and Styria ; and with the appearance of prosperity and abundance which everywhere prevailed. No railway has anywhere laid open finer scenery, than that along the valleys of the rivers Sann and

Save, between Cilly and Laibach ; where these streams have rent for themselves a passage through the ridges of the Julian Alps. The same is true of portions of the valley of the Mürz.

At Trieste I embarked, Thursday, the 12th of February, on board of the steamer *Africa* for Smyrna. This was one of the new and swifter vessels of the Austrian Lloyd ; and was capable of an average speed of eleven or twelve miles the hour in smooth water ; the older steamers not usually exceeding about eight miles the hour. Yet the times of departure along the route remained for the most part unchanged ; so that the gain at the end of a voyage was in general inconsiderable ; unless where the last run was a long one. Instead of touching, as formerly, at Ancona, we now kept a straight course down the Adriatic, passing on the east of the large island Lissa and other smaller ones. We thus saw Meleda on our left, which has sometimes been erroneously held to be the Melita of the New Testament, the scene of Paul's shipwreck. High winds and frequent rain made the voyage unpleasant as far as to Corfu ; where we cast anchor for several hours. Afterwards the weather cleared up ; and we proceeded under bright Grecian skies and with soft breezes. We passed at evening through the narrow cliff-bound channel between Ithaca and Cephalonia ; touched for half an hour at Zante ; and next morning were abreast of Navarino and Modon. We now had upon our left the snow-clad peaks of the ancient Taygetus ; until in the afternoon we rounded Cape Matapan, and just at evening Cape Malio ; and then took a straight course for Syra. The scenery and impressions of the whole voyage varied little, of course, from what I saw and experienced in 1837.

We dropped anchor at Syra on Tuesday morning. This is still the central port, where the different lines of steamers meet, coming from Europe, Constantinople, and Athens. At this time the days of both the Austrian and French lines happened to coincide ; so that no less than six steamers were anchored together in the harbour. Here we lay thirty-six hours, till Wednesday afternoon ; from no necessity whatever, except to await the time of departure fixed years before for slower vessels. We reached Smyrna early on Thursday morning, Feb. 19th ; having accomplished the whole voyage in somewhat less than seven days ; while the running time was less than five days.

The steamer of the regular line from Smyrna to Beirut was to leave on the following Monday ; but a vessel on the route to Constantinople had just been disabled, and replaced by the one destined for Beirut ; and it was now necessary to await the arrival of another. I was thus detained a week in Smyrna, in the estimable family of my friend and former pupil the Rev. E.

Riggs. This delay gave opportunity to visit again, and with more leisure than formerly, the massive, but not very extensive remains of antiquity in and around the city. The most important of these is the ancient fortress on the hill which rises southeast of the city, and on the slope of which the city is partly built. Traces of the ancient wall run along the crest of the ridge for a considerable distance. Not far below this wall, in a depression of the hill, is the site of the ancient stadium, where Polycarp is supposed to have suffered martyrdom. On the steep slope below the fortress are massive remains of an ancient theatre; and in the same quarter, within the city, are several columns still standing, which once belonged to an extensive temple.

The population of Smyrna is now reckoned at about 150,000 souls; of whom nearly one half are Muhammedans. The Christian quarter has of late years increased rapidly.

Smyrna was the seat of one of the seven churches of the Apocalypse;¹ but is not elsewhere mentioned in the New Testament. The great apostle of the Gentiles would seem not to have visited Smyrna; although he abode so long at Ephesus.² His journeys between the latter city and Troas or Macedonia, were probably made by sea, leaving Smyrna far on the right.³

Of the three American missionaries residing at Smyrna at the time of my visit, Messrs Riggs, Benjamin, and Johnston, the two former were mainly occupied with the Armenian press; and Mr Riggs was engaged in a laborious revision of the modern Armenian version of the Scriptures: Both of them were afterwards transferred, with the press, to the mission at Constantinople; while Mr Johnston has returned to the United States.

In the afternoon of Thursday, Feb. 26th, I went on board the steamer Stamboul, one of the older and slower vessels, somewhat the worse for wear. Hitherto we had had no deck passengers; but now the quarter deck was divided longitudinally in the middle by a fence, leaving only one half free to the cabin passengers. The other half was covered by a low awning; and was crowded with passengers of various nations, all huddled together like sheep in a fold. Here, and also scattered midships and forwards, were Russians, Poles, Wallachians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Turks; men, women, children, and slaves; all bound for Beirut, and most of them for Jerusalem, against the approaching Easter. Most of them rarely changed their place, or came out from their stalls. The filth which accumulated, especially during sea-sickness, and the odours diffused over the ship, may be better imagined than described. Nor was

¹ Rev. 1, 11. 2, 8.

² Acts 19, 8. 10.

³ Acts 20, 1. 6. 13-16.

the main cabin quite free from similar drawbacks. But, after the first night, the goodnatured steward took pity on me ; and, as there were no ladies on board, he gave me one of the state-rooms of the ladies' cabin, where I made myself quite comfortable. Similar scenes of deck travel occurred also on my return, as far as to Syra.¹

During the early part of the night we had high winds and a rough sea, with much sea-sickness. We passed Scio (Chios) about midnight ; and at sunrise had entered the Icarian sea, having Samos behind us in the north, and Icaria in the northwest. Distant in the southwest, and partly seen over intervening islands, was Patmos, the scene of the glorious visions of the beloved disciple ; while nearer at hand lay the main line of the Sporades, including Lepsia, Leros, Kalymnos, and others. The coast of Asia Minor on our left was a succession of mountain promontories and jagged ridges, with deep bays and inlets running up between. These islands, the Sporades, are the picturesque tops of similar mountains, whose bases are submerged ; gems of beauty strewed upon the placid bosom of the Ægean sea. The morning was without a cloud, rejoicing in the brightness of an oriental sun ; and the scattered islets appeared as if lifted out of the water and suspended in the air.

Soon after noon we approached Cos (Coos), which seemed to lie across our course. The vapours driven up by the south wind from the sea beyond, gathered along the summit of its mountain ridge, and produced slight showers. We left the island with its white town on our right ; and passing near the long and lofty promontory on which Cnidus stood of old, we laid our course, still among noble islands, for Rhodes. It was nightfall before we approached that island ; and as the haven is narrow and difficult, our captain preferred to anchor for the night in a small land-locked bay on the opposite coast, once guarded by a small fortress.

On the morning of Feb. 28th, we came in an hour to the renowned city of Rhodes, where we again dropped anchor. We had time to walk through the streets, and visit the chief points of interest. Every thing wears the aspect of neglect and consequent decay. There is little left for the massive fortifications to protect ; they seem almost as if built without an object. The harbour is diminutive and unsafe. The present town occupies but a small portion of the ancient site. The houses are mostly of stone ; but low and mean, threaded by narrow lanes. The main street is narrow and straight, running up from the port. It is the "Street

¹ I know of no more life-like descriptions of such deck scenes, and generally of first impressions in the east, than those in Mr Thackeray's "Trip from Cornhill to Cairo."

of the Knights ;” and on the fronts of the low stone houses are still seen the escutcheons of some of the noblest families of England and France. But the houses are now the home of the Turk ; grass springs up in many of the streets ; and although the soil of the island is fertile, and the climate the finest in the Levant, yet intolerance, indolence, and thriftlessness, are producing their legitimate effects ; commerce is dying out ; and decay and ruin everywhere prevail.

The interest of this voyage had been greatly enhanced, not only by the distant view of Patmos, but also by the circumstance, that for most of the distance our track was nearly the same as that of the apostle Paul on his last return from Macedonia to Syria.¹ He had gone afoot from Troas to Assos ; there embarking he came with his companions to Mitylene, and the next day overagainst Chios. Thence their course seems to have been around the eastern end of the island of Samos to the town of the same name, and so to Trogyllium opposite, in one day ; and in another day to Miletus, where Paul held his last affecting interview with the elders of Ephesus. “ From Miletus they came with a straight course unto Coos, and the day following unto Rhodes.” The apostle was thus at least five days in passing over a route, which we traversed in little more than twenty-four hours. From Rhodes he sailed eastwards to Patara on the coast of Lycia ; and thence on a direct course to Tyre, leaving Cyprus on the left hand.

We left Rhodes in the afternoon of the same day, and laid our course for Cyprus. The rugged coasts of Lycia were visible on our left, until hidden by the shadows of evening. The next morning, Feb. 29th, the mountains of Cyprus were rising on the horizon ; but it was afternoon before we approached the western end of the island, and passed along not far distant from the coast. We thus had a view of the great plain, lying between the mountains and the sea ; which Pococke describes as about fifteen miles long by three broad.² It seemed fertile, and was covered with groves of olive trees. We could see several villages ; the largest being Baffa, the representative of the ancient Paphos, once the chief city of this part of the island and the residence of a Roman proconsul.

Here too the apostle Paul once preached the gospel in company with Barnabas, on their first missionary journey. Embarking at Seleucia near the mouth of the Orontes, they had landed at Salamis, on the eastern coast of Cyprus ; the ruins of which town are still seen about four miles north of Famagusta, on the north side of a small stream.³ From this place they

¹ Acts 20, 13—21, 3.

² Acts 13, 4. 5. Pococke *ib.* p. 216.

³ *Descr. of the East*, II. i. p. 225.

passed through the island to Paphos ; where the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, became a believer ; and the sorcerer Elymas was smitten with blindness.¹—Old Paphos, with the celebrated temple of Venus, lay sixty stadia further south, and ten stadia distant from the shore.²

It was towards evening when we rounded the long, low, narrow point of Cape Gatta, and bore away for Larnaka, where we anchored in the open roadstead early in the morning of March 1st. This is now the chief place of commerce on the island, and the residence of the foreign consuls. The *Marina* or port is at the landing-place ; while the smaller, but more aristocratic village, where the consuls reside, is a mile or more from the shore. The place is unhealthy. The houses are mean, and the surrounding country poor.

In the open space between the two portions of the town, the frequent traces of foundations and fragments of walls indicate here an ancient site. So numerous indeed are these remains, that the ground is still occasionally dug up in various places, in order to obtain the stones for building. The town which of old stood here was *Citium*, a city of some note, the birthplace of the philosopher Zeno. It was probably a Phœnician colony ; as is evinced by the thirty-three Phœnician inscriptions (*Inscriptiones Citienses*) found here and reported by Pococke in 1738.³

We remained at Larnaka until the afternoon ; and then laid our course direct for Beirut. We reached that port very early in the morning of Tuesday, March 2nd ; and our eyes, as we came on deck, were greeted with the sight of “that goodly mountain, even Lebanon,” whose loftier peaks were now wreathed in snow. Mr Hurter, the missionary printer, was soon on board to welcome me, and to conduct me through the noisy crowd. After brief delay at the custom house, and a ride on horseback of a mile or more, I found myself at home in the house of my tried friend and former companion in travel, the Rev. Eli Smith, D.D. It was a real pleasure thus to meet him again in Beirut, and find him surrounded by an affectionate family. His house is on the high ground southwest of the city, among the mulberry orchards. The house in which Mr Hebard formerly lived, with whom I resided in 1838, is quite near the southwestern gate of the city ; and is now occupied by the missionary chapel and press.

The annual meeting of the Syrian mission, comprising the stations of Beirut, Sidon and Hasbeiya, 'Abeih, Tripoly, and Aleppo, was to be held at Beirut, beginning on Thursday, the 18th of

¹ Acts 13, 6–13.

² Strabo 14. 5 1 sq. p. 683 sq.

³ Pococke Descr. of the East, II. i. p.

212, 213. Gesenii Monum. Script. Lingue Phœn. p. 122–153. Niebuhr. Reisebesch. III. p. 21 sq.

March. At this meeting I desired to be present. In the regular course of the steamer, I ought to have arrived, and was expected, on the morning of the preceding Saturday. To fill up the time before the meeting, it had been arranged that Dr Smith would go with me on Tuesday to Sidon ; whence I would then accompany Mr Thomson to Hasbeiya, where he was to pass the next Sabbath. The following week we proposed to spend in visiting the region of Bâniâs, the plain of the Hûleh, the chasm of the Litâny, and other objects of interest in the neighbourhood ; and then return to Beirût. But this plan was frustrated, partly by the three days' delay in my arrival, and partly by other more important hindrances.

The Turkish government had been for some time endeavouring to extend their system of military conscription, so as to include the warlike tribes inhabiting Mount Lebanon and the country east of the Jordan. In this they had not yet been fully successful ; and the Druzes especially threatened a most determined resistance. A crisis had arisen ; and just at this moment intelligence reached Beirût, that the Druzes were passing over by thousands from Lebanon to Haurân ; where, in the fastnesses of the Lejah and with the aid of the Druzes of that region, they would be able to defy the Turkish power. The route of these wanderers was by Hasbeiya and down Wady et-Teim. At one time more than two thousand of them were in Hasbeiya. They often travelled in straggling parties ; and deeds of lawlessness and violence, committed by them or in their name, were not unfrequently reported. The region was regarded as unsafe for travellers ; and even Mr Thomson, whose business was important, did not venture to set out, until he had obtained more exact information. I gave up unwillingly the idea of accompanying him, and had no reason to regret it afterwards ; although the excursion, had it been practicable, would have spared me a week or ten days of precious time at a later and more favourable season.

During the first week after my arrival, the weather was delightful. The thermometer ranged from 60° to 80° Far. The skies were cloudless ; the atmosphere mild and balmy ; and the oriental sun poured his genial beams over a prospect by sea and land of surpassing beauty. The house of Dr Smith commands a view of the roadstead and its vessels, and of Lebanon and the Syrian coast almost to Tripoly. The house itself has two stories, with the usual flat roof of the country, which requires frequent repairs. The middle portion of the upper story forms a terrace, open toward the north, with rooms upon each side. The windows have only been glazed since the house was first occupied by Dr Smith, some twenty years ago. At that time

glazed windows were rare in Beirût ; and close shutters afforded the only protection against storm and wind.—From this terrace the eye took in the whole extent of the prospect ; and, in my own case, was “ never satisfied with seeing,” nor with gazing upon the scenery of the glorious mountain. Near at hand was Jebel Sünnin, one of the loftiest summits, decked for some distance down his sides with light snows ; while below and around could be traced the deep gorges of the mountain traversed by rushing streams ; and numerous villages were seen scattered upon the heights.

The next week there was a change ; not in the scenery, but in the weather. For five days, from Monday until Friday inclusive, there was rain ; on some days heavy and with little interruption, and accompanied by high wind ; on other days alternating with pleasant intervals of sunshine and clear sky. The storm was so violent, that some of the vessels dragged anchor ; and all left the roadstead and retired to the inner corner of the bay. Snow fell extensively upon the mountains ; and also in the region of Hasbeiya. The weather on Saturday and for several following days was again splendid ; but afterwards became variable with occasional heavy rain, for nearly three weeks longer, until the close of the first week in April. These were the “ latter rains ” of Scripture ; which thus continued this season for nearly a month later than usual. One result of these late rains we afterwards saw on our journey, in the very abundant crops of winter grain. They served also to reconcile me at last to my unanticipated sojourn for so long a time in Beirût.

The city of Beirût had lost nothing of its prosperity since my former visit ; but had gained immensely. True, it had been subjected to bombardment by the British and Austrian fleet on the 10th and 11th of September, 1840 ; by which many houses were laid in ruins, and many lives destroyed. But the injuries were speedily repaired ; and the chief traces of the bombardment now remaining were the marks of balls on the old castle in the harbour. The streets have been repaired in a better style ; and the deep channels in the middle have disappeared. The population was reckoned in 1838 at about 15,000 souls ; it is now estimated at more than double that number. A new suburb of streets has spread itself out on the southeast corner of the walled city ; and the gardens and mulberry orchards on the hills in the south and southeast, are now full of dwellings. From the roof of the house occupied by the mission press, a wide and pleasing view is enjoyed of the city and its environs, with Lebanon beyond.

The commerce of Beirût has increased greatly. The various lines of French, Austrian, and English steamers which visit the

port, and the many sailing vessels, occasion a bustling activity ; and a spirit of business and enterprise has been awakened, especially among the Christian population of the city and the mountains. This is also fostered by several European establishments in the mountains for the reeling of silk ; some of them by the aid of steam.¹

The antiquities in and around Beirût are not numerous ; though there are more than have been usually reported. The many columns lying as a foundation beneath the quay which forms the usual landing place, and the way cut through the rock outside of the southwestern wall, I had seen on my former visit. Besides these, there are within the city, near the southern wall and just east of the second gate from the American cemetery, three large granite columns still standing, and the base of a fourth ; the remains probably of an ancient temple. Outside of the same wall a little further east, and on the south side of the open area, are strewn ten or twelve other columns, some of granite and some of limestone ; but whether they ever had any connection with those inside of the wall, it is difficult to say. Along the shore on the west of the city, on the way leading to the *Locanda Belvidere*, are likewise traces of ancient walls and foundations, on and among the rocks at the edge of the water. Here, at some distance from the city gates, is a little *Mina* or port, in which boats and very small vessels lie in comparative safety. The rocks around it appear in some parts to have been hewn away.—In digging over a garden near Dr Smith's house not long before, there were found several sarcophagi or coffins of pottery ; in which were also lachrymatories and other articles of glass. Some of these, and likewise fragments of the coffins, have been preserved by Dr De Forest.

In the open place before the southwestern gate of the city, is a deep fountain with a flight of steps, covered over with solid masonry of recent erection. This is said to be fed by an ancient subterranean aqueduct, which was discovered accidentally a few years ago. The arches and other remains of another large aqueduct, by which the city was anciently supplied with water from Lebanon, are still to be seen ; and will be again mentioned further on.

The low hills which surround Beirût are mostly of reddish sand, interspersed with rocks, and covered with a light soil. They rise to an elevation varying from two hundred to three hundred feet in different parts. Roads radiate from the city in various directions upon and across the hills. These roads, like all others in Syria, are merely bridle-paths ; not a wheel or car-

¹ For a statement of the amount of imports and exports at Beirût during the year 1853, in vessels of various nations, see Note I, end of the volume.

riage of any kind being known in the country. They have occupied apparently the same track for centuries ; for in most places, where there is no substratum of rock, they are worn deep into narrow hollow ways, with banks on each side, sometimes higher than a rider's head. The borders of the roads are in many parts hedged with the prickly pear, *Cactus indicus*.

All the roads from the city, not leading along the coast or directly towards the mountains, come out upon the moving sand-hills mentioned in our former journey. These are driven up from the southwestern shore of the promontory ; and are continually advancing by slow degrees northwards. Their course is inland ; for the western extremity of the promontory is rocky, as also the shore for a considerable distance towards the south. Yet half way between the city and the cape, a broad line of sand-hills has been drifted up, which are continually encroaching more and more upon the cultivated fields. In some places mulberry trees are still seen half buried. The attempt has been made occasionally to stop the progress of the sands, by sowing upon them grass and plants which thrive on sandy soils ; but hitherto without much success. The government also have recently taken pains to sow the cones of the pine (*Pinus halepensis*) ; and the young pines are seen springing up in some parts. The extensive pine grove planted by Fakhr ed-Din on the south of the city was probably for the same purpose ; although D'Arvieux regards it as having been intended to purify the air. This Emîr, the same writer says, looked upon the territory of Beirût as his pleasure garden.¹

I twice visited Cape Beirût, passing over the broad tract of loose sands west of Dr Smith's house. The land shelves down gradually to the rocky point ; and the rocks along the shore are much worn by the action of the waves. Just south of the point a small bay has been washed out, leaving a perforated rock and another large fragment standing isolated in the midst of it. These are a great resort of sea-fowl ; and the dashing of the waves in a storm is here very striking. On the point is the square foundation of a former edifice ; probably the site of the tower mentioned here by D'Arvieux in 1660, where a guard was kept to give notice of the approach of vessels. The same writer speaks of five or six towers between the cape and the city.² On our return we picked up a fragment of sculptured marble on the height of land, with three or four letters inscribed upon it. We visited likewise the mosk situated about the

¹ D'Arvieux Mémoires, II. pp. 333, 337. —I heard it questioned in Beirût, whether the grove of pines was actually planted by Fakhr ed-Din. But as D'Arvieux was

cotemporary with the Emîr, there seems no good reason to doubt his testimony See in Vol. II p. 490. n. [iii. 436. n.]

² D'Arvieux Mem II. p. 340.

middle of the southwestern coast. This too seems to be the one spoken of by D'Arvieux as being on the cape, and much resorted to by the Muhammedan women.¹ At present, families from the city are said to take up their abode here during the summer months. The object of our visit, however, was not the mosk, but a ledge of rocks just north of it and near the shore, in which are seen quite a number of ancient sarcophagi. They are all excavated in the rock, and once had lids; but these have all disappeared. The excavations are larger in some cases at the bottom than at the top. In this respect these sarcophagi differ from all others that we met with.

Half way between the mosk and the cape is a fine fountain near the shore, from which many families in Beirût obtain their supply of water during spring and summer. It is brought to the city in jars on the backs of donkeys.

On the day after my arrival at Beirût, I rode out with Mr Hurter and Rev. Mr Eddy, who also had recently arrived, to the celebrated pass at the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb. The way leads from the city along the foot of the hills, with a plain of some breadth on the left towards the sea. The road was most execrable and full of deep mud. A mile or more from the city are the remains of an old building of brick, which is brought into connection with the legend of St. George and the dragon. Some say the dragon was killed here; others, that the dragon was killed at a place nearer the sea, and St. George afterwards washed his hands at this spot. Monconys in 1647, and D'Arvieux in 1660, both speak of a chapel of St. George in this quarter, which the latter says had been converted into a mosk; but neither of them specifies the exact site.² Were these remains perhaps connected with that chapel?

Half an hour from the city brought us to the Nahr Beirût; which issuing upon the promontory from its mountain gorge, turns northwards to the sea. There is here a broad tract of low ground, between the hills on the west and the foot of Lebanon, extending apparently quite across the promontory. This has given rise to a common impression, that the higher portion of the promontory, further west, was once an island; the strait which separated it from the coast having perhaps been filled up by the drifting sands.

The river at that season was of moderate size. It is crossed by a bridge of seven narrow arches, with very broad piers between them. The top is flat, with a steep ascent to it at each end; and is paved with large irregular stones, forming a slip-

¹ D'Arvieux Mém. II. p. 340.

cocke, II. i. p. 90. See Vol. II. p. 492. n.

² Monconys I. p. 334. D'Arvieux II. p. 3. [iil. 439. n. 3.]

373. So too Maundrell, March 17th. Po-

pery and dangerous path for animals. D'Arvieux says the bridge was built by Fakhr ed-Din.¹

From the bridge to the Nahr el-Kelb is a ride of two hours. For the first fifteen minutes the path continues over wet and marshy ground among trees and bushes, until it emerges on the shore of the bay, still some distance from the southeast corner. From this point to the corner, and thence nearly to the pass, the road lies along the sandy beach, upon which a light surf is constantly breaking. Near the corner of the bay comes in the little stream of Nahr el-Maut, River of Death, which has its source below Brummana. It is supposed to be so called from the stagnant and unhealthy tract near its mouth. Further north the Nahr Antelias is forded, a somewhat larger stream, having a longer course, and taking its name from the village which lies straggling along the foot of the mountain. Before reaching the pass the sandy beach is interrupted by a rocky tract; and the waves break continually upon beds of rock half covered by the water, and worn away into singular forms. The high ridge of naked honeycombed rocks, which forms the southern wall of the valley of Nahr el-Kelb, protrudes itself towards the north-west into the sea. The road is carried around and over the point, at an elevation of about a hundred feet above the water. Another more ancient road is seen still higher up. The present one is paved in some places with large irregular stones; and we found it advisable to dismount in descending the steep northern side. At that time the path seemed to me to be as rough and difficult as possible; but in returning this way from the cedars in June, after traversing the heights and steeps of Lebanon, this pass of Nahr el-Kelb had apparently changed its character, and become a very tolerable mountain road.—The bridge, situated five minutes up the valley, is of recent construction. The river itself is usually fordable. Beyond it is an aqueduct apparently ancient, by which the water of the river, after driving several mills, is carried around to irrigate the plain of Junch.—Looking up the narrow valley, walled in by almost perpendicular ridges of rock, I was strongly reminded of the similar, though less magnificent scenery along the river Lehigh above Mauch Chunk in Pennsylvania.

The various tablets and inscriptions which give such historical interest to this pass, I examined at more leisure on my later visit in June. An account of them is therefore deferred until that time.²

On another beautiful day, March 13th, in company with Dr De Forest and Mr Eddy, I made an excursion to Deir el-Kôlah, a Maronite convent on Lebanon, east of Beirût; where

¹ *Mém.* II. pp. 377, 378.

² See under June 19th.

are the remains of an ancient temple, probably Phenician. Passing over the higher ground southeast of the city we forded Nahr Beirût at some distance south of the bridge ; and crossing two low ridges, which here lie between the river and the foot of the mountain, we began to ascend along the projecting buttress or angle of the mountain, formed between the western declivity and that towards the south along the deep gorge of the Beirût river. The way led up by el-Mansûriyeh and some other smaller villages. It was steep, rough, and difficult, passing often over tracts of naked rock, sometimes smooth and slippery, sometimes rising by steps and layers. In some places the road was a narrow lane between parallel walls, filled in nearly or quite to the top with loose round stones, and presenting the worst possible footing for the horses. Such roads are not unfrequent in Lebanon ; but we nowhere found them worse.

The sides of the mountain are laid off into terraces, wherever there is soil enough to permit it ; and even where only a few feet of soil can be scraped together, it is cultivated. Tracts of land, which at first seem wholly covered with stones and rocks, are thus reclaimed ; and the rude narrow terraces, rising in steps and covered above with strong mountain soil, become verdant with grain and the foliage of mulberry and fig trees. These terraces constitute a very striking feature in the agriculture of the mountains. They prevail especially along the western slopes of Lebanon, and mark these as the home of a hardy, industrious, and thrifty population.

The gorge of the river was on our right, as we continued to ascend ; and we could see in it the remains of an ancient aqueduct along its southern side, by which the water of a large fountain not far above was once conveyed to Beirût. At one point the aqueduct crossed a branch of the gulf in a double tier of arches ;¹ and further down is said to have been carried for some distance through a tunnel in the rock. A few days later, in returning from 'Abeih, we saw the continuation of this aqueduct stretching across the plain towards the city.

The convent stands on the top of this buttress, where the sides rise for a time still more steeply in order to form the crest. This part is too steep for any path. We wound around the western slope, and ascended with difficulty from the northwest to the top of the ridge, five minutes back of the convent. Here the traveller finds himself on the crest of a thin ridge of Lebanon, lying in front of the interior basin and chasms of Beirût river. This ridge is broken through, or rather terminated, by the gorge through which the river issues upon the plain. The

¹ According to Callier, there were originally three tiers of arches ; *Revue Archéol.* Mai 1846, p. 83.

convent stands upon the high extremity, at an elevation of 2200 feet above the sea.

The view from this point is extensive and interesting. Towards the west it commands the city of Beirût and its whole plain with the Mediterranean beyond. Probably the island of Cyprus is visible in clear weather ; but it did not occur to us at the moment to look for it. On the south, beyond the gorge, the view takes in the districts of the Upper and Lower Ghûrb. Towards the east are seen the two branches of the river in rocky valleys, which coming from the east and northeast meet below in a chasm so deep and precipitous, that the eye cannot reach the bottom ; and so wild and inaccessible, that leopards are said still to haunt it. The tract along and between these branches is the district el-Metn, one of the richest portions of the mountain. Beyond are the snowy summits Sünnin and Kuneiseh, standing out upon the high crest of Lebanon. The aspect of the mountain, as it then appeared, was dark and dreary. The verdure of the trees and fields was not yet sufficiently advanced to overcome the effect of the vast masses of rock, much of which in these parts is dark sandstone. It is only in connection with this sandstone, that the pine (*Pinus halepensis*) is found on Lebanon ; and orchards of this tree are seen along the branches of the river and throughout the Metn.¹ The river itself is not visible in the depths of the valleys ; and the huge walls of rock rise up from below, like immense bastions.

The road from Beirût to Damascus and also to Ba'albek passes up on the south side of Beirût river, between its sources and the head waters of the Dâmûr ; and then crosses the high ridge of Lebanon just south of Jebel Kuneiseh. A little on the south of this road, between the basins of the two rivers, lies the village of 'Bhamdûn, the summer residence of Dr Smith and other American missionaries. It is not in sight from the Deir. Many villages of the Metn, however, were before us ; and one of the largest, Râs el-Metn, was directly opposite, on the high point above and between the forks of the river. The region is rich and prosperous, especially from the culture of silk.—On the north, this basin is separated from that of Nahr et-Kelb by an elevated ridge.

The remains of the ancient temple at Deir el-Kul'ah were fully described by Dr Smith several years ago.² They measure 106 feet long from southeast to northwest, by 54 feet broad. The front was towards the northwest, looking down upon the plain and sea. Here was a portico 29 feet deep, consisting

¹ For the character of the sandstone of this region, see Dr Anderson's Geo. Report, p. 100 sq.

² See an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, pp. 557-563.

of two rows of columns, four in each row. Portions of four columns, and the pedestal of a fifth, are still in place; but no corresponding capitals are found. The columns measure at their base nearly six feet in diameter; the height of one of them is still $18\frac{1}{4}$ feet. Of the body of the temple, only the foundations and portions of the lower courses remain; and among these are stones of 12 and 14 feet long by $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 feet broad. The lower course, as it lies, has a *bevel* along the top; but not at the ends of the stones. The convent church is built on and within the old foundations at the northwestern part; and its roof affords the finest view of the noble prospect.—Ancient sarcophagi are found back of the convent, and also below it.

Scattered about on stones built into the walls and other parts of the convent, are not less than eight or ten Greek and Latin inscriptions. Most of them obviously mark votive offerings, such as tablets, altars, or *stelæ*, consecrated to the god of the temple. Their present position, and the circumstance that the inscribed face is on the outside, are merely accidental; and not improbably other stones in the wall bear inscriptions on the inner surface, which are thus hidden from view. One of the longest of the Greek inscriptions is on the fragment of a square pillar or altar, which now forms the corner of the raised hearth in the kitchen. Another fragment ending with $\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\pi$, the continuation apparently of the same inscription, (the letters are of the same form and size,) is built into the outside of the southern wall of the convent. One is on a pier between two arches in the court; another on the threshold of an inner door; another upon a cylindrical hollow stone, now used for watering cattle; and so of the rest.¹

The chief point of historical interest brought to light by the inscriptions, is an epithet of Jupiter or Baal not found elsewhere. In the long Greek inscription, now in the kitchen, he is addressed as $\beta\alpha\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\iota\pi\alpha\eta\epsilon\ \kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\iota\varsigma$ $\Delta\epsilon\chi\iota\omicron\tau\alpha$, *Balmarkos, Sovereign, Lord of Sports*; the latter words being apparently a translation of the name.² In a shorter Latin inscription we find the dative: IOVI BAL-MARCODI. As now, in the Old Testament, Baal is mentioned as an object of worship among the heathen of Canaan, under the titles *Baal-berith* (Lord of the covenant), and *Baal-zebub*

¹ These inscriptions, or some of them, were copied by Seetzen in 1805; Reisen I. p. 257. They were first published by Francke, Berl. 1830; see Letronne in the *Revue Archéol.* Mai 1846, p. 78. They were again copied in 1843, by Dr Smith, E. G. Schulz, and Mr Wildenbruch; see *Biblioth. Sacra* 1 c. *Monathsbericht der Ges. für Erdkunde in Berlin*, 1843, p. 144

sq. So too by Krafft in 1845: *Topogr. Jerusalem.* They were also published by Böckh, mainly from Wildenbruch's copies, in his *Corpus Inscriptt.* Tom. III. p. 243.

² Böckh reads by conjecture: $\beta\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\omicron\iota\pi\alpha\eta\epsilon$, $\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\lambda\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\alpha$. But this affords no clew to the epithet contained in $\beta\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma$.

(Lord of flies);¹ so here this noble temple, crowning a height of Lebanon, was consecrated to *Baal-markos*, Lord of sports or revels.² It was one of the "high places" of Phenician idolatry. Many similar temples are found in and around Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; and this was the first of *thirteen* which I visited, besides the larger ones at Ba'albek.

The convent is occupied by twenty-eight Maronite monks. They received us very courteously, and gave us all the information in their power. As we sat down among the rocks to take our lunch, they brought us red mountain wine, olives, and sweetmeats; the latter we found quite a delicacy. But they declared us at once to be heretics, because we were eating meat in Lent. The superior of all the Maronite convents happened to be present; and with him Dr De Forest bargained for the two stones with the parts of the Greek inscription. He made no objection to selling them; fixed a fair price; and promised that they should be delivered in Beirût shortly. But they never came.

We returned home by another route; passing first to Beit Miry, a large village just back of the Deir northeast, on a higher point of the ridge. It lies in part straggling upon the steep eastern side, looking down into the deep gulf below. Across this gulf, the inhabitants are able to make themselves heard by the people of the villages on the other side in the Upper Ghûrb; a distance of nearly or quite two miles in an air line. A portion of the village lies in a saddle of the ridge, beyond the higher point just mentioned. Here we were obliged to apply to the *Bitar* or horse-shoer of the village, to fasten the shoes of one of our horses. This was done in a primitive way. The hoof is pared by an instrument drawn towards the operator; and the nails clinched after first placing the animal's foot firmly upon a smooth flat stone. The *Bitar* is strictly a horse-doctor, who includes shoeing as a portion of his art. He is not a blacksmith; but procures the shoes and nails from the latter.

Beyond Beit Miry we came upon the remains of an ancient aqueduct, which ran along the saddle above mentioned, and also along another still lower neck or saddle nearer to Brummana. In some parts it is like a wall of large stones, laid up in an orderly manner to cover and protect a line of perforated stones or tubes, through which the water flowed. Some of these perforated stones remain along the way. They are about two feet long, with a hole nearly a foot in diameter. By this con-

¹ Judg. 9, 4. 2 K. 1, 2.

² From the form of the dative MARCOLI, the root would seem to have been a Phenician verb corresponding to the Heb. לָקַץ *to leap, to skip, to dance*. No other trace of this root has yet been found in the

Phenician remains; but it occurs in Chaldee and Syriac. In the former we have the participle מְרַקֵּץ *a dancer*. The heathen dances were truly *revels*, κῶμοι.—See Biblioth. Sacra l. c.

trivance, the water was conveyed across the low neck to the higher site of Beit Miry ; precisely as the Croton aqueduct is carried over the Harlem river on the high bridge. Whether the water was anciently carried beyond Beit Miry to the temple, is doubtful. Similar perforated stones are said to have been found nearer the convent ; but this needs confirmation. There is nothing now in or around the ruins, that indicates a former abundant supply of water.¹—The water was brought from the great fountain 'Ar'ar near Mâr Mûsa, two hours distant in the northeast.

Brummâna is also a large village, lying upon the crest of the ridge, with a wide prospect west and east. An immense oak tree in the middle of the village, and the palaces of the Emirs, are seen at a great distance in all directions.—From this village we descended by the road to Beirût, along the north side of the gulf of the Nahr el-Maut. The road led by several lesser villages ; and was rocky, slippery, and difficult. It was dark when we reached the foot of the mountain, at the corner of the bay ; whence we had to grope our way as we could along the still muddy and rough roads.

On the next Tuesday, the usual examination of the boys' seminary was to be held at 'Abeih, preparatory to the annual meeting of the mission. On Monday, therefore, Dr De Forest took us thither by a less usual route, in order to visit on the way some remarkable ancient sarcophagi. The direct road to 'Abeih is for most of the distance the same with that to Deir el-Kamr. We, however, kept along the coast road leading to Sidon nearly an hour and a half, leaving Burj el-Burâjineh and Shuweifât on our left, to a small deserted building, called (I believe) Dukkân el-Kusis, about half an hour short of Khân Khulda. Here we turned off by a pretty direct route through 'Arâmôn to 'Abeih in the upper Ghûrb. A valley here comes out from the mountains ; and the road passes up along the high ground on its southern side.

We kept along the bottom of this valley for a time, to a point where its two branches unite ; and then ascended the ridge between the forks. This ridge is strewn over with huge isolated rocks ; and we had not far to go, before we came upon the object of our search. Here on the summit of the ridge, in two main groups, we counted thirty-five large sarcophagi ; and there seemed to be others further up. A large rock was

¹ The words ΙΕΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΤΑΝΡ , in the second part of the long Greek inscription, have been read by Pres. Woolsey and Letronne as ἀεροδρόμον ὕδωρ , and referred to an aqueduct. They are, however, not applicable to this aqueduct, which had no

arches and ran along the surface of the ground ; but rather to the one in the gulf below, leading to Beirût, which still has in one place two or three tiers of arches. See Letronne's Letter to T. D. Woolsey, in *Revue Archéol.* Mai 1846, p. 78.

selected ; the body of the sarcophagus excavated in it ; and then a heavy lid fitted to it ; without any hewing away of the rock outside. The lids were roof-shaped, with a projecting knob left at each corner for ornament. On two lids we saw like knobs in the middle. One lid measured *eight* feet long by about *three* feet broad ; and was nearly *two* feet thick. There is no regularity in the position of the sarcophagi ; and the lids have all been displaced.

In the midst of the sarcophagi and surrounded by them are the foundations of an ancient edifice, 94 feet long by 32 feet wide, with several partition walls within ; but with nothing to mark its date or purpose. There are also two cisterns near by, cut in the rocks in the form of a dome. To the eastward of the foundations, some Arabs, who came along, pointed out on a loose stone a Latin inscription, of which there remained only the letters ARAMRE.

It would be useless to speculate upon the ancient character of this spot ; further than to suppose it was a solitary place of burial, perhaps for a race of nobles. The huge scattered rocks show that it was never inhabited by the living ; though not improbably the foundations may indicate a temple or other erection, in some connection with the dead. Ancient sarcophagi are found scattered in all parts of the country ; but nowhere else, unless perhaps at Khân Khulda, did we meet with so many together.—The place is now utterly lonely and desolate ; except a few small patches of winter grain among the rocks.

In order to regain the direct road to 'Abeih, we had now to cross the narrow gulf on the south. Under the guidance of an Arab we led our horses with great difficulty down the steep descent. This declivity was not rocky ; but in some few places patches of wheat had been sown upon it. The ascent on the other side was equally steep and more rocky ; but a goat-path helped us to surmount it. Our road now continued to ascend gradually, southeast, until we came out upon the brow of a ridge, looking down into another deep valley before us. To reach 'Arâmôn we had to pass high up along the side and around the head of this valley. This part was laid off in terraces, and presented thus the appearance of a vast amphitheatre with its rows of seats.

'Arâmôn lies also on the steep side of a valley with a stream. Between this village and 'Ain Kesûr we lost our way, and wandered for a time among blind and rocky paths. We passed five large sarcophagi on our right, excavated in large isolated rocks, and utterly lonely. At 'Ain Kesûr we fell into the usual road from Beirût. The village stands on a broad layer of bare rock, which extends far towards the south ; and on the north

breaks down in a precipice. Here along the edge of the precipice, are several sarcophagi sunk in the flat surface of the rock.

Between 'Ain Kesûr and 'Abeih the road passes around the head of another valley, which runs down on the north of the latter village. This is likewise laid off in terraces ; and forms a pretty amphitheatre. It was now evening and almost dark ; and on our way we fell in with an immense flock of storks on their migration northwards. They were lighting down for the night on the few trees scattered over a large tract. We reached 'Abeih at 7½ o'clock, and found a welcome in the hospitable dwelling of the Rev. Mr Calhoun, the head of the seminary.

The examination took place mainly the next day.¹ The school consisted at that time of nineteen boys, from thirteen to twenty years of age, who were lodged and boarded in the mission premises. They were from various sects, Greeks, Greek Catholics, Protestants, and Druzes ; at the moment there were no Maronite boys. Besides the principal, Mr Calhoun, there were two promising native teachers, Michael and Asaad ; and two of the older pupils sometimes heard the younger classes. Many of the pupils had an air of great intelligence and brightness. The examination was very thorough ; and embraced both the elementary and more advanced study of the Arabic language, with written exercises ; arithmetic, algebra, geography, the outlines of astronomy ; and especially lessons in the history and doctrines of the Bible. The answers were in general given with promptness, and with as much intelligence as in the higher schools of my own country and Europe. The English language is not taught, except as a matter of privilege to some of the more advanced pupils ; it being justly deemed important, that the elements of religious truth and knowledge should be lodged in their minds through the medium of their own native tongue.

Quite a number of people from the village were present ; and one or two of high rank. In listening to the examination they were greatly troubled at the idea of the earth's rotation ; and one of them laid his difficulties on that point fully before some of the missionaries.

'Abeih lies high upon the western slope of Lebanon, at an elevation of 2300 feet above the sea. It commands of course a wide view of the western declivity, and a distant one of Beirût. Back of the village the ascent continues for half or three quarters of a mile to the summit of a ridge, whence one looks down into the great valley and basin of the river Dâmûr. On the highest point of the ridge are the ruins of a *Khûlweh*, a chapel of the Druzes. The three great branches of the river are seen coming down in their deep valleys from the northeast ; all of them having their heads near the Damascus road. Below their

junction the stream is crossed by the Jisr el-Kâdy on the road leading to Deir el-Kamr. This great valley has not the precipices of the Beirût river ; and we could everywhere trace the course of the stream worn deep in the solid rock. The aspect of this vast basin was much less dark and desolate, than the view had been from Deir el-Kûl'ah, where tracts of sandstone are prevalent. There was here less of nakedness and more of verdure. All the slopes were terraced ; and the round heads of the shorter valleys appeared like graceful amphitheatres. Deir el-Kamr itself was not visible ; it lies beyond the crest of the next ridge, overlooking a more southern branch of the river. The large village of B'aklin, which lies overagainst Deir el-Kamr towards the south, was in sight. In the east the lofty unbroken crest of Lebanon rose in majesty beyond the village of Bârûk ; from which it there receives a local name.

We returned on Wednesday to Beirût by the usual route, under the guidance of the Rev. Mr Whiting. This falls into the road from Deir el-Kamr some distance north of 'Ain Kesîr. The latter path was formerly cleared of stones and made comparatively good by the late Emir Beshir ; but it was now again stony and much washed. The missionaries having to pass often between 'Abeih and Beirût, have for some years employed children and idlers along the road every spring, at a small expense, to remove the stones and mend the paths. They find the benefit of this small outlay in the saving of an hour or two of time in every such journey. The same is done with like advantage on the road to Bhamdîn.

At 'Ainâb we took the road by Shemlân, where we stopped for an hour in the hospitable dwelling of Mr Scott. He is the proprietor of an extensive establishment for reeling silk by steam ; and was now enlarging his premises in order to increase his business. The cocoons are purchased from the people of the neighbouring villages. Besides other similar English establishments in the mountains, large quantities of cocoons are exported to France to be there reeled. They are first pressed and thus brought into a small compass ; and they afterwards swell out again on being thrown into hot water.

We passed down from Shemlân by a very steep descent to 'Ain 'Anûb on the main route. Near the foot of the mountain the road lies just above a Greek convent, remarkable only as the residence of the priest Flaminus, who a few years since travelled in the United States and collected funds in order to open schools among his people. He has been long at home ; but the schools have not yet been heard of. Just north of Kefr Shima the Wady Shahrûr comes out from the lower part of the mountains ; a deep gorge celebrated for its fine climate and fruits, and

abounding in figs, olives, and grapes. It had now a full stream ; and nearer the sea takes the name of Nahr Ghudir ; but dries up in summer.

After crossing this stream, we left the direct road to Beirût, and kept more to the right just under the village of el-Hadeth, in order to follow the traces of the ancient aqueduct. We found it stretching across the plain towards Beirût ; mostly along the surface, though sometimes carried for a short distance below it ; and presenting the appearance of a wall of large squared stones, enclosing apparently a line of tubular stones like those back of Deir el-Kul'ah. We traced it for some distance up the gentle slope of the high ground southeast of the city. In many spots the large stones had been recently dug out and carried off, to be used for building.

The next day, Thursday, March 18th, the annual meeting of the Syrian mission was opened at Beirût. All the missionaries except one were present from the stations at Beirût, 'Abeih, Sidon and Hasbeiya, and Tripoly. On Friday morning, Mr Ford of Aleppo, and Mr Marsh of Mosul, arrived in twelve days from the former city. They came in drenched with rain ; and had also been out in all the heavy storm of the preceding week. Near the close of the meeting Mr Schneider likewise arrived from Aintab, on his way to Smyrna with his family ; where the latter afterwards embarked with Mr Marsh for Boston.

This is not the place to enter into details, respecting the business of the mission. A brief account of this general meeting is given in the annual report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the year 1852.¹ Suffice it to say, that many important topics were discussed under a feeling of great responsibility, and with a spirit of Christian forbearance, which could only lead to harmonious results, and to wider and more efficient activity. In all these matters I could not but feel a deep interest ; both as a member of the Board at home, and because among the ten ordained missionaries present, no less than five had been respected and beloved pupils of my own.

At this time, too, I received an affectionate letter from the Rev. Dr Perkins of the Nestorian mission, inviting me in the name of himself and other pupils, to visit them also in Persia ; and proposing to meet me at Mosul, in order to escort me through the Kurdish mountains. But as this was a journey of at least forty days, I was compelled to reply, that the sole object of my present journey was Palestine ; and that the brief remainder of my life must be spent rather in training missionaries at home, than in visiting them in their fields of labour.

¹ Page 78 sq.

To the Syrian mission as a body, and to its members individually, I would here express my grateful acknowledgments for their fraternal kindness and welcome towards myself personally ; as also for their prompt arrangements in behalf of my undertaking ; by which I was assured of the companionship and aid of some one of their number during the whole journey.

One topic on which much attention was bestowed, was the new version of the Scriptures into the Arabic tongue, now in progress, under the care of Dr Smith and two native helpers. At that time they were just completing the Pentateuch ; and the book of Genesis had been printed as a specimen, and sent for corrections and remarks to scholars, both in Asia and Europe. The printing of the Pentateuch has since been ordered by the American Bible Society ; and the translators afterwards passed to the New Testament. This has since been completed ; and they are now going on with the remaining portions of the Hebrew Bible. No Arabic version has ever been executed under auspices so favourable. The translator in chief, after a thorough biblical training at home, has resided nearly thirty years in the east ; where, besides the daily use of the spoken Arabic, he has spent much time in the theoretical study of the grammar and rhetoric of the literary language, with the aid of the best native teachers, and in correspondence with leading orientalists of Germany. One of the two native assistants was educated at the Maronite college at 'Ain Warkah ; has been long connected with the missionaries ; and has a good knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew. The other, to whom is intrusted the last revision, is widely known as the most learned Arabic grammarian and critic in Syria. From the joint labours of them all, a far more correct and acceptable Arabic version may be expected, than yet exists.

In April 1838, I was present at the annual meeting of the same mission, held that year at Jerusalem. In describing that meeting I referred to what was then the effort of the American missionaries in the Levant, as being "not to draw off members of the oriental churches to Protestantism ; but to awaken them to a knowledge and belief of the Gospel truth in the purity and simplicity of its original scriptural form." Their hope was, that in this way a leaven of the truth might be diffused throughout those churches, and thus by degrees work out their resurrection. But since that time a great change has taken place. What the missionaries did not then seek, has been thrust upon them by the force of circumstances ; and especially by the spirit of persecution manifested towards their hearers by the oriental churches. Persecutions were carried on, particularly by the

¹ See Vol. I. p. 225. [i. 332.]

Armenians in Constantinople and elsewhere ; and also by the Greeks in Hasbeiya. In Syria this was already known to be illegal ; as there existed a *Fetwa* (opinion) from the chief Mufti, pronouncing all non-Muhammedans to be alike infidels in the eye of the law, and therefore all to have the like claim to toleration and protection, even in passing from one sect to another.¹

In Constantinople things came to such a pass, that the British ambassador was induced to interfere ; and in November 1847, an order of the Grand Vizier, Reshid Pasha, was issued on the application of Lord Cowley, formally recognising the Protestant subjects of the empire as constituting a separate and independent religious community, and giving them all the rights and privileges of the most favoured of the Christian denominations in the empire.² It was of course not to be expected, that under so weak a government, and throughout so many distant provinces, the abuses complained of would at once cease, although the complaints themselves were listened to by the Porte. Nor was there any thing in the order of the Grand Vizier, which would necessarily survive a change of administration. After three years, therefore, in November 1850, by the intervention of Sir Stratford Canning, an ordinary *Firmân* was obtained from the government with the imperial cipher, directed to the Prefect of the police in Constantinople, by which the Sultan granted to the Protestants, in their civil organization, all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the older Christian communities in the Turkish empire. This document was justly regarded as a charter of toleration and religious liberty to the Protestant subjects of the Porte ; though no one anticipated, but that many years would probably elapse, before it could be carried into complete operation and effect.³

The later demands and aggressions of Russia against the Porte, proved favourable to the interests of the Protestants. In June 1853, the Sultan issued a special *Hatti-sherif*, that is, a *Firmân* bearing his own imperial autograph, to each of the different classes of his Christian and Jewish subjects, pledging to them full protection in all their privileges, and placing them on the same footing with Muhammedans in respect to *the right of public worship*. To the Protestants, more than to any other community, was this measure important ; inasmuch as they were the youngest and feeblest of all, and more exposed to

¹ See in full in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, March, 1846, pp. 390-397.—See also a case decided at Beirut, *Ann. Rep. of the A. B. C. F. M.* for 1847, p. 108.

² See this vizierial order in full in the *Miss. Herald*, for March 1848, p. 98. *Ann.*

Report of the A. B. C. F. M. for 1848, pp. 141-143.

³ See *Miss. Herald*, April 1851, p. 114. *Ann. Report of the A. B. C. F. M.* for 1851, pp. 71, 224.

annoyance and persecution. The instrument in question is superior to the former in the following particulars : It bears the Sultan's own autograph, which is attached only to documents of the very highest force and of unchanging perpetuity. It was addressed directly to the public agent of the Protestants, and not to a Turkish officer. It was officially promulgated by the government throughout the empire, accompanied by Firmâns to the different Pashas specially enjoining its execution. Thus Protestantism, by this imperial instrument, was established in perpetuity in Turkey, with the highest sanctions known to Muhammedan law.¹

The number of Protestants actually enrolled from among the Armenians, was in 1852 supposed to be about two thousand. The number in Syria is not fully known ; but cannot well be much less than half as many. Of all these very many have never come at all under direct missionary influence.

Thus assured of toleration and protection from the Turkish government, the missions both to the Armenians and in Syria have been greatly encouraged and strengthened. In the latter country native churches have been gathered at Beirût, Hasbeiya, 'Abeih, and Aleppo, by the missionaries of the American Board ; and also one in Damascus by missionaries of the Irish Presbyterian and American Associate Reformed churches acting in unison. There are also regular preaching stations in some of the larger villages around Beirût, 'Abeih, and Hasbeiya, as also in Sidon ; and it is nothing unusual for the missionaries to receive invitations to establish schools or preaching in other places, where a portion of the inhabitants have already declared themselves Protestants, or are ready to take that step.

The newly organized native church in Beirût is distinct from the mission church ; which latter has existed ever since the establishment of the Syrian mission. The chapel of the mission is devoted to public worship both in English and Arabic. It is conveniently situated near the southwestern gate of the city, overlooking from the west the large open area outside of the southern city wall. It had recently been commodiously fitted up with seats, chiefly by the liberality of the American consul and other Frank residents. The service in English on Sunday was held in the forenoon at 10½ o'clock ; and was conducted by the missionaries. The audiences which I saw there, on several of these occasions, numbered on an average from fifty to sixty persons ; several of them being Arabs who understood

¹ See for this *Hatti-sherif* and other documents, Dwight's *Christianity in Turkey*, Boston 1854, p. 320, and App. G. Also *Misa Herald*, April 1854, p. 106.

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Journ. of the Am. Oriental Soc. Vol. IV. p. 443. The Turkish original with a German translation is found in the *Zeitschrift der morgenl. Ges.* IX. p. 843 sq.

English. In Arabic there were two services ; one at 9 o'clock in the morning, and the other in the afternoon. The morning service was usually conducted by a native helper ; that in the afternoon, by one of the missionaries. In the Arabic services a separation was still made between the sexes according to the national custom. The females sat in a recess having a different entrance, with a curtain drawn before them ; yet so that they could see the preacher. There were usually from thirty to forty men in attendance ; and quite a number of females behind the screen. The appearance at all times was one of quiet and devout attention.

The chapel is on the ground floor of the house occupied by the mission press ; and in a large upper room in the third story of the same building the work of translating the Scriptures is carried on. In this room too were held the sessions of the annual meeting. Its windows command a pleasing view of the city and the adjacent country, with Lebanon in the background. Close at hand below is the American cemetery connected with the mission premises. At the time of my former visit, it was "by the way side ;" but is now surrounded with houses. The principal graves at that time were those of Pliny Fisk and Mr Abbot the former British consul ; but the number has since been greatly increased. It is perhaps worthy of note, that no ordained missionary from the Syrian field had in this interval of fourteen years been called to his rest ; with the exception of Mr Hebard, who died at Malta, June 30th, 1841, on his way to the United States. But of the wives of missionaries several had fallen ; and one reads upon their lowly monuments the names of Mrs Hebard, Mrs Smith, Mrs Wolcott, Mrs Robson of Damascus, and others. And later, on our return from Jerusalem in June, another newly made grave met our eyes ; that of Miss Whittlesey, a teacher in the female boarding school of the mission. She had been suddenly snatched away during our absence, just as she had become mistress of the language and qualified for her work ; on which she had entered with great devotedness, and with the prospect of doing much good. To this sad list must now be added the name of the Rev. George B. Whiting, one of the earliest members of the mission ; who died at Beirut of cholera, Nov. 8th, 1855. He was a good man and a devoted missionary, wise in counsel, and faithful and discreet in action.

Here too lie buried quite a number of British officers and marines, victims of the war of 1840. Particular interest attaches itself also to the last resting place of Lieut. Dale, the scientific second officer of the American Expedition to the Dead Sea and Jordan. Worn down by the cares and fatigues of the

survey, he was seized with the symptoms of a nervous fever soon after the return of the party to Beirut. He was able to reach the summer residence of Dr Smith at Bhamdûn; where, after an illness of eleven days, he died on the 24th of July, 1848. He had scarcely reached the age of thirty-five years; was a man of fine appearance and elegant manners; and had been selected for his post because of his experience as an engineer both by sea and land. I had enjoyed much friendly intercourse with him in New York before the departure of the expedition; and then little thought that it would ever be my lot to visit his grave upon this distant shore. A plain monument, erected by a family friend, now marks the spot.¹

Among the indirect, but natural effects of the labours and example of the missionaries in this region, has been the waking up of the Arab mind in a partial degree, to inquiries and efforts of its own. From such influences there has arisen in Beirut a native "Society of Arts and Sciences." It was formed early in 1847, with the co-operation of some of the missionaries, in consequence of the urgent solicitation of intelligent natives, chiefly young men, desirous of knowledge and intellectual improvement. A part only of these young men had been educated in the mission seminary. They meet semi-monthly; when literary information is communicated; papers are read; questions discussed; and occasionally lectures are delivered. During the first year of its existence the society had collected a library of more than 750 volumes; among which were 527 Arabic and Turkish manuscripts and 229 printed books in various languages. Of the manuscripts 514 were purchased in one collection for 7000 piastres, or about 280 dollars. Many of these are very old; some of them dating back seven or eight centuries. This library belonged to a noble family so reduced as to be obliged to sell. It is particularly rich in Muslim theology, law, grammar, rhetoric, and logic; with a fair proportion of mathematics, medicine, history, and philosophical works.²

It was my privilege during my stay in Beirut to attend on two occasions the meetings of this society. At the first the regular order of the evening was a discussion of the question: "Are all men capable of civilization?" Quite a number were present besides the members. With one exception the speakers were all natives; and, so far as manner was concerned, acquitted themselves well. I have heard much worse speaking before Literary Societies in London and New York. As an officer of

¹ See letters announcing the decease of Lieut Dale, in *Biblioth. Sacra*, Nov. 1848, pp. 769, 770. See also Lynch's *Official Report*, 4to. p. 45. *Narrative etc.* p. 506.

² See on this Society and its library, *Zeitschrift der morgenl. Gesellschaft*, B II. 1848, p. 378-388. *Journ. of the Am Oriental Soc.* Vol III. p. 477-486. *Comp Biblioth. Sac.* 1848, p. 203.

the American Oriental Society it was gratifying to me to bring a salutation to this young sister, the daughter of the east ; and I could not help expressing a hope and confidence, that the efforts of this little band may yet be greatly instrumental in bringing in a better day for Arabic literature and science throughout the Arabian world.

On the other occasion the evening was devoted to a public lecture from Michael 'Aramân, the senior native teacher in the seminary at 'Abeih. His subject was : " The cultivation of the mechanic arts in Syria." The lecturer dwelt upon these as connected with a higher development of social life ; and pointed out as the best means of their dissemination, the introduction of schools, literary societies, religious teaching, and female education. Michael is quite popular among his fellow-townsmen of Beirût ; and they justly expect much from him in his future career. The room was crowded almost to suffocation ; and the audience was larger than had ever before attended a meeting of the Society.

Other smaller circles have also been formed among the native young men, for the discussion of questions and mutual improvement ; but with these the missionaries have had no connection. The members of all these literary societies are mostly from the Christian population.

Beirût as the chief port of Syria, is the residence of the foreign consuls ; and is of course frequented by travellers. This is seen, too, in the increased number of hotels. The largest is the *Locanda Belvedere*, situated on the shore half a mile or more west of the city. The regularity of the steamers in the Mediterranean has added so much to the facility and certainty of travel in the east, that the number of travellers is very greatly increased. From the United States alone, not less than from fifty to a hundred are said to pass through Syria every year. Indeed, it was a frequent remark, that for the last two or three years American travellers had outnumbered the English.—In calling one day on a friend in the hotel, I met there our old attendant Komeh, who accompanied us in 1838 from Cairo quite round to Beirût ; and who has since, in consequence of our favourable notice, been somewhat in demand among travellers. He was now in attendance on a Scotch gentleman ; but having learned some English, he more usually undertakes to conduct parties as a " dragoman." His appearance was not much changed ; and his English was not particularly intelligible. He did not recognise me at first ; and his last request, as I turned to leave him, was in the spirit of his trade, that I would give him " a recommendation." Two months later, during our stay in Jerusalem, he came in again from Egypt with the family of

an English clergyman, from whom he was said to receive *fifteen* pounds sterling a day for the journey ; but this included (it was said) an extra camel or two through the desert, to carry water for the daily bath of a child.

To the American consul, J. Hosford Smith Esq. and to his estimable family, I was greatly indebted for their daily courtesies and kind offices. Mr Smith enjoyed the confidence and sincere regard of the missionaries ; while his prompt attentions and acts of kindness to his numerous travelling countrymen, secured for him their grateful respect. Of his manly and upright bearing in his official duties, and its influence upon the local government and upon the people, I need not here speak ; it was known and appreciated by all.

Mr Moore also, the British consul-general, tendered every facility in behalf of my undertaking ; and I almost regretted my being unable to profit by his kindness, because every thing was so fully provided for by other friends. The Prussian consul, Mr Weber, I saw several times. He is a relative of Dr Schulz, late Prussian consul in Jerusalem, who had died there a few months before, in the autumn of 1851. From him I learned, that no note or memorandum whatever had been found among the papers of Schulz, relating to his travels and observations in the Holy Land. All that he ever wrote upon the subject, had been transmitted to Germany before his decease. Mr Black, a resident British merchant, connected by marriage with the family of Mr Thomson, exerts a wide and good influence. He acts as the banker of the American mission ; as also of that at Damascus. At Beirût, I made likewise the acquaintance of Dr Paulding of Damascus, returning from a journey to Cairo and Sinai. A few days later we had also a visit from the Rev. Mr Porter of Damascus ; to whom I was afterwards so much indebted in that city.

It had been arranged, that Dr Smith would accompany me to Jerusalem ; taking the route through southern Lebanon and Galilee, and along the western border of the hills of Samaria and Judea ; and returning along the eastern border of the same to the lake of Tiberias and Hasbeiya. We purposed to travel leisurely ; and turn aside to examine every point of interest along the route. At Hasbeiya Mr Thomson would take me up ; and after exploring with me the plain of the Hûleh, the region of Bâniâs, and the rugged chasm of the Litâny, would bring me forward to Damascus. From thence Dr De Forest proposed to go with me through the Bûkâ'a to Ba'albek and further north ; but this purpose was frustrated by the subsequent decease of Miss Whittlesey, which threw upon

him the whole care of the female boarding school. His place with me was supplied by the Rev. Mr Robson of Damascus.

The spring was now advancing ; but the latter rains had not yet ceased ; and Dr Smith, who was to be my companion, was suffering from the effects of a fever, which had prevented his attendance for much of the time on the sessions of the annual meeting. Could I have foreseen while at Smyrna, all these causes of delay, I would gladly have remained over one trip of the steamer and visited Constantinople. Or could I have gone up to Jerusalem and returned before the meeting of the mission, my time might perhaps have been employed to more purpose. Yet this was utterly out of the question ; although the distance does not exceed 150 miles ; which however ordinarily occupies six or eight days of travel. Just here the difference of the orient and occident stands out in startling contrast. The like distance of 150 miles between New York and Albany is run every night by swift steamers in little more than eight hours ; and every day by railway trains in five or six hours. The 210 miles between Liverpool and London I had just before traversed in 5½ hours. So true it is that *days* of travel in the east are to be reckoned as less than *hours* to the iron horse.

The meeting of the mission, which heretofore had seldom continued more than a week, was this year extended to a fortnight ; the closing session having been held on the evening of Wednesday, March 31st. As however the weather still remained unsettled, there was no reason on my part to regret this further delay.

Our preparations were seasonably begun and completed. As the missionaries are under the necessity of journeying more or less every year, their travelling equipage is usually on hand. Dr Smith decided to take along his own large tent, very similar to the one we had used upon our former journey ; and there was the usual supply of bedding for each, with a large piece of painted canvas to spread it upon by night, and to roll it in by day. Each of my successive travelling companions took along his family servant, who acted also as cook and purveyor, and relieved us from all petty bargainings by the way. As second servant, we hired a young man, Beshârah, from 'Abeih, who proved very faithful, and continued with me the whole time.

As my companions would all ride their own horses, I preferred also to purchase one ; as I could thus secure a good horse for the journey, instead of being exposed to the chances and difficulties of hiring. A horse was hired for Rashid our head servant ; on which he carried in a *Hürj*, or large saddle-bags, the provisions and stores for the day. In this way we could make excursions, or take a more circuitous route ; leaving the

baggage animals to go on directly to our night-quarters. We afterwards found this to be a very convenient arrangement. Two mules would have sufficed us; but we took three; in order that Besharah might ride a part of the time and so come in fresh at night, when his services were most wanted. Each mule was followed by its master; two from 'Abeih and the other from 'Arâmôn; one a Maronite and two Druzes. The Maronite had along a little donkey, on which occasionally he could rest his legs by way of change.

The more usual mode of travelling in Syria at present, is for a party to put themselves into the hands of a dragoman, a native who speaks more or less of English, French, or Italian. This person undertakes to provide for them provisions, servants, tents, bedding, animals, and all the equipage of travel, for a stipulated daily sum; which is seldom if ever less than a pound sterling a day, for each person; and is often more.

We found the expenses of travel on this journey comparatively less than on the former one under the Egyptian rule. The wages of the head servant were about five dollars a month and those of the second about three; besides presents to both. For each mule we paid ten piastres a day (instead of fifteen as formerly) while travelling, and half price for the days we lay still. Our daily purchases too, being all made by native servants on whom we could rely, and who were acquainted in the country, were very reasonable. In this way our daily expenses were less than a pound sterling, for the whole party.

We took with us no weapons whatever; and never for a moment felt the need of any. Each of us had a Schmal-kalder's compass; with which most of the bearings were taken. We had also a pocket-compass, measuring tapes, and thermometers; but no barometer. The measurements with the aneroid given in the following work are due mainly to Dr De Forest. Besides the books mentioned in my former work, I had with me the first two parts of RITTER's great work on Palestine; and the sheets of the third part, as far as to the description of 'Akka, with which the author had kindly furnished me in advance of publication. We were well supplied with the latest and best maps, including the large route-map of the Dead Sea Expedition; but found them all, of course, defective in the parts of the country which we traversed.

Through the kindness of the Hon. G. P. Marsh, then American minister at Constantinople, we each received an imperial *Firmân* for the journey. It is usual also for the traveller to take a *Tezkirah* from the authorities of Beirût, in which servants and muleteers are included. From the custom-house in Beirût, which controls all others in Syria, we obtained a paper

exempting our effects from any examination at the gates of cities. These papers were of course enough for all purposes ; yet afterwards, in 'Akka and Jerusalem, we obtained a *Büyuruldı* from the Pasha in each of those cities ; in order that they might thus be made directly responsible, should any thing untoward take place within the limits of their respective provinces.

The Turkish government has wisely continued and extended the system of posts, introduced into Syria during the Egyptian dominion. At present a post travels every week to and fro between Beirût and Jerusalem by way of Yâfa. Another passes northwards weekly to Tripoly and Lâdakiyeh, and thence to Aleppo. The communication with Damascus is twice a week. From Aleppo and Aintab a land post goes regularly through Asia Minor both to Constantinople and Smyrna. The transmission of letters on all these routes is tolerably rapid, and not expensive.

At the time of my visit, an Austrian steamer from Smyrna arrived at Beirût every fortnight, and returned after three or four days.—Twice in each month a French steamer came in from and returned to Alexandria, until midsummer ; when a new arrangement went into operation. This was a line of French steamers to ply between Alexandria and Smyrna at intervals of twenty days, touching at Beirût and other Syrian ports.—Up to the spring of that year, an English mail-steamer had run once a month from Alexandria to Beirût, and back : but was then discontinued.

SECTION II.

FROM BEIRUT THROUGH GALILEE TO 'AKKA.

OUR departure from Beirût was at last fixed for Monday, the 5th of April, 1852. On the morning of that day the French steamer arrived from Alexandria, bringing letters and news from Europe and the New World. We sent off Beshârah with the mules and luggage about 11 o'clock ; intending to pitch our tent for the night at Neby Yûnas.

We left the house of Dr Smith at 12.45 ; and stopping a moment at the houses of friends to bid adieu, we took the road to Sidon. In crossing the sand hills, we noticed again the surface rippled by the wind, like the sea when calm. During high winds, the sand moves forward in wavy lines ; and sometimes rises and fills the air. At 1.50 we reached Nahr Ghudir, coming down from Wady Shahrur ; now a considerable stream flowing through the sands. Later in the season it dries up. At 2.10 we were at the deserted Dukkân el-Kusis, where we had turned off on our way to 'Abeih. *Dukkân* is the appropriate name for the small stations or *shops* along the way, where food, fodder, and the like are sold, in distinction from the larger Khâns. A few minutes further was the Nahr Yâbis, now dry. It is regarded as the southern boundary of the promontory of Beirût ; the Nahr el-Maut being the northern one. As we passed along, the village of Burj el-Burâjineh was on our left in the low plain ; and the larger Shuweifât in three divisions on the roots of the mountain.

We came to Khân Khulda at 2.50, the *Heldua* of the Jerusalem Itinerary. Here are two or three small buildings (*Dukkâns*), only one of which was occupied. It is reckoned three mule hours from Beirût. We examined the sarcophagi on the side of the hill on the left a few minutes beyond. They have a general resemblance to those we saw on our way to 'Abeih ; except that here the lids were mostly fitted on with grooves ; and some of the sarcophagi are hewn also on the outside ; there is a large number of them. We could find no inscriptions. This spot too

was apparently the last resting-place of an honoured race ; but all record of its history has perished.

We started again after ten minutes ; and came at 3.20 to Dukkân el-Ghûfr. Just north of it was the Wady now dry, coming down from 'Abeih, and entering the sea on a projecting point. As we proceeded several villages and convents came in sight upon the sides of Lebanon. We passed a Muhammedan at his solitary devotions by the way side ; and at four o'clock stopped for five minutes to take the bearings given in the note.¹

We reached the Nahr Dâmûr at 4.20, in winter one of the most furious torrents of Lebanon. The ford is quite near its mouth, where we took bearings ;² and just above are three large ruined arches of a lofty bridge, with small arches at the sides. There was now a considerable and rapid stream ; the water reaching above the bellies of the horses. The road soon leaves the sand, and passes along the side of the declivity to Râs Sa'diyyeh. This point is about halfway between the Dâmûr and Neby Yûnas ; and there is no second point beyond, as marked on the maps. This cape was the site of the ancient *Platanum*.³ On both sides of this point for a long distance, are the traces of the ancient Roman road, extending from near the Danûr almost to Neby Yûnas, with slight interruptions. The ancient pavement is mostly worn or torn away, and the path is on the surface of the rock below ; but the wall or masonry along one side or the other of the road is everywhere visible. We reached Neby Yûnas at 5½ o'clock, in four hours and twenty-five minutes from Beirût, instead of the usual six hours.

Here our troubles for the night began. We had sent off our muleteers early from Beirût, in order that they might arrive before us, and have the tent ready on our arrival. But they had played the laggard ; and we had passed them not far south of Khân Khulda. It was long before they came up ; and then it was difficult to find a spot on the sandy soil round about, where the tent-pins would hold. But the difficulties were at length overcome ; the tent was pitched ; we were safely housed beneath it, and partook of our first meal, which Rashid had prepared. We were left to ourselves ; and then it was that the idea of the present and the past came over us with an overpowering feeling. Here we were once more, in our tent, not the same indeed as formerly, yet so like it as hardly to be distinguished ; the furniture and all our travelling equipments were similar ; several

¹ Bearings at 4 o'clock : 'Abeih 80°. N. 75° E. Khûlweh of Ba'winteh N. 60° Vill. Dâmûr 86°, dist. 2 m. en-Na'meh E. Deir en-Na'meh N. 35° E. el-Mu'allakah N. 35° E. ed-Dâmûr N. 50° E. ed-Dilkemiyeh south of river S. 65° E. 54°, dist. 1 m.

² Bearings at mouth of the Dâmûr : el-Bâm E. Course of river S. 80° E. 'Abeih

Cape es-Sa'diyyeh S. 60° W.

³ See Vol. II. p. 488. [iii. 433.]

articles were the very same ; and our places in the tent were as of old. It was as if we were continuing a journey of yesterday ; and the intervening *fourteen* years seemed to vanish away. And when we reverted to the reality, we could not but gratefully acknowledge the mercy of God in preserving our lives, and permitting us once more, after so long an interval, to prosecute *together* the researches which we had together begun. We could not but regard it as a high and certainly an *unusual* privilege, thus after fourteen long years again to take up the thread of our investigations, at the very point where they had been broken off.

This place, el-Jiyeh, or Neby Yûnas, is the site of the ancient Porphyreon.¹ At the fountain of the village there is a large ancient sarcophagus now used as a trough, with a rude ornament sculptured on its front and end. The people knew nothing of where it came from ; but said it was there when they were born. In one of the lanes lies a column of grey granite, ten feet long. These seem to be the only visible remains of Porphyreon.—Near Berja, a village some two miles distant in the mountain, are sepulchres excavated in the face of the rock, with upright doors, and sculptured ornaments. These my companion had formerly visited.²

Tuesday, April 6th.—The experience of yesterday was not to be the end of our troubles at Neby Yûnas. The evening had been mild and pleasant ; the thermometer at 72° in our tent ; and we had flattered ourselves with the idea of a peaceful night. But after midnight a strong Sirocco wind arose ; and about 3 o'clock a violent puff tore up the tent-pins from the sandy soil ; and threw down the tent upon us as we slept. For a time we tried to sleep on beneath the fallen canvas ; but the flapping in the wind was too great ; and we were compelled to rise. The day was beginning to break in the east ; and we therefore decided to take an early start, rather than try to raise the tent. We accordingly breakfasted by the dim mingled light of the grey dawn and the pale moon ; and at 5.10 were again on our way.

The road led for a time along the sandy shore ; and then higher up on the rocky declivity. Here we again fell in with traces of the ancient Roman road ; which continue for most of the way to Sidon. At 5.40 we were on the highest point of Râs Jedrah, which projects between the cove of Neby Yunâs and the smaller one of Rumeileh. Half an hour later we crossed Wâdy Shehim coming down from Jûn, now dry, and having on it the abutments of a Roman bridge. The village of Rumeileh is on the ridge which runs down and terminates in a

¹ See Vol. II. p. 487. [iii. p. 481.]

Lands of the Bible, II p. 211 —Bearings

² See Vol. II. p. 487. [iii. p. 482.] These

from Neby Yûnas : Berja S. 50° E. 2 m. Ba'sir S. 80° E. 2 m.

sepulchres were also visited by Dr Wilson,

point called Râs Rumeileh. This we reached at 6.35 ; and had a noble view of Sidon, still three quarters of an hour distant. Instead of continuing along the ancient and modern road to the bridge over the Auwaly, we struck down to the sands ; and at 6.55 forded that stream near its entrance into the sea. The road by the bridge is fifteen minutes longer. The river was here larger than the Dâmûr ; but was running over shallow pebbly rapids ; so that the ford was less difficult. At 7.20 we reached the eastern gate of Sidon.

The house of the Rev. Mr Thomson, in whose kind family we spent much of the day, (Dr Van Dyck and his family being absent,) is just north of this gate, within the city, and adjacent to the eastern wall. When he took the house, it had fallen into great decay ; but has been fitted up by him, and now forms a commodious dwelling, with a wide prospect over the rich environs of Sidon, extending quite to the mountains.¹ A large room with a dome forms an excellent chapel. Here, in some of the rooms, the windows were still unglazed, as formerly in Beirût. As we were to leave in the afternoon, the time was mainly occupied in gathering information as to the best routes, and the objects to be examined along our way. In this we were assisted by the American consular agent, Ibrahim Nûkhly, who called upon us ; the same mentioned in connection with our former visit.

The remains of antiquity in and around Sidon are few. Several granite columns are strewed on the east of the city ; another forms the threshold of the gate by which we entered ; and quite a number are said to be built into the walls of the island castle.²

We left our kind friends at 3 o'clock, and turned our faces eastward ; intending to visit the southeastern portions of Lebanon. I had already obtained a view of the inner basins and gulfs of the Beirût river and the Dâmûr ; and desired now to get a like general view of the upper gulfs of the Auwaly. This stream, coming from above el-Bârûk, is called the river of Bârûk until it turns westward at almost a right angle. Here it is joined by the river of Jezzin, coming down from the south, in nearly an opposite direction, on the east of the northwestern

¹ Bearings from Sidon : el-Mûgdûsheh 164°, dist. 3 m. Miyeh wa-Miyeh 135°. 1½ m. Derb es-Sin 170°, 2½ m. Hâret Saïda 107°, 1 m. el-Helâlfyeh 75°, 1½ m. Berâmiyeh 61°, 3 m. Rûm 100°. Jebâ'a 126°.

² In January, 1855, there was disinterred, at a point about one mile southeast from the south end of Sidon, and as far southwest from Hâret Saïda, near an old

place of threshing-floors, a large and remarkable sarcophagus of a king of Sidon, having upon it the longest Phœnician inscription as yet discovered. The sarcophagus has been transported to Paris. See Dietrich. *Zwei Sidonische Inschriften*, Marburg 1855. Rödiger in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges.* IX p. 647 sq. *Journ. of the Am. Oriental Soc.* vol. V. pp. 227-259.

branch of Jebel Rihân. This latter ridge terminates towards the north in a lofty bluff, which occupies the angle between the streams below their junction ; and on it is the conspicuous Wely of Neby Mishy. The united stream here first takes the name of Auwaly, and flows for a time through the fine alluvial tract called Merj Bisry. A little west of the bluff of Neby Mishy is the high conical point of Ruweiset Rûm, south of the Auwaly, overlooking its deep valley, and commanding likewise a view up the river of Bârûk. This spot we therefore proposed to visit.

The western ridges of Lebanon, and indeed its great western slope, may be said to terminate at the Auwaly. The high crest or backbone of the mountain lying east of the rivers of Bârûk and Jezzin, continues on southwards, though sometimes broken into lesser ridges, and throwing up the twin peaks of Niha (Tôm Niha), until at length it ends in the ridges of Jebel Rihân north of the fortress esh-Shûkîf, between the Litâny and Wady Jermûk. The name Jebel Rihân (Myrtle mountain) is applied to the whole southern extremity of Lebanon south of Kefr Hûneh ; including also the high ridge or hook running out on the west of the river of Jezzin.

The country between Sidon and Jebel Rihân is rolling and uneven, with rounded hills and broad valleys, but no mountains. Deep valleys have their beginnings on the flank of Rihân ; and high ridges run out between them, forming huge buttresses in front, which gradually sink down to the level of the open country.

Ten minutes after leaving the city gates we began to ascend the first hill or broad swell near the village Hâret Saïda. The weather was delightful ; and we had a fine view towards the south across a fertile region, as far as to the hills and point of Sûrafend or Sarepta.¹ We reached the top at 3.45 ; having the village of Mejdél Yûn just on our right.² The country in sight was hilly, with a whitish clayey soil, in which the olive tree seems to delight. There was much verdure in view ; and the whole aspect is altogether different from that of the region further north. Passing on, we came at 4.10 to the eastern brow of the same swell, overlooking a fine plain and basin lying between us and the mountains.³ There was now a long descent ; and after-

¹ Bearings on the way : At 3.25, Kureiyeh S. 35° E. 2 m.—At 3.35, 'Ain ed-Dîb S. 12° E. 1½ m.—At 3.40, 'Abrah N. 15° E. ¼ m.

² Bearings at Mejdél Yûn : 'Ain Ūn 181°. Tambûrt 192°. Mûghdûsheh 211°. Miyeh wa-Miyeh 217°. Sidon 275°. 'Abrah 335°.—The following lie north of the Auwaly, here running west : 'Almôn

6°. Skanderûna 39°. Shehîm 51°. Bkû-tah 52°.

³ Bearings at 4.10 : Kerkhah 56°, 2 m. Shûwâlik 82°. Lib'ah 103°. Kefr Fâlûs 106°. Rûm 96°. Jebbâ'a 135°. Kefr Jerrah 163°, 1 m. Jinsîniya 175°, 1½ m. Serbah 158°. Kefr Hatta 156°. Kefr Milkeh 143°.—North of the Auwaly : Shehîm 87°. Wely of 'Ainût 48°.

wards the great convent Deir el-Mukhallis came in sight in the northeast beyond the Auwaly.¹ Losing ten minutes on the way, the village Lib'ah was close on our left at 4.50, on the western brow of a deep valley with a brook, running into the Auwaly south of Bküstah. We reached the opposite brow of the valley at 5.10;² and then continued along a gradually ascending tract, until at 6.25 we came to Kefr Fâlûs, which was to be our night quarters. Our muleteers had already arrived; and the tent was soon pitched in the midst of an olive orchard.³

Kefr Fâlûs is a large and thrifty village with much cultivation round about. It lies near the outskirts of Jebel Rihân; which extend down in the form of high and steep hills and rocky ridges. Higher up were the conical bulwarks of Rûm and Ruweiset Rûm. The whole region is full of tillage, with many villages.

We had with us from Sidon, as a guide for this and the next day, a very intelligent young man, who had lived long in the district we were about to visit, as a collector of taxes and other revenues which his father had formerly farmed.

We were here told that the southern boundary of the Aklîm et-Tuffâh, to which this village belongs, is the river Zaherâny. All north of the Senik belongs to the Druze mountain, and is inhabited only by Christians; except the village of Hâret Saïda, the people of which are Metâwileh.

Wednesday, April 7th. We had a night of sweet and sound sleep; and awoke greatly refreshed. An owlet in the neighbourhood kept up all night his single note, a sort of whistle. The morning gave tokens of rain. The wind was in the southwest, the rainy quarter; and clouds, heavy though broken, hung over the mountains and horizon. Still, as the season was so far advanced, we hoped there would be nothing more than occasional showers; and concluded to set forward.

Starting at 7, we descended to a low ridge between the heads of two valleys at 7.10;⁴ one running southwest to the Senik; the other, Wady Rûbân, passing off on a course N. 25° W. to the Auwaly. The path now climbed a high rocky ridge before us; and then continued northeast along the top; till again descending it passed along another neck between two valleys, running to join the two former ones. Beyond this neck was the village 'Ainân. Instead of keeping upon the ridge, we struck

¹ Bearing at 4.45: Deir el-Mukhallis N. 35° E. dist. about 4 m. This is the largest of the Greek Catholic convents. Dr Smith had visited it in 1844.

² Bearings at 5.10: Lib'ah 290°. Kerkhah 320°. Mârûs 66°, 1½ m. Sefârein 73°, 2 m. 'Ainân 85°. Jebâ'a 150°. Serbah

178°. Beisûr 216°, 1 m.—North of the Auwaly: Deir el-Mukhallis 19°. Shehim 15°. 'Ainût 29°. Wely of 'Ainût 32°.

³ Bearings at Kefr Fâlûs: Rûm 86°. Deir el-Mukhallis 7°.

⁴ Bearing at 7.10: Berteh S. 10° W. 1 m.

down by a very steep descent to the bottom of the deep valley on the right at 7.45, Wady Shemmâs, running S. 30 W. to join the Senik. In ascending the opposite acclivity we came again into the road to Rûm, reaching the top at 8 o'clock.

It now began to rain ; and at 8½ we stopped for an hour at a Merâh or goat house. We had seen several of these along the road. They consist of a large yard, inclosed by a wall of stone like a house, eight or ten feet high ; a portion being covered with a rude flat roof. In the present instance, the single doorway was so low, that our horses could not enter. We therefore took refuge under the high northern wall ; and managed to keep off the rain with our umbrellas, as well as we could. As, however, it seemed to have set in for a rainy day, we started again at 9½, in order to reach Rûm, and find the shelter of a house. The road was bad. The latter portion of it wound around and up the southern side of the steep conical hill on which Rûm is situated. At one spot the guide's horse, in clambering up a ledge of rocks, fell over backwards ; but without injury. We all dismounted, and reached Rûm at 9.40 ; where we remained for two hours.

Rûm is a large village ; situated on the eastern side of its conical hill, near the top. The hill, but not the village, is seen conspicuously from Sidon. Two thirds of the inhabitants are Christians ; the rest Metâwileh. The former number 120 males, all Greek Catholics, with the exception of three or four Maronites. The Metâwileh had recently been subjected to the conscription ; but the names of only three persons were drawn, whom nobody cared for ; and one of these was absent. The conscription throughout the mountains was understood to have been made much in this way.

We stopped at the house of a Christian, which was one of the better class of houses. It stood on sloping ground ; so that while the chief room was entered in front by stairs on the outside, it was in the rear on a level with the ground. The lower story was occupied by stables, where our horses found shelter. The outside stairs led up to a rickety platform before the door of the large room, in which we were received. Connected with this was another room, where the family, or at least the women, dwelt. The flat roofs of the houses in this region are constructed by laying, first, large beams at intervals of several feet ; then, rude joists ; on which again are arranged small poles close together, or brushwood ; and upon this is spread earth or gravel rolled hard. This rolling is often repeated especially after rain ; for these roofs are apt to leak. For this purpose a roller of stone is kept ready for use on the roof of every house. Grass is often seen growing on these roofs.

The floors are laid with a composition of clay, straw, and

sawdust. It becomes quite hard ; and in summer is polished by rubbing with a stone. In winter this is neglected ; and the floor looks uneven and dirty. There is no chimney ; and often no place of escape for the smoke except the doors and windows. The fireplace may be in any part of the room. It is a mere indentation in the floor, like a pan or basin, to hold the ashes. On one side of it, there are usually laid up a few stones in the form of a horseshoe, open in front, on which a kettle may be set to boil, a part of the fire being made under it. A few mats are spread near ; and often a piece of carpet as the place of honour. On these the guests take their seats in tailor fashion.

The house in which we now were, was obviously the abode of a peasant of some property. In the room were several tall jars for oil or *dibs* ;¹ also a pile of many trays or dishes in which the silkworms are kept while feeding, made of straw and cowdung ; and a sort of bin or press for grain, consisting of a framework of wood filled in with canes and plastered over with clay or mortar. There were also rude posts in different parts of the room supporting the roof. Like the houses of most orientals, high or low, there was here no lack of fleas and other vermin.

The owner was kind ; received us hospitably ; made us a good fire ; and seemed desirous to render us as comfortable as he could. He said he was able to get about a pound and a half of flesh in a year ; the usual articles of food being mainly olives, lentiles (*'adas*), grapes, cracked wheat, bread, etc.

It had been our plan for the day to proceed from Rûm to Ruweiset Rûm ; then to ascend and travel southwards along the high ridge of Jebel Rihân, until we should strike the road leading over it from Jezzîn to Jerjû'a, and so descend to the latter place. We had accordingly sent off our muleteers from Kefr Fâlûs by a direct road to Jerjû'a, there to await our arrival. Had they now been with us, we should have stopped at Rûm for the night ; but under the circumstances we were compelled to go forward ; and had no alternative but to take the nearest route by way of Jebâ'a to Jerjû'a. After a couple of hours the rain seemed to hold up ; and taking advantage of the lull, at 11.40 we again set off.

Our course at first seemed to be about northeast, and then southeast around the heads of deep valleys, to reach the western flank of Jebel Rihân. The rain soon began again, with some wind ; and we could see nothing around us. As the fog or clouds occasionally lifted, we could perceive, that we were travelling along high up on the sides of very deep valleys ; and anon climbing over a mountain ridge from the head of one valley to another ; often,

¹ The Arabs give this name (*dibs*) to by boiling. The same word in Hebrew the syrup made from the juice of grapes signifies *honey*.

also, along the summit of precipices. In this darkness our guide became confused and lost the way. At a fork of the path we unfortunately took the right hand, and wandered on along a ridge covered with pines, and down a descent, until we saw high on a hill on our left, the village of Kaitùleh; near which, though on the other side, we knew that the right road passed. To reach it we had to cross a deep and difficult valley, a tributary of the Senik. We got down very well; but the ascent on the other side was so very steep, and in one place so utterly impracticable, over a ledge of sandstone rocks, as to show that the slight path was not for horses, but only for footmen and goats. We all dismounted; and it was with much difficulty, that the horses could be induced to scramble up the rocks. Had we not lost our way, we should have passed around the head of this valley. We reached the village at 1.15; but stopped only long enough to find a guide, to put us into the right road. The rain had again partially ceased.

We were soon upon the way to Jebá'a. The rain had made the road as wet and bad as possible; and our progress was sufficiently uncomfortable. The sandstone and sandy soil was often worn into deep gullies, rendering our path difficult and sometimes dangerous. The road lay high along the flank of Rihân, above most of the valleys, and the spurs running out between them. At 2.10 we passed the small village Zehilteh, at the head of another tributary of the Senik. We came at 2.45 to the head of Wady Jebá'a, which passes down on the north of that village, and unites with Wady Milkeh above Júrniya. The united Wady was said to go to the Senik. Here Jebá'a itself came in sight, situated on a broad isolated hill surrounded by deep valleys, except a narrow neck on the east, which connects it with Jebel Rihân. At 3.15 we were at the neck, opposite the village; but passed on, leaving it five minutes on the right. A short valley on the south runs down to Wady Milkeh. The hill on which Jebá'a lies, is well cultivated, with many fruit trees; and the landscape has much verdure and beauty. The sun now broke out occasionally for a few moments; and we could see, that while the mountains were wrapped in clouds and rain, the plains below were rejoicing in the sunshine of a fair day.

Jebá'a is a large village of the Metâwileh; and was formerly the chief town of the district et-Tuffâh. It has in it a castle or palace, now in ruins; but formerly occupied by the Sheikhs who governed the place. The palace covers the top of an eminence projecting from the main hill. At present the governor of the district is a Turk; who has his head quarters at Ghâziyeh. The elevation of Jebá'a, as noted by Dr De Forest, is 2486 feet. On

account of its general salubrity and convenient position in respect to Sidon, it was selected by Messrs Thomson and Van Dyck in 1852, for the residence of their families during the hot season. They obtained a comfortable habitation by repairing some portions of the ruined palace.¹

Ten minutes from the neck opposite Jebâ'a, brought us to the top of the next ridge;² beyond it is the head of Wady Milkeh, which runs down north of Serbah. Here, on the left, at 3.30, was a small hamlet, Beit el-Kerakeh. On this part of Jebel Rihân, black walnut trees are found in great abundance. The rain now came on again. At 3.50 we struck the road from Jezzîn to Jerjû'a; and, five minutes later, were at the highest point of the road between Jebâ'a and Jerjû'a, an elevation of 4835 feet. Passing the head of another valley, which goes to the Zaherâny, we reached Jerjû'a at 4.15; and were glad to take refuge in a peasant's house. Here Beshârah, who had come on with the muleteers, had already procured a room, and kindled a good fire. For the first time, we now set up the light wooden bedsteads we had brought along. Our clothes were wet from the rain; yet less so than we had anticipated; and we suffered no evil consequences from the exposure.

Thursday, April 8th.—The morning was dark and lowering, with occasional rain; although the wind had changed to north-west, and the clouds were occasionally broken. As the rain had made the roads very muddy and difficult, we decided not to set forward. This was the only time that we suffered from rain, or were delayed by bad weather.

The village of Jerjû'a is large and flourishing; and is one of the most prominent places in this part of the mountains. It lies upon a broad buttress or short spur, running down southwest from Jebel Rihân between the valley of the Zaherâny and the next valley north, and forming part of the northern wall of the great chasm of that river. The northern valley joins that of the Zaherâny further down. The village lies high; the elevation being 2486 feet, the same as Jebâ'a. The broad, uneven, rocky surface of the hill is everywhere cultivated; the sides drop down steeply to the adjacent valleys. Around the village are orchards of fig trees and olive trees; and besides the many ploughed fields, there were several plats of grass, looking more like meadows than anything I had yet seen.

The view from this elevated spot was very extensive; and we enjoyed it after the clearing away of the clouds in the after-

¹ From Jebâ'a, the bearing of Sidon is 807°.

² Bearings from this ridge taken by Dr Smith in 1844: Jebâ'a 5°. Ruweiset

Râm 12°. Serbah 263½°. Khirbet Shâkir 291°. Jurneiya 292°. Kefr Milkeh 296°.

'Ankûn 315°.—North of the Anwaly: Deir el-Mukhallis 348½°. Shehim 354½°.

noon, and also the next morning. The range of hills, which further north lies west of Rihân, including Rûm, Ruweiset Rûm, and others, is here no longer seen. The region in the west and south is open and rolling, a wide and varied tract of arable country, now full of green fields as far as the eye could reach. The view extends from the mouth of the Auwaly to Râs el-Abyad south of Tyre; and embraces the districts of Kharnûb, Tuffâh, esh-Shūkif, and Beshârah, as well as the coast. The deep and narrow valleys, and the steep hills and rocky ledges, by which the surface of this region is often broken up, could not, of course, here be distinguished.

But the main feature in the position of Jerjū'a, is the view towards the other side, up the wild and narrow chasm of the Zaherâny. That stream has its remotest sources around and beyond Kefr Hûneh, a village on the southern road from Jezzin to Hasbeiya. From thence it breaks down through this north-western ridge of Jebel Rihân, cleaving the mountain to its base, and forming a gorge, than which there are few deeper or more savage in Lebanon. The mountains on each side rise almost precipitously to the height of two or three thousand feet above the stream; that on the northern side being considerably the highest, as we afterwards saw. Looking up the immense ravine, we could see the rocky peaks around and beyond Kefr Hûneh. That village was said to be an hour and a half or two hours distant. The steep sides of the southern mountain (Rihân) are clothed with shrub oaks and other dwarf trees. The river descends in its chasm in a course S. 50° W. and, opposite Jerjū'a, turns around the precipitous corner or bastion of the southern Rihân, into a straight valley, which runs nearly due south along the western base of that mountain, quite to the Litâny. This valley, called Wady Jermûk from a village of that name, has, along its whole western side, a low ridge. After flowing down the valley for twenty or thirty minutes, the Zaherâny suddenly turns west; breaks through the low ridge by a narrow ravine; and pursues its way to the sea. The water-shed in Wady Jermûk is only five minutes distant from this bend of the Zaherâny. Below it are several fountains in the valley, and a stream flowing to the Litâny. It would seem as if this valley had been originally formed to be the bed of the Zaherâny throughout, and conduct it likewise to the Litâny. Only a low swell now intervenes to stop its course and turn it westwards. According to Dr De Forest, the removal of some thirty feet of earth at the water-shed would enable the Zaherâny to continue in a straight course, down Wady Jermûk to the Litâny near the bridge of Khûrdela. "This sudden change in the course of streams," he remarks, "which seem to wander as if they had

lost their way in rude glens, is an interesting feature in the scenery of these regions."¹

On the northern mountain, far above Jerjû'a, is a Wely called Neby Sâfy. On the opposite high corner of the southern mountain is another, bearing the name of Neby Sijud. These both serve as landmarks. Looking down Wady Jermûk, we had in full view, just on the right of the junction of this valley with the Litâny, the great fortress esh-Shûkif, standing alone on a ridge, and conspicuous in every direction. It here bore nearly due south. Between it and us, on the low ridge west of Wady Jermûk, was the Wely called Neby 'Aly et-Tâhir, also a landmark. The little village 'Arab Sâlim is on the same ridge north of where the Zaherâny breaks through it. After the weather became clear, we obtained here many important bearings. Sidon bears from Jerjû'a 318°; and the direct distance is reckoned six hours.²

The house in which we occupied a room at Jerjû'a was quite inferior to the one we had seen at Rûm. Like all the other houses of the village it had but one story. We first entered from the street the room of the family; adjacent to which, and without a partition, was the stable. Passing on we crept through a very low doorway or passage to another room, the floor of which was a little higher than that of the other. This was our abode for a day and two nights. It had a rickety door on one side into another street; but this door had to be reached by several steps from the inside. There was no window; and no light except from the door. The fireplace was in the middle of the room, with a small hole in the roof as a vent for the smoke. There was here also a *Tannûr* for baking. A hole sunk in the floor is lined with pottery; this is then heated by a fire kindled within it; and the dough is plastered on the sides, and so baked. There were trays for silkworms in plenty; and several bins for grain. The roof was of the usual kind, supported by rude props. It rained heavily during the night; and the water found its way through upon us. Quite early in the morning we heard our host at work rolling the roof; and saw the same process going on with other houses. Goats, also, were cropping the grass growing on several roofs. All the goats we had yet seen, were black, with long pendulous ears.

Our host was a potter; and wrought at his trade in his own

¹ Ma. Journal, May 1852.

² Bearings from Jerjû'a: Neby Sijud 109°, 1½ m. Kul'at esh-Shûkif 179°. Neby 'Aly et-Tâhir 185°. Nebâtîyeh el-Fûka 198°. Nebâtîyeh et-Tahta 207°. Shûkin 211°. Tell Habbûah 219°. Kefr Jauz 217°. ed-Duweir 240°. el-Biyâd 244°.

Shilba' 248°. Deir ez-Zaherâny 258°. Serbah 304°. 'Ankûn 310°. Rûmîn 289°. Râs el-Abyad 231°. Mouth of Zaherâny 291°. Sidon 318°. Jürmeiya 319°. Mouth of Senik 310°. 'Arab Sâlim S. 15° W. 1½ m.

house. His jars were decorated with rings and other ornaments, and exhibited some very neat work. We found every thing at Jerjū'a dear ; partly from scarcity, and partly because we were Franks. We had to send to another village for barley for the horses. Our guide and servants were quartered in the room with the family. The former we here sent back to Sidon.

The Sheikh of the village, who was a brother of our host, called to pay his respects ; as did also the old priest. The latter was 71 years of age ; was married and had been here 35 years ; but except his blue turban and gray beard, there was nothing to distinguish him from the other men of the village. He had suffered a whole generation to grow up around him without teaching them even to read. There is no school ; and only four or five can read at all. The village numbers 94 males, all Greek Catholics ; and six families of Metāwileh.—There are no remains of antiquity in the village. In the rocks just above it are two or three excavations, which may have been sepulchres.

In the afternoon, the weather having partially cleared up, we rode out, under the guidance of our host, to visit what he said was the highest perennial source of the Zaherāny, some distance up the great chasm. We descended northeast very steeply to the bottom of the valley ; where the swollen river was brawling and foaming along its course, through tracts of green grass, shaded by black walnut trees, with two or three mills, along the stream ; a spot of sweet beauty in the midst of wild grandeur. Passing up the valley the way became more difficult. We soon came to a spot, where the rocks had been cut away to form a passage ; and there was an ancient pavement laid in cement. At first sight it seemed doubtful, whether this had been a road or an aqueduct ; but it soon proved to be the latter. After 25 minutes from the village we reached the source, a fine large fountain bursting forth with violence, and with water enough for a mill race. Here we found a channel cut in the solid rock, 3 feet 8 inches wide, and nearly as deep, plastered with cement on the sides, with stones above laid in the same cement, as if the channel had been once covered. It was the statement of our host and others, that above this fountain the stream dries up in summer ; but never below it.

In returning we traced the course of the aqueduct for a considerable distance along the steep declivity ; either as hewn in the rocks, or built up on one side with masonry ; always with its cemented pavement, sometimes in two layers. We kept along the declivity below the village ; and could see the aqueduct carried in a channel around the precipitous face of a projecting point of rock further down ; after which it turned north-westwards, and was conducted along the surface as before. At

one point, in a field on the south of the village, we found the ancient wall remaining, which had been built up for it against a steep part of the hill. The further course of the aqueduct was already known in part, as far as to Kefr Milkeh on the direct road from Sidon to Jebâ'a, an hour and a quarter from the latter place. Dr De Forest, in passing over that road a few weeks later, found on the hill just east of Kefr Milkeh, the bottom of the ancient water-course laid in cement; and saw further on where the aqueduct had been carried around the summits of two hills; and also on arches over a deep gorge, half an hour or more northwest of Jebâ'a. The abutments of the arches are still visible.¹

Although these more western traces of the aqueduct were already known, I am not aware that its commencement at the fountain in the gorge of the Zaherâny had as yet been discovered. It must have been constructed in order to convey the water of this source to Sidon for drinking. The Sidonians had aqueducts and water for irrigation, in abundance, from the Auwaly, much nearer; but even now the water of the Auwaly is not regarded as good for drinking; and families in the city are supplied from fountains an hour or more distant. The supply from this head of the Zaherâny was good and abundant.

On our return, we ascended to the village from the south. This brought us to the large fountain of the village, which bursts out some distance below it; and led us also by the threshing-floors, where is a fine point of view.

While engaged in tracing the aqueduct south of the village, our guide brought us to a tablet of sandstone lying in a ploughed field; which he said had been found the preceding summer *in* the aqueduct. It was 29 inches long by 14 inches broad, and on it was sculptured the figure of a man in a tunic, in high relief; the back only being attached. The head had stood out free; but was broken off in digging, before they knew what the stone was. At the upper right hand corner of the tablet was the following imperfect Greek inscription; the letters in small type being doubtful.

ΑΝΤΑΣ
.....
ΠΕΡΙ
ΟΠΠΕΡΙΕσσον
ΕΚΤΩΝ . . .
ΚΑΤΕΥΧΕ
ΑΝΕΘΗ
καυ

¹ Ms. Journal, May 1852.

There was some appearance as if the right hand side of the tablet had been cut away ; thus destroying perhaps some part of the inscription.—We bargained for this tablet, to be delivered to the Rev. Mr Thomson in Sidon, at the price demanded. It was never delivered ; but subsequently an offer came to Sidon, to bring it down for the double of the price agreed upon. As this last demand amounted only to twenty piastres, there would have been no difficulty, had Mr Thomson been at home. The demand, however, shows a trait in the character of the people.

Friday, April 9th. Our first object to day was to visit the great fortress esh-Shūkif, which stood conspicuous before us in the south, at the distance of more than three hours. The direct road descends at once from Jerjū'a to the Zaherāny, in 40 minutes ; thence along the stream 20 minutes to the ford just where the stream turns west ; and afterwards along Wady Jermūk to Arnūn. This route was afterwards followed by Dr De Forest ; but as the river was now swollen and the ford difficult, we preferred to cross by a bridge on the way to Nebātiyeh.

We set off at 7.25 ; the Sheikh of the village accompanying us on foot for some distance, as a mark of courtesy. The descent towards the south was steep and long, but not difficult. We could here look down along Wady Jermūk ; and see the bend of the river, as it turns westward into its lesser chasm. The bottom of the valley presented a fine green level basin among the cliffs. Dr De Forest stopped in this basin for lunch ; and “found abundant shade under the black walnut and other trees. Large wild grape vines and small creepers swung from tree to tree ; and a thick shrubbery lined the banks. An old mill was by the side of the stream ; and there was a rude foot-bridge. The scenery was wild and interesting.” Below this basin is Wady Jermūk.

At 8 o'clock we were opposite 'Arab Sâlim with its large white dome ten minutes on our left. It stands on the precipitous western bank of the valley, some 400 feet above the Zaherāny, and twenty minutes north of the bend and chasm. We now kept more to the right, descending along the right hand slopes of a lateral valley, which brought us at 8.30 to the Zaherāny, here running N. 55° W. The stream was swollen ; but was not so large as the Dâmûr at its mouth. It was tumbling rapidly along a pretty valley, skirted with oleanders. The bridge was five minutes further down ; a rude modern structure. The descent to it from Jerjū'a is more than 1000 feet.

The road now ascended gradually to the higher rolling tract in the south. At 8.55 we were opposite Tell Habbūsh on our right ; to which we turned aside. It afforded a fine back view of Jerjū'a and the mountain beyond. That village lies conspicu-

ously on the shoulder of the high ridge (Rihân) north of the great chasm of the Zaherâny; and we could mark our course of Wednesday, in the rain, along the steep declivity of that ridge. Beyond and above the immense gorge were seen the higher peaks of Lebanon; while in the southeast, coming out from behind the southern extremity of Jebel Rihân, the lofty snow-capped summits of Jebel esh-Sheikh, the ancient Hermon, began to appear. This was a side view; and presented two summits, of which the northeastern is considerably the highest. The snow on esh-Sheikh extended for some distance down the sides; while on the peaks of Lebanon opposite there was none.—The village Habbûsh lies a mile or more distant, about W. S. W. The Tell has upon it no ruins.¹

Returning to the road, we set off again at 9.20. Our guide soon turned to the left, to a road leading direct to esh-Shūkif, instead of bringing us to Nebâtiyeh, where our muleteers had been ordered to meet us. It was some time before we discovered the mistake; and then ten minutes were lost in getting back across the fields to the right road. The country was rolling, and mostly cultivated. We reached Nebâtiyeh at 10 o'clock, a large village in a broad open fertile valley or basin drained northwest to the Zaherâny. It is a market-place; and a fair is held every Monday. There is a *Khân*, so called, consisting merely of two or three rows of stone arches, low and very shallow, so as hardly to cover a horse's length; much on the plan of a range of New England horsesheds. Two only of the houses of the village had two stories. One of these belonged to the Sheikh of the district Belâd esh-Shūkif, who was now absent at Beirût; the other to a rich peasant. The Sheikh was said to have a council, composed of members from the different sects. As the shoes of some of our animals required fastening, we stopped here for more than an hour. The smith was an active, handy fellow, and did his work well. Several horses were standing about, and very many donkeys; these kept up a constant braying.—Nebâtiyeh is midway on the road between Sidon and Hasbeiya, six hours from each.²

At 11.10 we proceeded by a level and easy road towards the castle, now directly before us at the distance of an hour and a half. After fifteen minutes we were opposite the upper Nebâtiyeh, a much smaller village on higher ground at our right. Directly in our road was a rude cemetery; and the graves were trodden down by the passing animals.³ As we advanced the

¹ Bearings at Tell Habbûsh: Hûmin 15°. Neby Sâfy 33°. 'Arab Sâlm 51°. Neby Sijud 55°. Kul'at esh-Shūkif 161°. Lower Nebâtiyeh 192°. Habbûsh 241°.

Nebâtiyeh: Zebdin 268°, $\frac{1}{4}$ m. Kul'at esh-Shūkif 147°.

² Bearings at 11.30: Neby 'Aly et-Tâhin S. 80° E. 2 m. Upper Nebâtiyeh N. 80° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m.

fields and pasture became richer ; and the ground was covered with clover, daisies, anemones, and the like. Hermon, too, was ever before us, towering in majesty. A pond of water was on our right at 12.5.¹ We passed some persons, who had pitched a tent, and had a large number of horses tethered and feeding. At 12.20 we reached Arnûn, near the foot of the ridge on which the castle stands.² This ridge begins at Wady Jermûk, and runs southwesterly along the course of the Litâny. The road from Sidon to Hasbeiya passes more to the left ; and descends into the lower part of Wady Jermûk, north of the ridge, and so to the Jisr Khûrdela. The distance from Arnûn to the bridge is 50 minutes.

Arnûn is a small and miserable village. Its name is only known, as used by Arabian writers to mark the adjacent fortress, esh-Shûkif Arnûn, in order to distinguish it from the other castles called esh-Shûkif, but of less note.³ We stopped for lunch beneath a spreading tree, surrounded by scattered rocks. In two of these sarcophagi had been excavated, with grooves for the lids ; and one of them was rounded at the ends.

Between the village and the foot of the castle ridge, is a lower meadow-like tract, about ten minutes broad ; and then the direct ascent is very steep. We rode to the top in twenty minutes from the village. An easier path leads up from the southwest. On the way up we passed what may have been a tank for water ; the front was built up with solid masonry, while the back part was excavated in the steep slope. We came out on the southwest of the fortress ; passing among the ruins of a village in that quarter once belonging to the castle, and surrounded by a wall with two round towers. Here the crest of the ridge for some distance has been levelled off, perhaps as a parade ground, and forms still a solitary but magnificent promenade. Approaching the eastern brink, we looked down suddenly, and almost perpendicularly, upon the Litâny in its narrow valley 1500 feet below, as determined later by Dr De Forest. The height of the ridge on the other side, above Arnûn, is less than 500 feet. The elevation above the sea is 2205 feet.

We now had close before us the massive remains of the ancient castle, the *Belfort* of the crusaders ; and all around us a prospect of great extent and grandeur. The isolated ridge of the castle is entirely naked ; and being higher than all the neighbouring ridges and the adjacent country, except Jebel Rihân, the fortress stands out as a conspicuous landmark, visible

¹ Bearings at 12.5 : Kefr Tibnît E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Shûkin W. 3 m.

² One of these, called esh-Shûkif Tîrûn, was near Tyre ; see Schulten's Index in

³ From Arnûn, Neby 'Aly et-Tâhîr bore N. 5° W.

Vita Salad. art. *Sjakyfum*.

at a great distance in all directions. Towards the east were the snowy heights of Hermon, sometimes called also Jebel eth-Thelj, "Snow mountain;" and far in the E. N. E. was another lofty peak with snow, the highest in Anti-Lebanon, on the east of Zehedâny. Looking northeast, the eye took in the outlines of the Bûkâ'a, the great valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Between northeast and north the southern ridges of Lebanon, or Jebel Rihân, came tumbling down in dark heavy masses between the Litâny and Wady Jermûk, filling up the whole interval quite to the fork: From thence, an hour or more above the fork, a broad, rocky, and much lower ridge, is thrown off towards the S. S. E. and through the whole of this ridge the river breaks its way very obliquely by a deep and singular chasm. The same ridge divides beyond the Litâny; one branch continuing along near the river, and forming the eastern wall of its valley and the western side of Merj 'Ayûn; the other uniting with the ridge on the east of Merj 'Ayûn, and separating it from Wady et-Teim. This latter ridge we could now see, across the former, and still further beyond was visible the great castle of Bâniâs. In the S. S. E. were the higher hills on the west of the Hûleh. The deep valley of the Litâny below the castle is "a great gulf" there fixed; which forms an almost impassable barrier between the regions on each side. One of the most frequented places of passage is the bridge of Khûrdela, at the mouth of Wady Jermûk; just above the castle, but not visible from it. The bridge has pointed arches; and was formerly defended by a tower at the west end, now in ruins. The castle ridge, with its western slope, continues on towards the south; but after half an hour the river suddenly turns west, almost at a right angle, opposite Deir Mimâs, and breaks through the ridge by a narrow chasm; leaving the ridge and slope running on still further beyond, as if nothing had happened. The river continues to flow along a deep and narrow ravine through this region of table land, until it enters the sea, as the Kâsimiyeh, north of Tyre. The steep sides of its ravine are mostly clothed with shrubs; and so narrow is the chasm, and so even and unbroken the land on either side, that the traveller comes out unexpectedly upon the brink of this precipitous gulf.

In the north is Wady Jermûk, shut in on the east by the high wall of Jebel Rihân; and on the west by a much lower ridge, which on its other side rises but little above the tract of table land that we had passed over. Below the water-shed near the angle of the Zaherâny, the valley spreads into a plain, perhaps twenty minutes in width by an hour or more in length. Ten minutes from the water-shed in the plain, is a fountain, Neb'a el-Mâdineh, the head of a small stream called the Zu-

reikin. This is joined fifteen minutes farther down by another from Neb'a Shūkkah, on the side of Jebel Rihân. After another quarter of an hour is the squalid village of Jermūk with its fountain and stream, situated at the foot of Rihân. Further down, the valley contracts to a narrower and steeper glen, and descends to the Litâny. Tūmrah, the ruin of a modern village, is situated directly in the fork; and is one hour distant from Jermūk, and twenty minutes above the Jisr et-Khūrdela. The valley is everywhere fertile with tillage and pasturage; but the plain is said to be unhealthy. It belongs to the Druze Sheikhs of the Jemblât family. Wady Jermūk is the boundary between the district of esh-Shūkif and that of Jezzin on Lebanon. In like manner the Zaherâny separates Belâd esh-Shūkif from et-Tuffâh on the north.

The aspect of the vast and lofty masses of southern Lebanon, or Jebel Rihân, here seen as shut in and distinctly bounded by the Litâny and Wady Jermūk, is dark, rugged, and grand. Its southern point slopes off gradually down to the fork of the two valleys; and though there must probably be upon it arable land, yet there is no village of any size in the whole tract south of Kefr Hūneh. Jermūk is supposed to be the largest.¹

We now entered the fortress. The main approach is from the south; and here was a fine reservoir for water, in connection with the moat. This latter was cut in the solid rock along the western side and southern end of the castle; the other quarters being in themselves inaccessible. The crest of the ridge is very narrow; and the castle occupies its whole breadth, and more. The approach was by a drawbridge on the south; and was then carried along upon a lower ledge on the east, thirty feet or more below the main body of the fortress. Here are the remains of buildings, perhaps stables, erected by the crusaders, on what would seem to have been earlier platforms or abutments resting on lower projecting rocks. Near the northeast corner, massive erections lean upon the upper castle; and through these was the main entrance. The whole approach, therefore, was perfectly commanded by the castle. The surface of the declivity between the lower ledge and the upper castle, where not of itself so steep and smooth as to be inaccessible, is covered with fine sloping masonry. This was now gay with a profusion of anemones.

The form of the castle was controlled by the ground on which it stands. It is therefore long and very narrow; the length being greatly disproportioned to the breadth. The eastern side seems to have been chiefly built up by the crusaders;

¹ Bearings from Kul'at esh-Shūkif: Neby 268°. el-Hūmrah 273°. Shūkin 302°. Sijud 6°. Chasm of Litâny 44°. Kul'ât Meisidhūn 302°. Arnūn 332°. Kefr Tibnât 83°. Khiyam 91°. el-Khirbeh 103°. Kul'at 332°. Neby 'Aly et-Tâhir 347°. Baniās 120°. Deir Mimās 160°. Zantar

with the exception of the sloping work outside. Here, about the middle, is the Latin chapel, with groined ceilings, and a fine Gothic portal opening into the inner court. But along the whole western side, including the corners on the north and the southwest, it needs but a glance to perceive, that this whole portion belongs to a period far earlier than the crusades. This part still forms the main body of the building ; and exhibits very few traces of the work of the middle ages. It is built throughout with *bevelled* stones ; not large stones like those at Jerusalem, nor with a bevel so regular as is found even in the tower of Hippicus ; but yet of the same general character ; left rough in the middle, and coarser. The stone is also softer ; and consequently more weather-worn. There are here several square projecting towers, with substructions sloping upwards from the moat, which may be said to be almost *fac-similes* of Hippicus. On the southwest is a round corner tower, having also its round sloping substructions ; the whole producing a fine effect. East of this was a small portal, having a round arch of stones hewn smooth and fully bevelled ; presenting an ornamental appearance.

The walls are very solid and lofty, rising sixty or eighty feet above the trench. The length is given at about 800 feet ; the breadth is variable, but nowhere exceeds 300 feet. The repairs of the crusaders are everywhere easily to be distinguished ; they have a character totally different from the rest. This great fortress is now wholly deserted and in ruins ; and its vaulted stables and princely halls serve only as a shelter for the goat-herd and his flocks.

Although there can be no doubt that this fortress existed long before the time of the crusades ; yet I am not aware of any historical notice respecting it earlier than the twelfth century.¹ Perhaps some notice of the kind may yet be discovered, to fix the date ; but at any rate it cannot be later than the times of the Byzantine or Roman dominion in Syria ; if not indeed earlier. Here was always an important pass from Sidon towards the east. The Sidonians early had possession of the country around Bâniâs and of the plain of the Huleh, which Josephus speaks of as “ the great plain of Sidon ;”² and their only direct access to that region, the only point where they could well cross the Litâny to reach Merj 'Ayûn and the Huleh, was by this pass. Here too is still found the easiest of the great roads from Sidon to Damascus, avoiding entirely the steepes and the rough places of Lebanon. That in the prosperous times of

¹ For notices of esh-Shûkîf during the crusades and later, see Vol. II. pp. 453, 454. [iii. 380.]

² Jos. Ant. 5. 8. 1, τὸ μέγα πεδῖον Σιδωνος πόλεως. Comp. Judg. 18, 7. 10 27. 28.

Phœnician commerce, there should not here have been a fortress commanding this important pass, can hardly be supposed.

We returned from the castle to Arnûn ; and left that village at 2.20 on our way to the bridge over the Litâny at Ka'ka'iyeh. The road led through a rich and beautiful tract, without wood, to el-Hûmrah ; which we reached at 2.50.¹ Here the back view of the great gorge of the Zaherâny and the adjacent peaks of Rihân, was very fine ; and showed the mountain on the north of the gorge to be the highest. Passing on through rich fields and over a swell of ground,² we saw a boy alone with two camels and a donkey, which he was tethering out for pasture, singing in the mean time with might and main. At 3.15 we came to the eastern village of Zautar ; and ten minutes later to the western Zautar. Between them was an encampment of gypsies, with tents and horses, in a field. Here we could look down into the deep gulf of the Litâny on our left, running west ; its steep sides were covered with shrubs. We soon began to descend a side valley running down almost parallel to the Litâny, called Wady 'Ain 'Abd el-'Âl. As we passed down we could see the course of the Litâny for some distance below the junction ; where the river at last enters a narrow chasm between very high banks. The wooded sides of its chasm above and below the bridge, cannot be less than from 500 to 800 feet in height. We came down to the river and bridge at 4.25 ; and pitched our tent for the night on the north bank, amid the long grass of a meadow close by the bridge, in the bottom of this deep valley. During the night the dew was very heavy ; so that the tent was wet through.

The river was here running close under the high southern bank ; the stream swollen, larger than any we had yet crossed, and rushing on over a rocky bed with many rapids. A smaller northern branch enclosed an island ; and across this the bridge is built ; the middle part being a causeway. The abutments and the two northern arches of the northern part of the bridge, are of very high antiquity ; all the rest is modern ; and the whole is rickety and covered with an execrable pavement.³ At the bridge are two large mills ; and one further down. These are not used until later in the season ; when the water of the mills on other streams, fails.

There are only two or three houses near the bridge. The village Ka'ka'iyeh lies high on the northern hill side, at our right as we came down, at least a mile distant. On the high point

¹ Bearings at el-Hûmrah : Shûkin N. 85° W. Meifidhûn N. 80° W.

² Bearings at 3 : et-Taiyibeh 152°, 3½ m. Deir es-Siriyân 153°, 2½ m. Both these places are south of the Litâny.

³ This bridge over the Litâny was unknown to Frank residents at the time of our former journey. It was first brought to notice by Mr Wolcott in 1842 ; see Bib.iotheca Sacra, 1843, p. 82.

between Wady el-'Ain and the Litány, was the little village Judeideh. Beyond the river, we could look up along Wady Hujeir, coming down from near Tibnin. On the point above its junction with the Litány, was ez-Zükkiyeh; and at a distance on its high eastern bank, the village of Kuseir was in sight. The river separates the two districts, Belád Shúkif and Belád Beshârah.¹

Saturday, April 10th.—Our plan for to day was to visit Kûbrikhah and Khirbet Silim, where we had heard of ruins and columns; and then reach Tibnin. We took as guide an old man named Muhammed, with one eye and a sinister look, but intelligent; who lived at the bridge, and had supplied us with provisions for the day.

We forded the northern branch of the river; and thus escaped the worst portion of the bridge and the causeway. Leaving the bridge at 7.30, we soon entered and passed up Wady Hujeir in a general direction about S. by E. the usual road to Tibnin. The valley is narrow, with very high banks; which prevent the traveller from seeing any thing, except now and then a village on their brow. The steep slopes on each side were beautifully wooded with the Butm, the oak, a species of maple, laurel, and occasionally a carob tree. As we advanced, the path was skirted with flowers, as anemones, a pea with purple flower, small red poppies, yellow daisies, and others. A lively limpid brook was flowing down the valley, turning at short intervals not less than six mills, and there was the ruin of a seventh. These were now grinding for the people of the region; but later in the season the stream partially dries away; and then the large mills at the bridge are put in motion. As we went on, Rashid plucked for us the green pod of a carob tree; which must therefore have blossomed very early, probably in February, like the almond. The whole valley presented a scene of sweet rural beauty.² The air too was full of the songs of the lark and many other small birds. The note of one much resembled that of the bluebird.

We came at 8.45 to 'Ain Hujeir; above which the water-course sometimes becomes quite dry in summer. At 8.50 we turned to the left up Wady Selûky, which comes down from the southeast. Here we met a man with a large drove of horses and cattle. We had before seen in Wady Hujeir quite a number of camels; and among them a young one already with a saddle on its back. After fifteen minutes we began to climb

¹ Bearings from Jisr Ka'ka'iyyeh: Village of Ka'ka'iyyeh N. 15° W. 1 m. Judeideh N. 50° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. ez-Zükkiyeh S. 70° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. Kuseir S. 45° E. 2 m.

² Bearings at 8: ez-Zükkiyeh N. 10° E. el-Kantarâh S. 45° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. on W. bank. 'Aidib S. 10° W. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. on W. bank.

the steep southern bank, in order to reach Kūbrikhah. The way was little more than a goat path, leading up over rocks and among bushes, and very difficult. The ascent was not less than from 700 to 800 feet. The guide probably mistook the way; since it is scarcely possible that there should not be an easier path between the village and its mills. We came out on the brow at 9.30; and saw Kūbrikhah before us S. 40 E. a quarter of an hour distant. Our path now lay through fields of wheat of the most luxuriant growth; finer than which I had not before seen in this or any other country.

Among these splendid fields of grain are still found the *tares* spoken of in the New Testament.¹ As described to me, they are not to be distinguished from the wheat until the ear appears. The seed resembles wheat in form; but is smaller, and black. In Beirūt poultry are fed upon this seed; and it is kept for sale for that purpose. When not separated from the wheat, bread made from the flour often causes dizziness to those who eat of it. All this corresponds with the *lolium temulentum*, or bearded darnel.²

We reached Kūbrikhah at 9.45. It is a miserable village, on the southern brow of the deep Wady Selūky, commanding a wide view on the east as far as to the ridge in the west of the Hūleh; and on the north into Belād Shūkif. The sea was visible; also Jebel Rihān and Jerjū'a; while Kūl'at esh-Shūkif on its naked ridge appeared as if on the southeast border of a large plain, alone in a vast basin. Jebel esh-Sheikh was perfectly clear; and glittering with its snows. Wady Selūky was said to have its beginning near 'Aitherūn, between Bint Jebil and Kedes. It drains the whole intervening region. Beyond the valley there was pointed out to us a large tree, N. 65° E. at the distance of some two miles; around which were said to be a few ruins bearing the name of Kesāf. This name corresponds to the *Achshaph* of the book of Joshua, a city on the border of the tribe of Asher; whose king is twice mentioned in connection with the king of Hazor.³ As Hazor was situated somewhere on the west of the Hūleh and overlooking it, there is nothing improbable in the idea, that the true site of Achshaph may have thus been perpetuated under the name Kesāf.⁴

On approaching the village, we came upon the ruins of dwellings, some of them of hewn stones; and I afterwards found among them a curved stone of an arch, with a projecting shoul-

¹ Matt. 13, 25 sq.

² "Infelix lolium," Virg. Geor. 1. 154. Gr. *ῥάδια*. Arab. Zawān.

³ Josh 19, 25. ib. 11, 1. 12, 20.

⁴ Bearings at Kubrikhah: Tullūsiyeh 142°. Merkebeh 139°. Beni Haiyūn 122°

1½ m. Deir Siriyān 46°. Kūl'at Shūkif 42°.

'Atshith 32°, 1½ m. el-Kantarāh 359°, 1 m. Shūkin 3°. Zantār (west) 3°. Kūseir 350°, 3½ m. Tūlūn 267°. el-Burj, west of W. Hujeir, 286°. Tibnūn 223°. es-Sauwāneh 236°. Kesāf 65°.

der, such as is seen in the remains of the théâtre at Smyrna. The ruins we had come to examine are in the village itself. They consist of two rows of columns of an ancient temple, extending from east to west. The columns are of a whitish limestone. Of the northern row there are four standing in place, two prostrate, and fragments of two others. Of the southern row, three are standing and two are lying. One of the upright columns has an Ionic capital with delicate tracery-work below the volutes. Its height in all is about twelve feet. Many large hewn stones are built into the walls of hovels around and among the columns; but there are none that seem to be in place. That here was an ancient heathen temple, there can be little doubt; but whether it was of Phenician, Greek, or Roman origin, there exists no historic trace whatever, to afford light or reward inquiry.

We set off again at 10.35; and bent our course nearly west towards Tûlin. The way was uneven; crossing shallower valleys and low ridges between them. Our guide lost the road; and thus delayed us some ten minutes. We reached Tûlin at 11.25, situated on a high cliff looking down into Wady Hujeir on the west; it is here a deep precipitous valley with a bend towards the east.¹ The village has no traces of antiquity. Quite a herd of young cattle, as also horses and donkeys, were shut up together in a large enclosure. Among those who came to gaze at us, was a woman spinning, twirling her spindle in her hands. We had yesterday seen an old man occupied in the same way.

To reach Khirbet Silim we had to make a great circuit by way of Sauwâneh around the head of a valley towards the left. Setting off at 11.35, we returned five minutes on our road; and then struck first southeast, and afterwards southwest, reaching Sauwâneh at 12.25; although the direct distance from Tûlin is not more than a mile and a half. The village is a miserable nest; surrounded, like the others we had seen, by heaps of stones, the remains of peasants' houses. We here struck a side valley running down southwest to Wady Hujeir; and came to the Tibnin road along the latter at 12.45. We turned down this valley for ten minutes; and so arrived at Khirbet Silim, situated on the left side of the valley, on a high, thin, sharp ridge of rock between Wady Hujeir and a small parallel side valley.

On the northern and higher end of this thin ridge, is the village of Khirbet Silim; its houses piled one upon another to the top, apparently without streets or open ground; a most comfortless looking place. South of the village, where the ridge

¹ Bearings from Tûlin: Tibnin 205°. 184°.—West of Wady Hujeir: Khirbet ee-Sauwâneh 184°, 1½ m. Kûl'at Shâkif Silim 213°, 1½ m. Kulâweih 293°, 1 m. 52°. Mejdal Silim 145°, 2½ m. Jumeijimeh el-Burj 310°, 1½ m. Therifeh 317°.

is lower, is a level area or natural platform of rock. In the middle of this stands a lone column; and another column and two or three pedestals form part of a low wall on the west. There are no capitals. Wherever the surface of the rock was uneven, it has been filled out with pavement. The columns are of the common limestone; and much ruder than those at Kübrikhah. Here too probably once stood a heathen temple.

We took our lunch on the platform, in the shade of the low wall. While thus occupied, the Sheikh of the village came to pay us his respects. He was an elderly man, and quite respectable in his appearance. There was something unusually constrained in his salutation of our old guide. Rashid afterwards learned, that Muhammed had formerly stolen three horses from the Sheikh; and for this had received two hundred blows of the bastinado, and been fined. Fortunately we had now done with our respectable escort.

The distance from Khirbet Silim down Wady Hujeir to the Litâny is a little less than three hours.¹

Leaving this place at 1.30, we again followed up Wady Hujeir. The fine brook had disappeared; the sides were less high and less wooded; though still our path was often skirted with flowers. At 2.15 we were at the head of the valley, on a low ridge, from which we descended into another valley, Wady 'Ain el-Mizrâb, so called from a fountain here, the nearest one to Tibnin. The valley has its head branches near Haddâthah and Hâris in the southwest. It here sweeps round the northeastern end of the ridge on which Tibnin is situated, and passes down westwards to join Wady 'Ashûr in the direction of Kâna. We ascended rather steeply along the ridge on the southern slope of the valley; and at 2.40 came to Tibnin. The castle stands on the highest point of the ridge, looking down into Wady el-'Ain in the north, and out over the basin drained by it in the south-east and south. The large village of Tibnin is in a lower saddle of the ridge, southwest of the castle. The public cemetery lies between the village and the castle; many paths cross it; and the graves are continually trodden under foot. We pitched our tent on the grass by the threshing-floors, in a fine slightly spot, just below the castle on the south.

While pitching our tent a good-looking man approached us; whom we found to be a Christian, and the household steward of the family of Sheikhs residing in the castle. He came to invite us to take up our quarters at his own house in the village. He said the Sheikhs were all absent; but had given charge, that if any Franks came along, they should be treated with respect.

¹ Mr Wolcott in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1843, p. 82.

We desired to rest awhile ; and made an appointment to visit the castle afterwards. The Sheikh of the village also called.

At the time fixed, several persons accompanied us to the castle. The entrance is from the southwest ; and is reached by a steep ascent. The present walls are mostly of modern patch-work. Only the earlier stately Gothic portal remains, with its interior vaulted passages. Over these, and higher than the walls, one of the leading families of the Sheikhs of the Metāwileh, that of 'Aly es-Sūghir, had built themselves a house, in which they reside in a kind of shabby state ; they and their attendants being the only inhabitants of the castle.¹ We were conducted into the house, and to the audience hall of the family. This occupies the whole breadth of the house ; and from its high position commands a noble prospect. Towards the southwest it has a large projecting window or balcony, overlooking the village and the country around. As we reclined in this window on the once splendid, but now faded carpets, we could look through the opposite window towards the northeast, where the view took in Jebel esh-Sheikh and Kul'at esh-Shūkif.² Here sherbet (sugar-water) was brought to us by a boy with a napkin thrown over his shoulder, on which the guest wipes his mouth after drinking. Coffee with sugar followed, and pipes ; after which a still larger company attended us around the fortress, to point out to us the various objects of interest.

The fortress of Tibnin is a work of the crusaders. They gave it the name of Toron (*Toronum*) ; but the name Tibnin was of earlier date.³ The castle was dismantled in the thirteenth century ; and would seem never to have been restored as a place of strength. The walls may have been built up again at different times ; they are now in great decay, and in many parts seem ready to tumble down. Long before the time of the crusaders, however, there must have been a fortress on this spot ; and they built upon its ancient foundations. These are still to be seen in some parts of the wall outside, consisting of stones like those of the castle esh-Shūkif, not fully bevelled, but hewn smooth at the edges, and left rough and sometimes protuberant in the middle. Many such stones are also seen on the inside, not in place, but scattered about or built in singly in different

¹ In the first edition of the Biblical Researcher, the residence of this family was by mistake assigned to Kul'at esh-Shūkif. See Vol. II. pp. 450, 451. [iii 376.]

² Bearings from the castle of Tibnin : Haddāthah 219°. 'Aithat ez-Zūt 195°, 2 m. Beitahūn 171°. Ber'ashit 129°. Shūkrah 95°, 3 m. Safed 81°, 1 m. Jumeijimeh 66°, 2 m. Hūleh 83°. el-Mansūrah, ruin 183°, 2 m. Kul'at Shūkif 42°. Jebel esh-Sheikh,

highest point 64°. Jerjū'a 24° el-Yehūdiyeh 326°, 4 m. es-Sauwāneh 32°. Tūlin 25°. Kūbrikhah 42°. el-Kantarrah 82°. 'Almōn 23°. Deir Siriyān 44°. Shūkin 18°. Zautar, west, 22°. Zautar, east, 26°. Khirbet Yānūh, on a hill above Haddāthah, 225°.

³ Will Tyr. 11. 5, "nomen priscum *Tibenin*." See the further historical notices of this fortress, in Vol. II. p. 451-453. [iii 377.]

parts of the later work. The wall encloses an area, nearly square, of more than an acre of ground. This was apparently once crowded with houses and other buildings of stone, now broken down and strewn about in shapeless ruin. There is at present nothing standing within the enclosure, except the dwelling of the Sheikhs and its appurtenances.

We were told that the ruling Sheikh or Beg, receives a salary of 750 piastres a month as governor of the district. He employs three scribes at 300 piastres a month each; and allows his steward 1500 piastres a year and food. There is no freehold in the province; all lands being held of the government. The land tax or rent is reckoned by yokes of oxen. The village of Tibnin has 380 male inhabitants; of whom 130 are Christians, and 250 Metâwileh. There are further 24 yokes of oxen. They pay a land tax of 12,000 piastres. There is also a poll tax of 2100 piastres. Another tax of 2300 piastres had been remitted by the Sultan, not long ago; but the Beg continued to exact it, and appropriate it to himself. Besides all these, there are other minor taxes and presents. The Sheikh has no freehold property; but when Sulimân Pasha took Tyre and Râs el-'Ain away from the family of 'Aly es-Sûghir, he assigned to them the revenue of six villages in the district of Shûmar; which the Sheikhs still continue to receive. In this connection too, it was reported, that Reshid Pasha of Constantinople had farmed Râs el-'Ain and the district irrigated by its waters, for the purpose of planting mulberry trees extensively for the culture of silk. The works were said already to have been commenced.

We heard also of figures sculptured in the rocks on one of the roads to Tyre. At Hanâweih, near Kâna, are three images of men carved on a tablet in the face of a rock; the middle one higher, and seated in a chair; but the whole much injured by the weather.¹ At Mezra'ah in Wady 'Ashûr, about an hour from Kâna, are similar figures in a cave entered by a door; here they are well preserved, and have upon the head a conical cap. We were unable to visit these sculptures; but they deserve the attention of future travellers.

Sunday, April 11th. About midnight a strong wind arose from the southeast, which continued to increase, until there was great danger that the ropes of our tent would be broken, or the tent-pins be torn out. The flapping and shaking had long banished sleep; and as the exposure was every moment greater,

¹ This would seem to be the tablet described by Munro, as a kind of window, a yard square and as much in depth, high up in the rocks on the right of a Wady, near the lower extremity of its precipitous banks. He speaks of four figures; one of

which is nearly obliterated. Above the figures, he says, is the winged globe. See his *Summer Ramble*, II. p. 23.—These sculptures need further and more careful examination.

we sent off Rashid about 4½ o'clock to procure for us a place in the village. He soon returned with the offer of a room from the Beg's steward, who had been with us yesterday. We immediately removed thither. The wind continued as a strong sirocco, filling the air with a haze ; while on Jebel Rihân we could see occasional showers. In the afternoon, the wind changed to the southwest, the rainy quarter ; and we expected it would bring rain during the night. But the sun went down in a haze, without clouds ; and the wind died away.

It was Easter Sunday ; and at midnight the fast had ceased, and the people had begun again to eat meat. There was of course great feasting. Hence it was, that Rashid had so readily found for us a room. Our host was absent at church when we took possession. He came to us afterwards ; and excused himself for the day, as his business confined him to the castle. He called again at evening ; and his whole deportment was courteous and respectful. There is in the village a Christian priest ; but no church building. We found here likewise, quite unexpectedly, a shop with many European wares for sale ; among the rest very good lump sugar.

The house of our host had been built apparently at different times, around a small court. There was only one story ; but some of the rooms were higher than others. Hence the different portions of the flat roof were of different elevations ; and each had its separate roller. There were two family rooms, a kitchen, stable, and other appurtenances. The room we occupied was the best. It had a hearth in one corner, with a funnel over it for the smoke ; in another corner was a wide framed divan or bedstead ; and along the back of the room was a range of small niches, apparently for receiving jars. An arch of stone spanned the middle of the room from wall to wall ; on which the beams and joists rested. These were covered over with small branches and brushwood ; and as usual with earth rolled hard above.

In our room was a single wooden chair, of the rudest and most ordinary kind ; a wonder in this region, and probably procured with a view to the entertainment of Franks. In the house and around the court were many dovecotes ; and the yard was often full of doves. We had here several times before our eyes the model of the celebrated Vase with doves drinking ; but the vase was in this case nothing more than a rude washbowl of stone in the middle of the yard.

In the village many houses stand upon the hill-side ; so that some streets are skirted on one side with houses of full height, while on the other side they are on a level with the roofs of the houses fronting on another street below. Goats and donkeys were feeding on these roofs ; and in some cases a foot-path led over them.

The boys in the street were rude and noisy; and old men twirled their spindles. But we had a day of quiet rest.

Monday April 12th. We engaged a guide for Râmeh, named Isma'il, a dependant of the Beg and a Mutawâly. He proved faithful and intelligent. When the time came, he "arose and saddled his ass," and went with us. His beast was large and strong, and travelled well.

Leaving Tibnin at 8.30 for Hâris, we descended obliquely into Wady 'Ain el-Mizrâb, here coming down from the south-west. At 8.55 we reached the bottom; which is broad, well tilled, and tolerably fertile. We followed up a main branch quite to its head; and at 9.20 came out upon our former road from Bint Jebeil to Tyre, just opposite Hâris.¹ This village was here five minutes distant, bearing S. 60° W., while Tibnin bore N. 60° E. We turned to the right for five minutes, on our old road, to the slightly brow overlooking all the plain and region of Tyre, with that city in the distance. The morning was misty, with showers in the west; so that the view was less extensive than when we formerly saw it. The head of Wady 'Ashûr was directly below us.²

We returned, and passing Hâris at 9.40, proceeded along the right side of a valley, called further down Wady Seribbin, which we followed to its junction with the great Wady el-'Ayûn. The village Ershâf soon came in sight on the hills across the valley. We rose along the right hand declivity to the village Seribbin at 10.25.³ Continuing on the declivity, we came, at 10.40, opposite to the junction with Wady el-'Ayûn; where the latter coming down from the S. S. E. turns at an acute angle about southwest. The road from Rumeish to Tyre comes down Wady el-'Ayûn; and here ascends and crosses the ridge in the northwest. The villages Kauzih and Sâlihâny were in sight, high up on the left side of Wady el-'Ayûn; as also Beit Lif on the same side in the valley.⁴

We now turned up on the road to Tyre about N. N. W. by a winding path; and after ascending for fifteen minutes came out upon the eastern brow of the broad ridge of table land.⁵ Traversing this we came at 11.25 to Yâtir, an old village near the western brow, commanding a view of Tyre and its plain. Here are some few remains of antiquity. In the yard of a hovel and stable we were shown a stone

¹ The name of this village was given to us wrongly by our ignorant guide in 1838, as Hadi'h. 'Aithat ez-Zût he also misnamed Hûlieh.

² Bearings on the brow near Hâris: Tyre 303°. Deir 'Ammis 302°. el-Biyâd 302°. Kefra 252°, 1 m. Tibnin N. 75° E. See Vol. II. pp. 454, 455. [iii. 382, 383.]

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³ Bearings at Seribbin: Ershâf S. $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Râmeh S. 55° W.

⁴ Bearings at 10.40: Ershâf S. 50° E. Kauzih S. 25° W. Beit Lif S. 55° W. Sâlihâny S. 65° W. Râmeh S. 50° W.

⁵ Bearings at 10.55, on eastern brow: Ershâf 119°. Sa'sa' 165°. Kauzih 197°. Râmeh 221°. Beit Lif 220°. Yârûn 149°.

about two feet square, with sculptured ornaments; but much defaced. In a ledge of rocks south of the village there are two excavated chambers; one of them with two recesses for dead bodies. The rocks round about are much cut away. From the highest point of this ledge, we could see Kûl'at Shema' on the mountain south of Tyre, and Râs el-Abyad beyond. The village Teir Harfa was visible far down towards en-Nâkûrah. Not far distant from us was a Tell called Meryamin, with ruins near it. On a Tell half a mile south of us were said to be columns, probably of an ancient temple.¹

We were told, that at Kuneifidh, lower down the mountain near the plain, there is a cave with two marble sarcophagi having sculptures upon them. At Beit Lif there was found last year a quantity of gold coin; which was taken to Beirut and given to the Pasha. We took our lunch here. Quite a number of men were ploughing round about the village; each carried in his hand a goad some ten feet long, with a spike at the end. The ploughing at this season was for millet and tobacco.

Leaving Yâtir at 12.40 we returned to the fork of the roads; and thence descended very steeply for ten minutes into Wady el-'Ayûn, at the junction of Wady Seribbin, where the former turns southwest. The valley, after following this course for a short time, with the ridge of Kauzih on the left, again turns between west and northwest; issues from the mountains by a deep gorge; and as Wady el-'Azziyeh skirts the northern base of the mountains to the sea near Ras el-Abyad. We now, at 1.20, proceeded up Wady el-'Ayûn S. S. E. on the Rumeish road; until at 2 o'clock we came out into a fine basin among the hills. The village of Dibl was on one of the left-hand hills, half a mile distant, N. 60° E. On the right the plain stretched off much further in the south and southwest. At 2.5 a path from Dibl to Râmeh crossed our road, and by it we sent off our muleteers to the latter place. After another five minutes, we bore more to the right, across the fields; and at 2.20 came to the arch of Hûzzûr, with the ruins of Hazireh around it. The spot is a gentle acclivity a little south of the Rumeish road.²

Here is a rather extensive tract of ruins; with many hewn stones; and in one place a few stones coarsely bevelled, as at esh-Shûkif. There are several cisterns; one of them large and open, with two small fig trees growing in it. But the chief object of interest is the arch or vault called Hûzzûr, standing on a flat rock over the entrance of an excavated sepulchre. The arch is round; the stones rather large but not bevelled;

¹ Bearings at Yâtir: Teir Harfa 253°. Yârôn 147°. Sa'sa' 161°. Kauzih 173°. Kûl'at Shema' 271°. Mejdél Zân 273°. ² Bearings from Hazireh: Kauzih N. Meryamin 266°. Tyre 321°. Deir Kânôn 60° W. 1 m. Ershâf N 25° E. Hânûn 319°. Kâna 339°. Râs el-'Ain 318°. S. 80° E. 2 m. Dibl N. 40° E. $\frac{1}{2}$ m.

and the whole bears the marks of extreme antiquity. Beneath the vault the flat rock is cut away to form a sloping passage leading down to the sepulchre. This passage is 4 feet wide, 12 feet long, and at the lower end $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. Here is a low portal leading into an excavated chamber with a sarcophagus. The vault above is 6 feet broad by 12 long and $9\frac{1}{3}$ high. There is another sepulchre southwest of this and similar to it, excavated in a flat rock; but having now no vault over it. This place was first found by the Rev. W. M. Thomson, who directed our attention to it; and had been visited by him and others. The name suggests at once the Hazor of the book of Joshua. But that city, as we shall see hereafter, was near the Hüleh and in the territory of Naphtali; while this spot is remote from the Hüleh and in the tribe of Asher.¹ No historical notice has yet been discovered, bearing upon the true name and character of this ancient site. It may well have been an ancient Hazor; though none is mentioned in Asher.

Setting off at 2.45, we turned southwest and regained the road to Râmeih. Many cattle were feeding in the plain; and many were collected to drink at a pond of water. The plain contracted as we advanced; and at 3.15 we reached its head and rose upon a low ridge.² Beyond the ridge was the head of another valley running off in the opposite direction, called Khöllet el-Werdeh; it was said to unite with Wady el-Kürn. We bore more to the right; and ten minutes later Râmeih came in sight; as also 'Aiteh, beyond the Wady just described.³ We proceeded to Râmeih, descending and afterwards ascending its isolated hill, along a road bearing the marks of great antiquity, and probably trodden for many centuries. We came to the village at 3.45; and pitched our tent on one of the grassy terraces just below the village towards the southwest.

Râmeih stands upon an isolated hill, in the midst of a basin with green fields, surrounded by higher hills. The southwestern portion of the basin has no outlet for its waters; which therefore collect in a shallow marshy lake, that dries up in summer. There is a gap in the ridge on the northwest, leading through to Wady el-'Ayûn; but a low bar or water-shed in it prevents the water from flowing off. On the northeast of the village a similar gap breaks down to Wady el-'Ayûn; and drains that part of the basin. The inhabitants were now supplied with water only from the lake; and this was brought up in jars by females upon their heads. The distance was about three eighths of a mile; mostly up a steep ascent. In summer, when the lake fails, they bring water on donkeys from a fountain several miles distant.

¹ Josh. 11, i. 10. 19, 36.

² Bearings at 3.25: Râmeih N. 60° W.

³ Bearings at 3.15: Dibl 72°. 'Ain Ibl 'Aiteh S. 30° E. 1 m.

91°.

We came upon an ancient sarcophagus at the foot of the hill ; and saw others on the way up. On the top near the village are two very large ones. One of the lids measured $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 2 feet broad, with nearly the same thickness. In a field below our tent, about midway of the hill-side, were others of an unusual character. In a large isolated rock were excavated no less than three sarcophagi, side by side ; and then the exterior of the rock was hewn away, and the corners rounded off. Around each sarcophagus a ledge was left, for a corresponding groove in the lid. The whole is a striking monument of antiquity.

There is no room for question, but that this village represents the ancient *Ramah* of Asher.¹ But apart from the identity of the name, there is no evidence for its antiquity, except the sarcophagi above described. No trace of it exists in any historical record, later than the time of Joshua ; except the bare mention of the name by Eusebius and Jerome.²

West of Râmeḥ, beyond the basin, is a lofty hill called Belât ; the highest point, indeed, in all that region. On it are ruins ; and we could distinguish a row of columns, still supporting in some parts an architrave.³—The direct distance from Tibnin to Râmeḥ is about three and a half hours.

Tuesday, April 13th.—During the night, the northwest wind became strong and cold. For the first time in my life, I heard the cry of the jackal ; resembling that of a child, or rather the yelping of a young dog. It came from the southern hills and was heard also by the servants.

We had concluded over night to visit the ruins of Belât ; and then to leave it to circumstances, whether or not to proceed further west, perhaps as far down as to Kûl'at Shema'. The morning was cold and cloudy. Taking a guide, who rode his own horse, we started at 7.15 ; and passing down along the north side of the marsh, and then up an open valley on the south of the hill of Belât to its southwestern flank, we ascended without a path, and with some difficulty for the horses. We reached the top at 7.45, in just half an hour from Râmeḥ. The direct distance, therefore, cannot well be over three fourths of a mile. The wind was high and cold ; the thermometer standing at 56° Far. The view was extensive and grand ; and while my companion was sifting the guide in order to find out the names of places and take their bearings, I turned my attention to the ruins.

Here was once a temple of some sort ; of which ten columns

¹ Josh. 19, 29.

Kauzih 69°. Seribbln 47°. Hârls 46°.

² Onomast. art. *Rama*.

Khirbet Yânûh 54°. Belât 286', 4m.

³ Bearings from Râmeḥ : 'Aiteh 130°.

are still standing. From the northern end, its sides have the direction S. 20° E. On the eastern side, near the south end, four columns still bear their architraves ; as also three at the north-west corner, that is, the corner pillar and one on each side of it. All the columns are of the common limestone of the region, with imperfect capitals resembling the Doric. They are about 12 feet high, $1\frac{3}{4}$ feet in diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference, and stand $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart. The length of the whole edifice is about 90 feet by 22 feet broad. The pillars at the four corners are square on the outside ; but on the inside, each corner of the pillar is so rounded off as to give the appearance of a sort of double column. The two columns in the middle of the eastern row are also square on the outside, and round within ; they served apparently to form the portal. On the west side are remains of a platform on which the edifice stood, extending seven feet beyond the row of columns. The whole area is now full of fallen columns, architraves, and the like ; but there does not appear to have been any interior building or fane. The stones are exceedingly worn by the weather ; and there is the appearance of great rudeness of architecture. No sculpture is to be found except the columns ; nor any trace of inscriptions. There is a cistern roughly hewn, in which we found water. Some traces of a small village are seen near by ; and a few hewn stones. We saw also a single sarcophagus sunk in a rock, with a rudely formed lid

This is a singular ruin, and hard to be accounted for. It has no resemblance to the heathen temples in Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, of which I afterwards saw so many ; nor yet to the remains we had so recently visited at Kùbrikhah. In some points, especially in the form of the capitals, and of the pillars at the four corners, there was a resemblance to the remains of Jewish edifices of the early centuries after Christ, which we afterwards saw at Kefr Bir'im, Kedes, and elsewhere. But it is difficult to conjecture for what purpose the Jews of that day should have erected such a structure here ; inasmuch as the days of idolatry and high places among them had long since passed away.

The western view from this spot took in the whole coast, from Tyre and its plain on the north to 'Akka and Carmel on the south. We could see the great chasm by which Wady el-'Azziyeh passes out of the mountains to the plain. North of this, are Zibkin with ruins and Meryamin. Mejdél Zûn and Kùl'at Shema' are on the most northern ridge of the mountains, which ends in Râs el-Abyad. The fortress is apparently one of the many castles of the time of the crusaders. Below us was the head of the shorter Wady Hâmûl ; which likewise breaks down through the mountain by a narrow gap to the coast

north of en-Nâkûrah. On it are the ruins of a town of the same name, Hâmûl; which possibly may be the site of the ancient *Hammon* of Asher.¹ Further south was the higher ridge extending up from Râs en-Nâkûrah, and separating the tracts drained by Wady Hâmûl on the north and Wady el-Kûrn on the south. We could distinguish the general course of this latter valley; which having its main heads in the Wadys coming down from Bukei'a and Beit Jenn, cleaves the whole region as a deep chasm, and descends to the coast on the south of Râs en-Nâkûrah. On its high southern side the large village of Tershiha was visible. Ikrit is a Christian village on the border of the same valley, on a Tell that seems ancient. This Wady was described, and appeared, as the great valley of the district el-Jebel. Our guide said it was so deep and precipitous as to be impassable; and even eagles could not fly across it. On an isolated cliff in this valley is situated the fortress of Kurein, the Montfort of the crusaders; now in ruins and almost inaccessible.—In the east, the mountains of Jermûk, towards Safed, were conspicuous; in and around these lie the sources of Wady el-Kûrn.²

The whole prospect was that of a mountainous region; a sea of rocky hills and deep precipitous valleys, mostly wooded; but without many villages, and given over to Arabs of the tribe el-Mûsy. It is a wild district; though with much tillage, and more pasturage; and the butter of its flocks and herds is celebrated. The northern part, chiefly drained by Wady Hâmûl, is called the Shâb; and is a subdivision of Belâd Beshârah.³

The region thus spread out before us in the west, has been until recently almost a *terra incognita*. No great road passes through it in any direction, except along the coast; and hence few travellers have ever penetrated its recesses. The crusaders had various fortresses in the parts nearer the sea, belonging to the Teutonic knights; but the country is too broken for military operations; and the historians of those times had therefore little to relate concerning it. In 1754, Stephan Schulz went from 'Akka to Yânûk; and afterwards visited Tershiha, Bukei'a,

¹ Josh. 19, 28. This suggestion was made by E. G. Schulz; Ritter Erdk. XVI. l. p. 778. No great stress can be laid upon it.

² Bearings from Belât: Tershiha 195°. Ikrit 203°. Terbikhah 185°. 'Aiteh 120°. Rîmeh 104°. 'Ain Ibl 36°. Kauzih 85°. 'Akka 230°. Tyre 336°. Zibkin 248°. Gap of Wady el-'Azzîyeh 327°. Mejdâl Zûn 308°. Kûl'at Shema' 300°. Jibbein 286°. Jijîn 278°. Gap of Wady Hâmûl 278°. Miryamin 17°. Sa'sa' 138°.

³ In Nov. 1854, the Rev. W. M. Thom-

son spent some days in this region, and visited the ruins of Kûl'at Kurein. In a letter dated shortly afterwards, he thus writes: "This region abounds in wolves, bears, panthers, hyenas, jackals, foxes, hares, conies (*hyrax Syriacus*), jerboas, and many other animals. The whole hill of the castle (Kurein) was ploughed over by wild swine. Gazelles and partridges were seen in abundance." He also describes the ruins of the great fortress. See Biblioth. Sac. 1855, pp. 828 sq. 830.

Beit Jenn, and Sa'sa'.¹ About ten years later Mariti likewise penetrated to Kûl'at Jedin² and Tershiha; and returned by way of Wady el-Kûrn and the fortress Kurein.³ The route-map of Callier in 1830-31 exhibits a route from 'Akka by Jedin and Tershiha to Rumeish; but it is accompanied by no description. In 1844, Dr Smith and Mr Calhoun passed up from near 'Akka by 'Amkah and Sûhmâta to Rumeish and so to Kedes and Bâniâs. The journal of this important route is now in my hands; but has never been published. Three years later, in 1847, E. G. Schulz, Prussian consul at Jerusalem, visited Kûl'at Jedin and Kurein; and went also from Safed by Rumeish to Tibnin. His manuscript journal has been used by Ritter in his great work.⁴

The weather was so cold, and the wind so violent, that we gave up our purpose of proceeding to Kûl'at Shema'; and returned to Rameh. Setting off again at 9.50, with the same guide, we went back on our road of yesterday twenty minutes to the fork, where a road leads off to 'Aiteh. We met on the way a hunter of partridges, bearing a light frame of cane, on which to stretch a screen painted in stripes, with only a hole for his gun. Hid behind this screen he approaches the birds; which are said to be attracted by the bright colours. Leaving the fork at 10.10, we struck down across the head of Wady Khûllet el-Werdeh mentioned yesterday, about S. E. by S. and entered the mouth of a lateral Wady coming in from under the south side of the hill of 'Aiteh. Very soon, however, we turned up another Wady coming down on the north and west of the same hill; and at 10.35 entered a small basin with a pond of water. Here a road from Dibl to 'Aiteh crossed our track; and the latter village was now on our right. We continued to ascend gradually; and at 10.45 came out into a larger basin, a fine tract of tilled land; forming the water-shed between the branches of Wady Khûllet el-Werdeh going to Wady el-Kûrn, and another Wady before us descending to Wady el-'Ayûn.⁵ Our general course remained about S. E. by S. On the further side of the plain was a fine pool at 10.55; at the entrance of a Wady which we followed down. It soon became a rocky glen; in the left side of which was a sepulchre, a low door with an excavated chamber. Below the glen the valley turns more to the left for a few rods, and joins Wady el-'Ayûn, here again contracted. We kept on over a low ledge with a Tell on the left in the fork of the two valleys, on which are the small ruins of Kûrah. Here at 11.10, we

¹ Leitungen des Hôchstes, Th. V. p. 271 sq. Paulus' Sammlung, Th. VII. p. 96 sq.

² Sometimes called also Jiddin.

³ Mariti Voyage, II. p. 136 sq.

⁴ Ritter, Erdk. Th. XVI. i. pp. 780-782.—We learned afterwards, that Mr

Vande Velde, whom we met in Jerusalem, had visited Belat a few weeks earlier, and also Kûl'at Kurein. Dr De Forest has since examined the latter. Mr Thomson was there in Nov. 1854.

⁵ Bearings at 10.45: Kauzih N. 10° E. 'Aiteh N. 75° W.

entered Wady el-'Ayûn, which immediately expands into a large and beautiful plain, surrounded by distant hills. Rumeish bore S. 10° E. in the southern part of the plain. We came to it at 11.30.

Rumeish is a large Maronite village ; its population including 200 males by the census. It is surrounded by fertile fields ; and seemed well supplied with their products. We purchased dried figs and other articles ; as also barley for our horses, which was not to be had at Râmech. There were several ponds of water round about the village ; some natural, and others artificial. Twenty goats had been stolen from the village the night before, and the loss was charged, as usual, upon wandering Arabs.

Three valleys enter this part of the plain, converging from different points. The middle one comes down from the S. S. E. and up this passes the road to Sa'sa', Kefr Bir'im, and Safed.¹ Another comes from the southwest, and along it lies the road from Sühmâta. The third has its head near Bint Jebil, where we had formerly seen it as Wady Rumeish ;² thence it descends as a winding wooded valley to this village, and unites with the others to form Wady el-'Ayûn, whose water-course passes off through the plain. The route of my companion in 1844, from Sühmâta to Bint Jebil, had been along these last two valleys.

We now took a guide on foot, for the remainder of the day. Leaving Rumeish at noon, over what seemed to be the general dunghill of the village, we entered the middle valley upon the Safed road. We were at first undecided, whether to go to Sa'sa', or to Kefr Bir'im ; but finally concluded to stop at the latter village for the night, and make an excursion to the former ; for which there was ample time. This latter purpose, however, was frustrated by the violent wind and cold. The valley was fertile and well tilled, though not wide ; with high hills on each side. Its name we did not note. At 12.25 a lofty point was on our right, with a ruin, called Biyâd. Hereabouts the Sa'sa' road went off on the right, up a side valley. At 1 o'clock Kefr Bir'im came in sight up the valley on a hill ; and immediately afterwards Sa'sa' also was seen through a gap on the right.³ The hills became more rocky, and the valley narrower ; but further up there was again more tillage. At 1.25 we reached Kefr Bir'im, climbing the high hill on which it stands on the east side of the valley.

The high wind and cold prevented us from pitching the tent ; the thermometer stood at 51° Far. We were therefore taken to the house of the priest, Elias, an old man of some sev-

¹ From Rumeish, Sa'sa' bore 159°.

² See Vol. II. p. 447. [iii. 372.]

³ Bearings at 1 : Kefr Bir'im S. 70° E.
Sa'sa' S. 10° W.

enty years ; who had been the priest of this Maronite village for forty-five years. His house was a large one ; and he had twenty-five persons in his family, including women and children. The ground floor was occupied by the family rooms, and stables ; and there were other stables around the yard. Dismounting in the court, we entered by a small and low door, and crept up a low and very narrow flight of steps in the wall to the large upper room, which served as parlour and guest-chamber. It occupied the whole upper floor ; and was spanned by three arches, on which rested the beams of the roof. It had three windows, but without glass ; and the shutters of two were kept closed on account of the wind ; thus rendering parts of the room quite dark. There were fires in every room ; in ours, the hearth was in the middle of the floor, and was made of clay in the form of a pan or basin. On one side were carpets and cushions, where we, as guests, were seated or stretched ; on the other side and around the fire sat our host, the Sheikh of the village, and other neighbours. There was, of course, no thought of our being left alone. They watched rather closely, and with some amusement, the process of shaving ; and wondered afterwards at our writing. They all remained while we took our dinner ; which our host helped out by bringing us bread, *leben*, and butter. The latter was from goats' milk ; but we also saw a girl milking a cow. In one of the lower rooms was a child's cradle of the usual European form ; they were said to be common.

We took a walk about the village ; and examined the remains described below. It occupies a sightly spot ; and its population, Maronites, includes 160 males by the census. The castle of Sa'sa' is in full view in the southwest, half an hour distant by the road, but hardly a mile off in a direct line. It stands on a prominent hill ; and has an old look. It was said to be now in ruins ; and is supposed by E. G. Schulz to be the 'Castellum Regis' of the crusaders.¹ In the east is seen the village of 'Alma, mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela and other Jewish travellers, as containing the tombs of several holy men.² Other places along our former route were also visible.³

At night we once more set up our bedsteads, to prevent intruders. The old priest slept in the room, wrapped in a blanket, with only a thin mattress on the floor. Otherwise we were left to ourselves. The yard at night, as a place of safety, was filled with horses, cows, young cattle, calves, mules, donkeys, dogs, and camels ; to say nothing of cats and poultry.

¹ Ritter. Erdk. XVI i. p. 802. Steph. Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte, pp. 135, 184, 263, etc.

Schulz, Leitungen des Höchsten, Th. V. pp. 295, 300. Paulus' Sammlung Th. VII. pp. 112, 116.

² Benj. of Tudela, I. p. 82. Carmoly

³ Bearings at Kefr Bir'im : Yâr'in 13°. Mârôn 27°. 'Alma 88°. Ris el-Ahmar 100°. el-Jish 127°. Sa'sa' 232°.

The chief objects of interest at Kefr Bir'im are the remains of two structures ; which at first were to us inexplicable. One is in the northeastern part of the village, consisting of the front of a building which faced towards the south, with two rows of limestone columns before it belonging to a portico. The front wall is of stones hewn smooth ; some of them of considerable size. In the middle is a portal of good size and proportions ; with sculptured side posts and lintel ; the latter having in its middle a wreath. Over this is a cornice ; and then a well formed round arch ornamented with a sort of wreath around it. On each side of this portal is a smaller side door ; each with a cornice of different sculpture. Above each of these side doors is a smaller window, capped with an ornamented stone. The columns of the outer or front row are mostly standing. The capitals look at first like Doric ; but are formed of rings, that is, are tapered down to the shaft merely by successive smaller rings. Some still bear their architraves. The whole portico is sunk in rubbish. The main body of the building has been torn away ; and a hovel, entered by one of the side doors, now occupies a portion of its area. One or two columns are still erect in this area ; which seem to mark an inside row or rows of columns. A corner pillar is also standing further back, square on the outside, but on the inside rounded into a double column, like those at Belât.

The other ruin is a quarter of a mile distant in the fields northeast. The edifice was obviously similar to that above described ; but all is fallen and gone, except the middle portal with its ornamented side posts and lintel. This last is sculptured ; has the wreath in the middle ; and in a long and narrow space at the bottom, bears an inscription in the common Hebrew letters, or square character. But the letters are so much defaced by the weather, and the wind was so strong and cold, that we could not undertake to copy it. The first word, שלום 'peace,' and that only, was quite distinct. We had already seen two copies of the inscription, made by Mr Thomson and Mr Van de Velde ; but they differed much from each other ; and neither Mr Nicolayson nor other Rabbinic scholars had been able to make out the meaning. We afterwards learned from Mr Finn, British consul at Jerusalem, that he had visited the spot in company with the chief Rabbi of Safed, under favourable circumstances ; and that the Rabbi could only determine, that the inscription invokes 'peace' upon the founder of the edifice, but without any legible name or date. I examined particularly, whether perhaps the inscription might not have been added at a later period ; but there is every appearance of its having been coeval with the sculpture above it.

As these remains were the first of the kind that we had yet seen; and were of a style of architecture utterly unknown to us; we were at a loss for some time what to make of them. They were evidently neither Greek nor Roman. The inscription, if authentic, obviously marks both structures as of Jewish origin; and as such, they could only have been synagogues. We were, however, not satisfied on this point, until we found at Meirôn the same species of architecture, in the acknowledged remains of an ancient Jewish synagogue.¹ We afterwards found the ruins of like structures at Irbid, Tell Hâm, Kedes, and perhaps other places in Galilee; all marked with the same architectural peculiarities. The size, the elaborate sculptured ornament, and the splendour of these edifices, do not belong to a scattered and down-trodden people; such as the Jews have been in these regions ever since the fourth century. These costly synagogues, therefore, can be referred only to the earlier centuries of the Christian era; when Galilee was the chief seat of the Jews; and Jewish learning and schools flourished at Tiberias. All these circumstances would seem to mark a condition of prosperity and wealth and influence among the Jews of Galilee in that age, of which neither their own historians, nor any other, have given us any account.²

Kefr Bir'im was for many centuries a place of Jewish pilgrimage. Benjamin of Tudela, indeed, although he speaks of neighbouring places, makes no mention of this spot. But in the Itinerary of Samuel Bar Simson in 1210, Kefr Bir'im is twice spoken of as containing the tombs of Barak, Obadiah the prophet, and of several Jewish Rabbis; and also a beautiful synagogue erected by R. Simeon Ben Jochai, whose tomb is shown at Meirôn.³ In two later Itineraries of 1561 and 1564, several other sepulchres are likewise specified; among them that of queen Esther. The earlier one speaks also of two synagogues in ruins; while the other relates, that the Jews of Safed made an annual pilgrimage hither at the festival of Purim, and were accustomed on this occasion "to eat, drink, and rejoice."⁴ All this has now passed away.

Wednesday, April 14th.—We left Kefr Bir'im at 7.10 with a guide for Meirôn. We kept along on the high ground above

¹ We were not then aware, that this place had been visited in 1839 by Messrs Bonar and M'Cbeyne of the Scottish deputation. They heard from both Jews and Maronites, that these were Jewish synagogues; and that the Jews sometimes go there to pray. See their Narrative, June 11th.

² See Vol II. p. 391. [iii. 269.]—The inscription is probably one of the earliest

specimens of the square character extant. It is generally held that this character was in use in the time of Christ, if not earlier. See Gesenius Gesch. d. Heb. Syr. p. 156 sq. Hupfeld in Theol. Studien u. Krit. 1830, 4tes H. p. 288. Winer Realwb. art. *Schreibkunst*. Comp. Matt. 5, 18.

³ Carmoly Itin. pp. 132, 136.

⁴ Carmoly l. c. pp. 380, 455.

the valley, which we had ascended yesterday ; and soon came upon the ridge between it and another valley, Wady Nâsir, running down N. 60° E. to join the great Wady Mu'addamiyeh. This ridge therefore forms the water-shed between the Jordan and the Mediterranean. Here was a glorious view of Jebel esh-Sheikh, perfectly clear and bright in the morning sun ; while Jebel Jermûk on our right was shrouded in clouds ; which, however, soon vanished. Sa'sa' was in full view on our right. We reached the bottom of Wady Nâsir at 7.45 ; and in five minutes more were on the next ridge.¹ Here we looked down into a second parallel valley, Wady Khilâl Sebâ', coming down from the northwestern side of Jebel Jermûk, and spreading out into a plain at the northern base of that mountain. It then passes down into Wady Nâsir ; and the united Wady enters the Mu'addamiyeh half an hour below el-Jish.² This village was here in sight ; as also Safed on its lofty hill. We now descended into Wady Khilâl ; and crossing its bed rose gradually ;³ until at 8.30 we were upon the summit of the low ridge, which here runs out from the northeastern angle of Jebel Jermûk.

The highest peak of all this mountain is here at its north-eastern corner ; which now rose like a bastion close on our right. In the northwest, but still on the high land that separates the waters of the Hûleh from those of the Mediterranean, is an isolated conical peak, called Jebel 'Adâthir, on the left of Sa'sa', and bearing from Rumeish directly south. It was used by my companion as a landmark during his journey in 1844.⁴ On our left was the fine plain or basin extending towards el-Jish ; but drained in its southwestern part towards the lake of Tiberias, through Wady et-Tawâhin and Wady el-'Amûd. Our road now gradually descended, and led along the eastern base of the mountains ; the line of which runs nearly due north and south. At 8.40 Sifsâf, a small hamlet in the eastern part of the plain of Jish, was in sight ; it is mentioned in the Talmud.⁵ We passed first over a very rocky tract ; and then through a cultivated region with many very old olive trees. At 9 o'clock a fork of the path led more to the right to Meirôn. The straight road keeps on to Semû'y ; and so around the southeastern flank of the mountain to er-Râmeh. It was said to be comparatively level and easy.

¹ Bearings at 7.50 : Sa'sa' N. 50° W. Jish E.

² See Vol. II. p. 446. [iii. 370.]

³ Bearings at 8.15 : Safed 124°. Râs el-Ahmar 54°. Jebel esh-Sheikh 49°. Sa'sa' 319°.

⁴ This mountain is mentioned by Steph.

Schulz as *Adater*, V. p. 300. Paulus l. c. VII. p. 116.

⁵ The *NECED* of the Talmud, near Safed and Meirôn ; see Schwarz Palest. p. 190.—Bearings at 8.40 : Sifsâf N. 50° E. Jish N. 25° E. Meirôn S 15° E.

We turned up to Meirôn, a very old looking village situated on a ledge of bristling rocks near the foot of the mountain. The ascent is by a steep and very ancient road. Below the village on our right, were sepulchres in the rocks; in one place four arches or vaults excavated side by side in the face of the rock, each with a sarcophagus placed across it, and the vault just deep enough to receive the sarcophagus. One of them had two sarcophagi. These differed from all the sepulchres we had yet seen. There were two other similar ones a little higher up. We reached the village at 9.10. It is small, and inhabited only by Muhammedans. A fine plain lies under it in the east, lower than that towards Jish, and drained off in the southeast to a Wady southwest of Safed. This latter place was in full view, reckoned two hours distant. South of Meirôn in the valley, we were told of a large fountain.¹

There seems to be no reason for question, but that this place is the *Meiron* of the Talmud; several times there mentioned along with *Gush Halab*, now el-Jish.² It is also most probably the *Mero* or *Meroth* of Josephus; one of the places fortified by that leader in Upper Galilee, in connection likewise with *Giscala* or el-Jish.³ It has ever maintained a strong traditional hold upon the affection of the Jews, as containing the sepulchres of some of their most celebrated scholars and holy men. Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, mentions here in a cave the tombs of the great teachers, Hillel and Shammai, with twenty of their disciples and other Rabbis.⁴ The Itinerary of Samuel Bar Simson, half a century later, adds the sepulchres of R. Simeon Ben Jochai and his son R. Eleazer.⁵ The annual pilgrimage of the Jews at the present day to this place was alluded to in the account of our former journey.⁶

Our object here was not to visit the sepulchres; but being here we went to those below the village on the south. These are surrounded by a square enclosure; the inside of the wall being built up with stalls in the manner of a Khân, for the convenience of men and horses. The tombs are under low domed structures; which are usually shut and locked; and the keys kept at Safed. The enclosure was now open; but we could not enter the tombs. Every thing here was clean, and the domes whitewashed. This is now the chief point of pilgrimage; and here are the reputed tombs of R. Simeon Ben Jochai and his

¹ Bearings from Meirôn: Safed 111°. Kadditha 51°. Jish 11°. Sifsáf 14°.

² Heb. מֵירוֹן; see the references in Lightfoot Opp. II. p. 593. Reland Pal. p. 917.

³ Jos. B. J. 2. 20. 6. Vit. § 37. Reland Pal. p. 181.

⁴ Benj. of Tud. I. p. 82.

⁵ Carmoly Itin. I. c. pp. 133, 260.

⁶ See Vol. II. p. 431. [iii. p. 334 sq.] See also Elliott's Travels, II. p. 355 sq. Narrative of the Scottish Deputation, July 18th. Wilson's Lands of the Bible, II. p. 311 sq.

son; as also those of Hillel and Shammai and their disciples. But there is at present no appearance of antiquity.

We felt more interest in the remains of the ancient synagogue. The site is an area, artificially levelled off, on the eastern side of a huge overhanging rock. The edifice fronted toward the south; and here too only the fine portal and a portion of the front wall (including a side door) is standing. The architecture is almost precisely like that of the remains at Kefr Bir'im; but of more massive proportions, larger stones, and richer sculpture. Some of these stones are $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. The portal is nearly ten feet high by $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. Its side posts are each of a single stone, elaborately sculptured. The sculptured lintel projects somewhat beyond the side posts; and is without inscription and without the wreath. The portico is wholly gone; except a corner pedestal fitted inside for a double column. Some fragments of columns and sculptured entablatures are scattered around. The area of the interior is empty. An old Jew said it was the synagogue of the 'just, who were buried below.—This synagogue is not alluded to by R. Benjamin; but R. Samuel in 1210, and Jacob of Paris in 1258; make mention of it.¹

Here then was the counterpart of the remains we had seen at Kefr Bir'im. Looking at the historical evidence in respect to Meirôn, there was no reason to call in question the tradition, that these were the ruins of an ancient synagogue going back to the earliest centuries of the Christian era. We no longer hesitated to regard those at Kefr Bir'im, as having the same character; and our curiosity was somewhat excited in anticipation, to ascertain, whether the ruins at Tell Hûm, which formerly had so much puzzled us, would not turn out to be of like origin.

Josephus relates, that, besides Giscala, he caused to be fortified, in Upper Galilee, the towns of Seph, Jamnith, Meroth, and the rock of the Achabari.² Giscala and Meroth are identified with el-Jish and Meirôn; Jamnith is unknown; and the rock of the Achabari is to be recognised in the modern 'Akbarah of our lists, mentioned also in the Talmud. This village we did not get sight of; but it is understood to lie south of Meirôn and southwest of Safed.³ As to the Seph of Josephus, it seems not improbable, that it may have been identical with the modern Safed; but as there is no direct mention of the latter name

¹ Carmoly l. c. pp. 134, 184.

² Ἀγαθάριον πέτραν, Jos. B. J. 2. 20. 6.

³ 'Akbarah, according to R. Parchi, is one hour south of Meirôn; see Zunz in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 427. Schwarz places it an English mile and a half west

southwest of Safed; which accords tolerably with Parchi; Descr. of Palest. p. 188. E. G. Schulz, on the other hand, speaks of it as being one hour south of Safed; Zeitschr. der D. morgenl. Gesellsch. Bd. III. p. 52.

until the middle of the crusades, it could hardly have been earlier a place of much importance.¹

Our further plan was to go from Meirôn to Ramah of Naphtali. This could be done, either by keeping along the road in the plain to Semû'y, and then on the road from Safed to Rameh around the southeastern flank of Jebel Jermûk; or by ascending and crossing the main ridge of the mountain to Beit Jenn. We chose the latter course, as affording a better view both of the mountains and of the adjacent country. There was here some difficulty in finding a guide; but at last we obtained an old man on foot. Setting off at 10 o'clock, we soon began to ascend steeply along a ravine, on a course about N. 60° W. After twenty minutes a fork of the road went off to the right across the ravine, leading to the village of Jermûk. We now climbed out of the ravine towards the left; and at 10.30 reached the brow of the steep ascent.² Here were five very old olive trees. Still ascending gradually, we had a view of the lake of Tiberias; and came out at 10.45 upon a high tract of table land. Here was a pond of water, called Birket Zibûd, from a ruin not far off. Hence the mountain is likewise sometimes called Jebel Zibûd.

Proceeding across this plain, we reached at 11 o'clock the western brow of the ridge; and looked down into the deep and vast valley before us, running off northwest to Wady el-Kûrn; with Beit Jenn beyond it midway on the mountain side. The Druze village of Jermûk was also in view on our right, on the high ridge beyond the head of a shorter valley running down northwest to the former one.³ This village, an hour distant from Meirôn, was visited by Messrs Bonar and McCheyne in 1839; it is situated on the level western brow of the mountain, and enjoys a view of the lake of Galilee. It was said to be at present almost deserted.⁴

We now began to descend towards the great valley. The path led down for a time along the right side of a long lateral valley; then crossing more to the right it continued down the left side of a shorter and very steep Wady. We reached the bottom of the great valley at 11.40; here running N. 45° W. We did not learn its name at this point; though in all probability it is called Wady Beit Jenn; lower down it takes the name of Wady Habis. Turning a little down the valley, we passed

¹ Jos. B. J. 2. 20. 6. The Talmudic *Tsafah*, once mentioned in Rosh Hashanah c. 2, can hardly be pressed as identical with Safed.—Ritter also seems to regard Seph as representing Safed, Erdk. XVI. i. p. 759; but comp. ib. p. 687.

² Bearings at 10.30: Jish 26°. Birket

Jish 39°. Râs el-Ahmar 39°. Kaddîtha 60°. Teitabeh 59°. Delâta 60°. 'Ain ez-Zeitûn 95°. Safed 106°.

³ Bearings at 11, on brow: Jermûk N. 10° W. 1 m. Beit Jenn S. 70° W. 2 m.

⁴ Narrative etc. July 13th.

around a point into the mouth of a small and almost parallel side ravine with a fine brook ; and began at 11.50 to ascend steeply towards Beit Jenn, which we reached at 12.15.

Beit Jenn is a large and well built village. The houses are of the common limestone of these mountains ; but on the roof of one of the houses I noticed a roller of black volcanic stone, which must have been brought from a distance. The population comprises 260 males ; and all are Druzes. There is no appearance of antiquity ; except a single sepulchre on the south of the village, much like those at Meirôn.—Beit Jenn was visited in August, 1754, by Stephan Schulz, coming from el-Bukei'a. He speaks of the inhabitants as occupied in manufacturing water-skins ; and describes the grapes of this region as particularly large and fine ; the clusters weighing each ten or twelve pounds.¹ Yet the aspect of these mountain ridges and rocky declivities, as seen from Beit Jenn in April, was bald, barren, and desolate in the highest degree.

Below the village, in the southwest, is a small deep basin with a pond of water. A narrow valley breaks down from it, through the western ridge, to the plain of el-Bukei'a beyond. North of this valley a road crosses the ridge from Beit Jenn to the larger Druze village of el-Bukei'a, situated in that basin. Stephan Schulz describes the plain as being about an hour long by half an hour broad ; the longer direction being nearly from south to north ; and shut in by elevated hills.² A brook runs through it, which has its source in the fountain of the village. This latter stands in the southern part of the plain, in a well cultivated tract. From it the bed of Wady el-Bukei'a runs down through the basin, and passes out to the westward through a deep gorge separating Sühmâta from Tershiha. The banks of this ravine are very high ; and in some places precipitous.³ The village of Bukei'a is a good hour distant from Sühmâta. The population are mainly Druzes ; but Schulz found there in his day some ten families of Jews ; and these remain at present, to the number of about twenty persons.⁴ They were said to till the ground, like Fellahs ; and this was afterwards confirmed to us by the Rev. Mr Reichard, whose acquaintance we made in Jerusalem ; and who had recently visited the place. This is the only instance known in Palestine of Jews engaged in agriculture. For this reason these Jews of Bukei'a are supposed by some to be a remnant of the ancient

¹ S. Schulz *Leitungen* etc. V. p. 284. Paulus' *Sammlung* etc. VII. p. 106.

See S. Schulz l. c. V. p. 279. Paulus l. c. VII. p. 103.

² Hence the Arabic name *el-Bukei'a*, the diminutive of *el-Bukâ'a* ; in Heb. בְּקִיעַ a cleft, valley, plain, etc. between hills.—

³ E. Smith *Ma Journal*, 1844.

⁴ S. Schulz l. c. Bonar and McCheyne heard of them at Jermak ; Narrative, July 13th.

Jewish inhabitants of the land, who have never been driven out by the later masters of the country, whether Christians or Muhammedans. They say their fathers always dwelt there Nor is it an improbable supposition, that they may have thus remained undisturbed in this nook of their mountains, remote from the routes of war and travel, as also from the sites of Jewish pilgrimage.

At Beit Jenn we were thus among the head branches of the great Wady el-Kûrn, which, descending from these mountains, drains the whole district of el-Jebel. The main ridge of Jebel Jermûk is that which we had crossed in its lowest part. In the north it rises into the highest peak of Galilee; and towards the south rises also, but not so high. Its whole length is hardly two hours. It separates the districts of Safed and el-Jebel. Southwest of Safed and near Semû'y it drops down towards the south to a lower ridge, which shuts in the plain of Râmeh on the east. But the main ridge turns westward at a right angle, and as a high mountain skirts the plain of Râmeh on the north; the highest indeed of all the parallel ridges of Lower Galilee. It thus lies between the districts of el-Jebel and esh-Shâghûr. Far up in the interior recesses of the southeastern angle of this mountain, the great valley of Beit Jenn has its beginning; and runs down northwest to unite, as Wady Habis, with Wady el-Bukei'a, beyond the termination of the ridge which separates them in the south. The junction takes place at some distance below Sûhmâta. Before the junction, Wady Habis receives the shorter Wady Birzeh from the left; and from the right the deep Wady Harfeish coming down from under the village of Jermûk.¹ The ridge between Beit Jenn and Bukei'a may thus be said to divide the interior right angle of the mountain into two acute angles; each drained by a main branch of Wady el-Kûrn. On the north the district el-Jebel is separated from Belâd Beshârah by the high land running up eastward from Râs en-Nâkûrah.

This cluster of mountains has been sometimes regarded as the *Asamon* of Josephus, to which on one occasion seditious persons and robbers fled from Sepphoris. But that mountain was in the very middle of Galilee, and over against Sepphoris; a description which applies better to the broken and double ridge skirting the Büttauf on the north.²

Setting off from Beit Jenn at 12.45, we took the road for Râmeh, with a new guide on foot. The way led at first along a low ridge between the small valley by which we had ascended,

¹ E. Smith, *Ms. Journal*, 1844.

ἑντικρυς τῆς Σεπφόρειος. Comp. Ritter

² Jos. B. J. 2. 18. 11, Ἀσαμών . . . τὸ περικείμενον τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὄρος, ὃ κεῖται μὲν

Erdk. XVI. i. p. 774.

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and the little basin in the southwest ;¹ afterwards it verged more west, along a depression or saddle in the mountain. The general course was about S. S. E. At 1.15, half an hour from Beit Jenn, we came out suddenly upon the brow of the high precipitous mountain, here running from east to west, and overlooking a vast and beautiful region extending from the bay of 'Akka to the lake of Tiberias ; with Carmel in the distance on one side, and Mount Tabor on the other. To get the full view we had to go on five minutes further, and pass around a projecting cliff. Before us was now the district of Shāghūr, made up of plains extending from east to west, and separated by parallel ridges of high rocky hills ; but none so high as that on which we stood. Some 1500 feet immediately below us was the rich and well cultivated plain of Rāmeḥ ; with the village of that name on the lower slope of the mountain. Through this plain passes the road from 'Akka to Safed, and also that to Damascus by way of Khān Jubb Yūsuf and the Jisr. On the next parallel ridge rose a very prominent Tell a little east of south, called Tell Hāzūr ; and beyond was a second plain divided by a transverse ridge. Another parallel ridge followed, skirting the great plain el-Būttauf beyond it ; and then another shorter ridge east of Seffūrieh, between the Būttauf and the plain of Tur'an.

The plain of Rāmeḥ is shut in on the east by the low ridge extending south from the corner of Jebel Jermūk ; and on the west by the rocky and precipitous hills which overlook the plain of 'Akka. There is a gap at the western end, as if a ravine passed out ; but it serves only for a road, and has no water-course. The eastern part of the plain, as far as to Rāmeḥ, is drained by the head water-course of a Wady called Sellāmeḥ ; it sweeps round from the east and passes out by a gap in the southern ridge just west of Tell Hāzūr. Then, as Wady Sellāmeḥ, it turns eastward through the next plain, and runs to the lake of Tiberias. The fine western basin of the plain of Rāmeḥ is drained by the beginnings of Wady Sha'ab ; which in like manner passes off through another gap in the southern ridge ; and then turns west to the plain of 'Akka ; in which its water-course ultimately unites with the river Na'mān. In the plain beyond this southern ridge, and to the left of the gap last mentioned, are the villages of 'Arrābeh and Sūkhniin ; the latter the chief place of the Shāghūr.²

The view from this brow is one of the finest and most extensive in all Palestine. We met with none to be compared with

¹ Bearings at 12.50 : Jermūk N. 80° E. Tabor 183°. Ferrādy 122°. Tell Hāzūr 170°. er-Rāmeḥ 230°. Nuḥf 261°. Deir

² Bearings from the brow above Rāmeḥ : el-As'ad 263°. 'Arrābeh 219°. Sūkhniin Kefr 'Anān 139°. Kūrn Hattin 163°. 227°. West end of Carmel 256°.

it during the whole of our present journey. This ridge also forms a very definite boundary between Upper and Lower Galilee.¹

Setting off again at 1.35, we began the long and very steep descent towards the village. On the way one of the mules fell, and had to be unloaded before he could rise. After thus losing ten minutes, we reached Râmeš at 2.45; the descent having occupied just an hour. The village lies upon the lower cultivated slope of the mountain, still several hundred feet above the plain. It is a large village, well built and apparently wealthy; and is inhabited by Christians and Druzes. The former are Greeks and Greek Catholics; and constitute about two thirds of the population. The place is surrounded by extensive olive orchards. Several of the men of the village were sitting on the ground near the entrance; and seemed little disposed to trouble themselves even to answer the inquiries of strangers. Meantime, as our horses' shoes needed fastening, our servants succeeded in finding a very good smith.²

Râmeš has no traces of antiquity within or around it, so far as we could see or hear. Yet it is, without doubt, the ancient *Ramah* of the tribe of Naphtali;³ the *Ramah* we had visited a few days before, being unquestionably that of Asher. Both are merely enumerated by Eusebius and Jerome.⁴ The present *Ramah* is mentioned by Brocardus; but he puts it two miles south of Cana; and his whole account of this region is confused. Adrichomius places it near Safed.⁵ No modern travellers seem to have traversed this great route between 'Akka and Damascus; but Râmeš was visited by E. G. Schultz, passing northwards, apparently in 1847. My companion heard of it in 1844 as near the beginning of Wady Sha'ab.⁶

Learning that there was a ruin Hâzûr in connection with the Tell of that name, we concluded to visit it; and, in the mean time, take up our quarters for the night at Mughâr, a village on the southeastern declivity of the Tell. The usual road from Râmeš, which we followed, passes around the Tell on the east; though, as we found afterwards, we might perhaps have saved some time, had we taken a less frequented path around its western side. Leaving Râmeš at 3.10, we struck down on a southeasterly course into the plain. The bottom was undulating and variegated; and full of old olive trees, forming an immense

¹ Joseph. B. J. 3. 3. 1, 2. Reland *Palaest.* p. 127, 180 sq. Ritter *Erdk.* XVI. i pp 685, 757. Comp. Euseb et Hieron. *Onomast. art. Galileen.*

² Bearings from er-Râmeš: Seijûr 217°, 1½ m. Nuhf 270°. Deir el-As'ad 267°. Tell Hâzûr 150°. Deir Hanna 188°.

³ Josh. 19, 36.

⁴ Euseb. et Hieron. *Onomasticon. art. Rama.*

⁵ Brocardus c. 6. Adrichomius p. 123.

⁶ Ritter l. c. p. 772. E. Smith, *Ms. Journal*, Ap. 22, 1844.

grove, like those near Gaza and Beirût. These old trees, as we found in various parts of the country, are called by the people *Rûmy* i. e. 'Greek;' from an indefinable impression, that they have come down from a time earlier than the Muhammedan conquest. At 3.25 we struck the Damascus road; from which, five minutes later, the Safed road went off more to the left, to cross the low ridge near the mountain. At 3.45, our path separated from the Damascus road; we turned more to the right, and soon crossed a water-course now nearly dry. All this part of the plain is drained off southwest to Wady Sellâmeh, through the gap west of Tell Hâzûr. The plain is here exceedingly fertile; the soil a red loam. Our path lay along up a dry water-course. At 4.10 we came to the top of the ridge on the east of the Tell; and looked down into the plain of Wady Sellâmeh before us. We now had to work our way along the southeastern flank of Tell Hâzûr, at about the same level. The path was little travelled, and led over slippery rocks in several places; so that our progress was slow and difficult. We reached Mughâr at length at 4.50; and pitched our tent on the east of the village.

This is a large place, situated midway up the steep declivity of the Tell, and looking toward the S. S. E.¹ The houses and streets rise one above another in steps or terraces. Many of the houses have upon the flat roof a place for sleeping in summer; which I saw here and at Râmeh for the first time. There seemed to be a floor or platform of stone or mortar, with a screen of wicker work around it. We afterwards, in other villages, found these screens constructed of green boughs and brushwood. The inhabitants of Mughâr are two thirds Druzes, and one third Greek Catholics and Muslims; the two latter farming and paying their taxes together. The extensive olive groves which cover also the plain of Wady Sellâmeh belong to the government; and for each tree an annual tax of five piastres is exacted. The land tax of the village is 40,000 piastres.

There are here no remains of antiquity; except two sarcophagi sunk in a rock on the north of the village. On the same side further up, are also several caverns in a ledge of rocks; but they do not seem to be artificial. Yet Mughâr probably represents an ancient *Mearah*,² of which no mention has come down to us.

Thursday, April 15th. We took a guide, and set off at 8.2. to visit Khirbet Hâzûr and the summit of the Tell. We kept along the declivity westwards at the same level and without a

¹ Bearings from Mughâr: Khirbet Mim-la 145°, 3½ m. 'Ailebûn 190°. Deir Hanna 236°. Kûrn Hattin 159°.

² Heb. מְעָרָה *cavern*; comp. Josh 18, 4.

path, until we struck a shorter road coming from Râmeḥ on the west side of the Tell. Following this, we came at 9 o'clock to Khirbet Hâzûr at our right, on the northwest flank of the Tell, about on a level with Mûghâr, and directly overagainst Râmeḥ. The ruins are merely those of a common village; with one broken cistern.¹

We now rode to the summit of the Tell, from the northwest, in 20 minutes; without a path, but without much difficulty. There are no ruins on the summit; and nothing to lead to the supposition, that it was ever built upon. The view was extensive and fine; taking in the lake of Tiberias and the mountains of Haurân beyond; Tabor and the intervening plains; Carmel and the bay of 'Akka. Below us was the plain of Wady Sellâmeh covered with olive groves; with an ancient site of the same name. This Wady runs to the lake of Tiberias through the plain north of Mejdâl, as Wady er-Rûbüdiyeh. West of the gap by which it enters from the plain of Râmeḥ, a transverse ridge crosses obliquely to the next parallel ridge, in a direction southeast. The plain west of this transverse ridge connects with Wady Sha'ab, which comes also from the plain of Râmeḥ by a more western gap; and passes down to the plain of 'Akka. In that direction the country looked full of hills and ridges.²

This was the second place we had now visited, bearing a name which might correspond to the ancient Hazor. But here was no proximity to the lake of the Hûleh; the ruins had no antiquity, and were not those of a city; and the Tell itself had no trace of fortifications nor of buildings of any kind. Here, then, was not the Hazor of the book of Joshua.

More probable is the identity of Yâkûk, a village which we saw from this spot, with the ancient *Hukkuk*.³ This latter is enumerated in the book of Joshua as belonging to Naphtali; though in the later Chronicles it is spoken of as in Asher.⁴ Eusebius and Jerome place it on the borders of these two tribes.⁵ The identity was recognised by R. Parchi in the fourteenth century; and the Jews placed the tomb of Habakkuk at

¹ Bearings at Khirbet Hâzûr: 'Arrâbeh 233°. Sûkhîn 249°. Seijûr 312°. Râmeḥ 326°. Ferrâdy 50°. Keḥr 'Anân 53°.

² Bearings from Tell Hâzûr: Safed 53°. Ferrâdy 40°. Yâkûk 106°; comp. Bibboth. Sacra, 1843, p. 80. Kelb Haurân 107°. Abu Shûsheh? 122°. Kûrn Hattîn 158°. 'Ailebûn (Christia) 186°. Tabor 187°. Deir Hanna 220°. 'Arrâbeh 239°. Sûkhîn 254°. West end of Carmel 263½°. Khirbet Sellâmeh 240°. Râmeḥ 327°. Seijûr 315°.

³ This implies an interchange of the letters Heth (ח) and Yod (י); which,

although unusual, is not without example; e. g. חַיִּים or חַיִּים, יִיִּם, יִיִּם; see Gesen. Thesaur. p. 558.—Hukkuk was identified in our former lists; see Bibl. Res. first Ed. Vol. III. App. p. 133.

⁴ Josh. 19, 34. 1 Chr. 6, 75 [60]. In this last passage Hukkuk is spoken of as a city of refuge in Asher; but in the corresponding passage, Josh. 21, 31, it is Helkath, comp. Josh. 19, 25; the other cities being the same in both lists. The present reading in Chronicles is therefore perhaps an error of copyists.

⁵ Ouomast. art. *Iococ*.

Yākūk.¹ The village lay from us about E. by S. on the northern border of the plain of Wady Sellāmeḥ, at the foot of the ridge running east from where we stood.²

We descended from Tell Hāzūr on its southeastern side ; and returned to Mughār in 30 minutes, by a path higher up than the one of yesterday. Leaving the village again at 11.10 with a guide on foot, we descended southwesterly into the plain on our way to 'Arrābeh. The descent was long, and in some places steep. We passed through portions of the grove of olive trees. The soil under them had been ploughed over, in order to loosen it, for the benefit of the trees. We waited here ten minutes for our lagging muleteers. At 11.50 we came to the channel of Wady Sellāmeḥ, with a small stream of water just ready to dry up. Here the site Khirbet Sellāmeḥ was seen up the Wady N. 30° W. half a mile distant. This is doubtless the ancient *Selamis*, a town of Lower Galilee fortified by Josephus.³ It was recognised by E. G. Schultz in 1847.⁴

Before us was now the transverse ridge, separating the eastern plain from the western. We began to ascend gradually a few minutes beyond the water-course. On our left along the slope was a tract of rich pasturage, apparently unappropriated ; belonging to the government, but farmed by no one, and running to waste. At 12.15 we reached the top of the ridge ; and looked down into the western plain.⁵ The eastern part of this is not drained at all ; and a pond of water was yet standing in it. There is a slight swell between it and the western portion ; which last is drained off to Wady Sha'ab. Deir Hanna was a mile distant in the southwest, on a lower ridge in front of the higher line of hills in the south, between us and the plain el-Būttāuf.

We sent our muleteers by the direct road through the plain to 'Arrābeh ; while we kept along on the ridge to Deir Hanna ; which at a distance has the appearance of a fortified place. Before coming to it we passed in succession two towers on the ridge, apparently intended as outposts ; one half a mile, and the other a quarter of a mile distant from the village. We reached Deir Hanna at 12.40. It stands upon a higher point of the ridge ; and was once surrounded by a wall which is now much fallen down.⁶ There are no traces of antiquity ; and the wall, though obviously intended for military defence, had no character of strength or durability. We learned afterwards that these

¹ R. Parchi in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 421 sq. Carmoly Itin. pp. 385, 455.

² Mr Wolcott, in 1842, passed five minutes east of Yākūk, on his way from Tiberias to Safed ; see Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, p. 80.

³ *Selamis*, Jos. Vita § 37. B. J. 2. 20. 6.

⁴ Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges. III. p. 52.

⁵ Bearings at 12.45, on ridge : Deir Hanna S. 45° W. el-Mughār N. 65° E. Sūkhnin S. 75° W.

⁶ From Deir Hanna, Sūkhnin bore W.

fortifications were the work of the noted Dhâher el-'Omar, about the middle of the last century. After his death, his son 'Aly held possession of Deir Hanna; where he was besieged in 1776 by Jezzâr Pasha, but escaped.¹

We now descended obliquely along the southern declivity of the ridge towards the southwest. On this side also are two towers or outposts, at similar distances. Beyond the termination of the ridge our road turned to the left around a projecting hill; and we came at 1.15 to 'Arrâbeh, situated in a nook of the hills connected with the southern ridge. The hills around this nook shut out all view, except towards the west and northwest.²

Here we stopped for the day; partly on account of the lameness of one of our horses; but more for rest and quiet to my companion, whose health was suffering from a temporary local disease. On account of the high wind, our tent was pitched in the court of a ruined house within the village. We found our position sufficiently uncomfortable. It seemed as if most of the men and women, and all the boys, were collected around our tent; and the boys especially were noisy and rude. Swarms of flies annoyed us by day, and mosquitos by night. The village is half in ruins. There are some traces of antiquity, such as a few hewn stones and fragments of columns; but none which mark a place of importance. The inhabitants are Muslims, with only three or four families of Christians.

The day was spent in making inquiries as to the adjacent region. The people knew Jefât among the hills in the southwest. On the hills north of Sûkhnin, they said, are ruins called Kûbarah; which we decided to visit if possible.—At the east end of the Bûttauf is a ruin, with columns standing, called Um el-'Amad, about an hour west of Hattin. Further west in the Bûttauf is another site of ruins called 'Ain Nâtif; also with columns standing. At the foot of the hills on the north of the Bûttauf is a ruin called Um Selâkhit.—In the region east of Mûghâr, they likewise spoke of two ruined places; one called Sebâna, and the other er-Rûbûdiyeh on the Wady of that name. This last is already on the maps.

At 'Arrâbeh, we could not but recognise in this name the ancient *Araba* of Josephus; from which the town of *Sogane* was twenty stadia distant.³ This latter town was also here to be

¹ Volney Voyage, II. p. 125. See the note of Dhâher in Vol. II. p. 393 sq. [iii. 273.]

² Bearings from 'Arrâbeh: Sûkhnin 93°. Deir As'ad 331°. Gap in hills to Wady Sha'ab 331°.

³ Gr. Ἀραβα.—Joseph. Vit. 51, πρὸς Σαργάνην κώμην . . . Ἀρὰβων ἀπέχουσαν εἰκοσι στάδια, to the village *Sogane* . . . distant from *Araba* twenty stadia. Reland proposed to read here Ἰαβὰδων instead

of Ἀρὰβων, and this reading has been adopted in the editions; but erroneously, as now appears; Reland Palest. p. 771, 1021. E. G. Schultz was at 'Arrâbeh in 1847, and suggested the necessary correction; in respect to which, however, Gross and Ritter seem to hesitate; Zeitschr. der morg. Ges. III pp. 50, 60. Ritter l. c. p. 768 sq.

recognised in Sūkhnin, lying about W. N. W. at the estimated distance of an hour; though we afterwards travelled it rapidly in forty-five minutes. The coincidence is therefore unusually exact. That a village named *Araba* anciently existed in this quarter, we know, independently of Josephus, from the testimony of Eusebius and Jerome.¹ In the sixteenth century it was visited by the Jews as a place of pilgrimage.²

Friday, April 16th. The wind to-day was from the south-west, the rainy quarter; and there were occasional showers. The illness of my companion continued; and we therefore decided to remain through the day at 'Arrābeh.

On the side of the hill a short distance east of the village, is a ledge of rocks; in the face of which are several holes like caverns. They may be natural; but seem too many for that. If sepulchres, they must be much broken away.—As we sat in our tent, a huge centipede came deliberately marching along the middle of the floor. The bite is poisonous and troublesome; but not fatal.—A single palm tree is found in the village.

We made several attempts to engage a guide to take us across the hills to Jefāt and Kāna. These all failed, owing to the laziness of the people and their exorbitant demands. We usually found these two traits existing together.

Saturday, April 17th. The morning was bright and beautiful; and the aspect of the country brilliant. Failing still to obtain a guide for Jefāt, and the lameness of our horse continuing, we concluded to turn down to 'Akka in order to hire another; visiting also Kūbarah on the way. Setting off therefore at 7.15, without a guide, we followed the road across the fine plain towards Sūkhnin. In a few minutes, a modern reservoir with broken walls was on our right, belonging to 'Arrābeh. Traversing the plain, we came at 7.55 to another large artificial pond with a high mound, belonging to Sūkhnin. Here women were bearing away jars of water on their heads to the village. We reached Sūkhnin at 8 o'clock, situated on a round isolated hill near the southern ridge, in the southwest part of the plain. It is marked by the conspicuous white dome of a mosk or Wely; and there is another near the bottom of the hill. Here too was a single palm tree. In a piece of modern wall we noticed several ancient and regularly *bevelled* stones, from three to four feet long, with the surface smooth throughout. Of course, they were not in their original position. We saw no other marks of antiquity. The inhabitants are chiefly Muslims; with twenty or thirty families of Greek Christians. Sūkh-

¹ Onomast. art. *Araba*: "Porro est et alia villa Araba nomine in finibus Diocæsares;" i. e. Sepphoris.

² Carmoly Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte, p. 383, 453.

nin is the chief village of the Shāghūr ; but the districts of the Shāghūr and Jebel were now under one governor, and the seat of government had not yet been fixed.

We had already recognised Sūkhniṛ as the *Sogane* of Josephus, twenty stadia distant from *Araba*.¹ It seems to be the same town spoken of frequently in the Talmudic writings, as *Sichanin*.² It is mentioned by Jewish travellers in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, and was a place of Jewish pilgrimage.³ It stands in the lists collected during our former journey ; and was visited by E. G. Schultz in 1847.⁴

At Sūkhniṛ we had no difficulty in obtaining a guide on foot to take us to Kūbarah, and also to the foot of the mountain on our way to 'Akka. He proved to be intelligent and faithful. The direct road to 'Akka goes by way of Mi'ār, a village on the western brow of the mountains overlooking the great plain along the coast. We left Sūkhniṛ at 8.10 ; and followed down a road more to the right, on a northwest course, along a basin which is drained off northwards by a chasm in the hills to Wady Sha'ab. Our road had every appearance of being a very old one, with rocks laid along on each side. At 8.30 there was a large ancient cistern ; but broken ; and five minutes later another, with steps, from which women were carrying water on their heads to the village. Soon afterwards we lost the old road ; which probably followed down the valley on our right to Wady Sha'ab and so direct to Kūbarah ; while we made a circuit towards the west. We now rose upon the ridge by a rocky path ; and when on the top at 9.10 had the deep Wady Sha'ab before us. The direction of Kūbarah was pointed out beyond the valley ; it may have been a mile and a half distant at the most.⁵ Wady Sha'ab, as we had before learned, drains the western part of the plain of Rāmeh ; and having passed through its gap, receives the narrow gorge running down from the plain around Sūkhniṛ.

We now kept along still towards the left, and by a mere goat path, around a Tell on the ridge ; and then descended northwest along its shoulder very steeply and with difficulty to the bottom of Wady Sha'ab at 9.35 ; called also Wady Haila-

¹ See above, p. 83. Joseph. Vita 51, 52. B. J. 2. 20. 6. Between the forms *Zaydun* and Sūkhniṛ, there is the interchange of *z* and *kh*, Heb. ז, which is not unusual ; see Gesen Thesaur. p. 252. In Hebrew the name was probably written with ז (see the next note), which has passed over into the guttural *Khe* ; see Thesaur. p. 647.

² Talm. יִסְחָנִין ; see Reland Palest. p. 1003

³ R. Parchi in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 442. Carmoly Itin. pp. 382, 453.

⁴ Bibl. Res. 1st ed. III App. p. 133. Zeitschr. d. morg. Ges. III. pp. 50, 60.—There was another *Zaydun* in Gaulonitis, sometimes confounded with this one in Galilee ; Jos. B. J. 4. 1. 1 ; comp. Vit. 37.

⁵ Bearings on ridge, at 9.10 : Sūkhniṛ 142°. 'Arrābeh 123°. Kūbarah (?) 18°. Deir el-Aḥad 2°. Seijūr 49°. 'Akka 288°. Birweh 290°. Sha'ab 286°. Mi'ār 256°. Tell Yānūn 287°.

zôn. From this point there was a good and level road along the valley and across the plain to 'Akka ; and we therefore sent off our muleteers at once for that city. To reach Kūbarah we now had to climb the high and steep northern side of the valley ; and as my companion was still suffering, he preferred to remain here, while I with Rashid and the guide should explore the site of Kūbarah.

Setting off at 9.45, we turned up the Wady for a short time ; and then rose very obliquely along its steep northern declivity. We came out at 10.15, upon a tract of table land forming the broad top of the ridge. Here was a pond of water, and several men ploughing. We kept on towards the north ; and at 10.30 came to the ruins of Kūbarah. They are situated on the northern brow of this tract of table land, looking down upon the southwestern part of the plain of Râmeḥ ; that village being in full view, bearing N. 75° E. The general features of that plain we had correctly recognised from the mountain above Râmeḥ ; but I could here see more fully the gap or Wady which breaks down from the western end towards 'Akka ; through which passes down the Damascus road, but apparently no water from the plain, or at least only from its western extremity.¹

On approaching Kūbarah from the south, there appeared to be a square green Tell or mound, some 15 or 20 feet high. This proved to be the remains of an ancient building, overgrown with grass and rank weeds. It measured 30 paces on the southern, and the same on the western side. The walls which remain are four feet thick ; constructed of large and rudely hewn stones on the outside and inside, and filled in with smaller stones. The walls on the northern and eastern sides are mostly gone. The whole formed a square enclosure, of about 100 feet on each side. Parallel to the southern wall, at ten paces north of it, is another of like thickness ; and the interval is covered over by a round arch, extending the whole length ; thus forming a long and regular vault. It had been broken away in some places ; and repaired at a later period. It serves now as a fold for goats. In the northeast corner of the large enclosure, is another similar, though smaller structure ; also vaulted. These seem to be the ruins of a fortress, or large castle, of high antiquity.

On the southwest of this ruin are two ancient cisterns ; and on the east, two others ; all large, good, and still unbroken. Hewn stones are strewn around in all directions over the extent of an acre or more ; hardly as many, perhaps, as we should expect on the site of a large city ; but yet apparently more than are to be found at Seffûrieh. It must also be borne in mind,

¹ Bearings from Kūbarah : Mejdal Ke- el-Ba'neh N. 15° W. er-Râmeḥ N. 15° E. rûm N. 60° W. Deir el-As'ad N. 20° W. Nuḥf N. 45° E. Mî'âr S. 55° W.

that the ground among the ruins has been ploughed over for centuries.

The name Kūbarah corresponds to the *Gabara* or *Gabaroth* of Josephus.¹ Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gabara were the largest cities of Galilee.² The latter lay north of Sepphoris and of Jotapata. The envoys sent from Jerusalem to intrigue against Josephus in Galilee, proceeded northwards from Xaloth (Iksál) by way of Japha (Yáfa), Sepphoris, and Asochis, to Gabara.³ Vespasian marching from Ptolemais ('Akka), and entering the borders of Galilee, took Gabara by assault; and then sat down before Jotapata, approaching it from the north.⁴ All these circumstances, in connection with the name, serve conclusively to establish the identity of Kūbarah with the ancient Gabara.⁵

The ancient road from Sogane to Gabara probably followed down the side valley running to Wady Sha'ab; and struck that Wady at a point considerably further east than our route; where the descent and ascent are of course shorter and less steep. After spending three quarters of an hour among these hitherto unvisited ruins, I returned to my companion by a route lying more to the right. This took me down to Wady Sha'ab, along a steep and narrow side ravine, by a blind road more difficult and dangerous than any I had elsewhere encountered. Riding was out of the question; for the path led over long tracts of slippery sideling rocks, with frequent steps of two or three feet descent.

Setting off again at 12.25, we now followed down the valley, along its level bottom, which was cultivated in spots. Before coming to the village of Sha'ab, we stopped for ten minutes to obtain water. A family party of peasants were seated under the olive trees enjoying a sort of pic-nic. They had made a fire in a hole in the ground; and were roasting Fūl or beans. They sent a boy to bring us water from a considerable distance. At 1.5 we had the small village of Sha'ab on our left, at the foot of the southern mountain. Mi'ar was visible on the western brow

¹ Gr. Γάβαρα v. Γαβαράδ, the two forms being used interchangeably in Jos. Vita § 45.—The identity with Kūbarah implies merely the interchange of two palatale, γ and κ, Heb. כ and פ, which is not infrequent; see Gesen. Thesaur. p. 252.

² Joseph. Vita 25.

³ Jos. Vit. 45.

⁴ Jos. B. J. 3. 7. 1. This passage now reads πάλιν τὴν Γαβαρὰν, i. e. Gadara; but, as Reland suggests (p. 771), the whole context necessarily requires πάλιν Γαβαρὰν, i. e. Gabara. A copyist would easily thus put a known name in the place of one comparatively unknown. In like manner

Gabara is to be read in Jos. Vita 15.—Reland understood Josephus as saying (Vit. 45), that the distance between Gabara and Jotapata was 40 stadia; Palest. p. 771, 867. But this seems rather to be the distance between Chabolo and Jotapata; so Ritter Erdk. XVI i. p. 761. The direct distance between Jotapata and Gabara, i. e. Jéfāt and Kūbarah, is from 2½ to 3 hours, that is, from 50 to 60 stadia, or from 6 to 8 Roman miles.

⁵ Gabara is elsewhere mentioned only in Joseph. Vit. 10, 40, 46, 61. Gabarothe occurs, ib. 45, 47 bis.

above.¹ Fifteen minutes later we had on our left Tell Yânûn, with slight ruins. The valley had become wider and wider; and now opened out into a broad plain. But ridges and rocky hills continued to extend out on each side from the mountains, sinking down gradually into the great plain further west. The ridge on the north of us makes a bend to the south at its western end; and our course lay along close under it. Above, upon its angle, was seen the village of Birweh. On our left was Dâmôn, near the low end of the southern ridge. Beyond this, and more to the left, apparently on a rocky hill of one of the next ridges, the village of Kabûl came in sight for a short time.²

In this name Kabûl, we may recognise an ancient *Cabul*; probably that once mentioned in the book of Joshua as on the border of Asher;³ and certainly the *Chabolo* of Josephus, a village on the confines of Ptolemais, forty stadia west of Jotapata.⁴ Here Josephus lay for a time encamped, as a convenient post from which to make incursions into Galilee. A Cabul is likewise once or twice spoken of in the Talmudic writings.⁵ But no further mention of it seems to exist until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; when Kabûl was a place of Jewish pilgrimage.⁶ It strangely escaped the notice of Jacotin and the French in 1799. My companion, who passed through Dâmôn in 1844, travelling northwards, saw Kabûl from a more northern point, took a bearing of it, and recognised it as the *Cabul* of Joshua.⁷ In 1847 E. G. Schultz also compared it with the *Chabolo* of Josephus.⁸

Proceeding over the plain, we came at 2 o'clock to the channel of Wady Sha'ab, with water standing in it, and tending towards Nahr Na'mân. At 2.15 we were at the base of the northern hills, as they bend round towards the south. Here was a fountain; and women from Birweh were carrying off water on their heads. Five minutes later 'Akka came in sight in the northwest. At 2.25 we reached the end of the northern line of hills. They terminate here in a low and singular Tell, having a flat top and rounded sides; and appearing as if cut off from the hill back of it, with a passage between almost like a broad artificial trench. It is called Tell Birweh. The route of Dr. Smith in 1844 led from this Tell northwards along the foot of the hills; until he struck the road from 'Akka to Amkah and Sûhmâta. The line of hills on the south of Wady Sha'ab

¹ From Sha'ab, Mfâr bore S. 10° W.

² Bearings at 1. 35: Birweh N. 60° W. Dâmôn S. 55° W. Kabûl S. 5° E.

³ Josh. 19, 27.

⁴ Joseph. Vita 43-45. Reland Pal. p. 701.

⁵ Reland pp. 668, 701.

⁶ R. Parchi in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 428. Carmoly Itin pp. 453, 482.

⁷ E. Smith's Ma. Journal, 1844, April 22d.

⁸ Zeitschr. d. morg. Gesellsch. III. pp. 49, 60. Ritter l. c. p. 761.

terminates at Dâmôn ; west of which, in the plain, stands the isolated Tell Kisôn ; which we afterwards visited.

The plain now widened out on the north, to the next and longer line of hills running down on the north side of the next Wady coming from the direction of the plain of Râmeih. The plain of this Wady is narrower than that we had traversed ; and looking up it we could see Birweh on the southern ridge. At 12.30 there was a well, with watering-troughs of stone forming two sides of a square. The well was furnished with a wheel ; and two men were drawing water by treading the wheel ; illustrating, perhaps, the ancient mode of "watering with the foot." At 3.15 we were opposite to the end of the northern hills ; and the eye now wandered over the great plain unhindered, quite to the promontory of Râs en-Nâkûrah, the *Scala Tyrionum*. An extensive low hill, shaped on this side like a fortification, was on our right at 3.45, lying along on the east of the city. At 3.50 there was another public well with a wheel ; soon after which we came out upon the beautiful beach of hard sand, with the light waves of the Mediterranean rippling at our feet. At 4 o'clock we reached the only land-gate of 'Akka, on the southern shore ; and ten minutes later were welcomed at the house of the American consular agent, Mr. Jirjis Jemâl. Here we remained until Monday.

A visit to 'Akka was not included in our original plan ; we came hither for a single definite object ; and so soon as that could be accomplished, after the rest of Sunday, we desired to hasten away. To effect this, arrangements were begun on Saturday afternoon, and completed early on Monday morning.

The house in which we lodged was not far from the middle of the city, towards the southwest. It was one of the better class, two stories high ; and furnished in some of the rooms with glazed windows, in others not. Here, as in Smyrna, Beirût, and other oriental commercial cities, the family occupied the upper floor ; while the rooms below serve as stables and storehouses. The house, as usual, enclosed a court ; small on the ground, but larger above as a sort of terrace. A broad staircase of stone came up in the middle of this terrace ; with a thin breastwork around it above, decorated with pots of flowers. The floor of the terrace was of stucco, laid with pebbles of different colours, arranged in ornamental figures. The principal rooms were at the four corners, with smaller rooms and offices between. At the west end, the space between the corner rooms was covered by the roof, with windows looking out upon the Mediterranean and Carmel ; but on the inside not enclosed. It afforded a pleasant retreat ; and I gazed here many times upon

¹ Deut. 11, 10. See Vol. II. p. 22. [ii. 351.]

the blue waters of the sea and bay ; upon the long ridge of Carmel rising suddenly from the waves, with the convent and church upon its extremity ; as also upon Haifa, at the base of Carmel, and rising along the foot of its slope. According to the custom of the country, we set up our own beds in the room assigned to us.

Our host's family consisted of his widowed mother, a younger brother, and two sisters, all unmarried. An older sister is the wife of the British consul at Yâfa. Both the sons had been educated at the seminary connected with the mission at Beirût ; and the youngest sister had likewise just completed the full course in the female school of the same mission. They all (except the mother) spoke English to some extent ; and exhibited the intelligence and ease acquired by mingling in good society. They were originally of the Greek church, and from Beirût ; but were now Protestants. The youngest sister, in her desire to impart the good which she had herself received, had opened a small school for young girls ; in which, at first, the teaching did not go far beyond knitting, sewing, and reading. Yet even these humble efforts had been publicly denounced in the Greek churches ; though only two pupils had been taken away.—The family lived with simplicity and good taste. The parlour table exhibited quite a show of good English books. The meals were served in Frank style ; possibly in part on our account ; and the females all partook with us. Our host was turning his attention to commercial pursuits ; and manifested an intelligent acquaintance with the public affairs of his own and other countries.

We had here a pleasant and quiet Sabbath. The weather could not be finer ; and the beauty of Carmel stood forth revealed. Many of the leading inhabitants, friends of the family, called ; and my companion found many opportunities for religious conversation.

Early on Monday morning our friend took me to the flat roof of the house, which affords a view of 'Akka and the region around it. On the south, at the distance of eight or ten miles, is Carmel with its long level ridge ; on the east the hills and mountains of Galilee at nearly a like distance ; the intervening great and fertile plain stretches away in the north to Râs en-Nâkûrah ; beyond which we could see the White cape, Râs el-Abyad, running down to the sea. On the right, and south of the ridge of en-Nâkûrah, the great chasm of Wady el-Kûrn was seen breaking down through the mountains to the plain. Still south of this, on the northern side of a deep and shorter valley, Wady Jedin, a ruined fortress was conspicuous, Kû'lat Jedin ; apparently the *Castellum Indi* of the Teutonic knights.¹

¹ Brocardus c. 4. So Mariti. II. p. 144

The Sâhil, or plain itself, teems with fertility, wherever tilled ; and yields the finest grain and most delicious fruits. Cotton has also long been cultivated.¹ But, like the adjacent though smaller plain of Esdraelon, it lies in great part neglected. Yet there are here more villages.²

'Akka itself is little more than a fortress in the sea. The plain here throws out a low triangular projection, forming the northern limit of the great bay ; and this is covered by the city. From the southwestern extremity the remains of a former mole run out towards the coast ; and here was the ancient harbour. It is now shallow and unsafe ; and vessels usually lie in the road of Haifa opposite, under Carmel. Massive fortifications guard the city towards the sea on both sides. The thick walls and bastions might furnish a noble promenade ; but it is not open to the public. In the northeast corner an old castle was still in ruins from the bombardment of 1840. On the land side there is a double rampart ; of which the exterior one was constructed by Jezzâr Pasha, after the retreat of the French in 1799.³ The low broad hill on the east of the city, which was on our right as we approached, seems to have been the *Turon* of the crusaders ; on which king Guido of Jerusalem pitched his camp during the siege of 'Akka ;⁴ and where too the French in 1799 erected their batteries.

The streets of 'Akka are much wider than those of Beirût ; and the town more open. The court of the great mosk built by Jezzâr, looked pleasant with its trees and fountains, as we passed by. An aqueduct from the northeast, built originally also by Jezzâr, usually supplies the city with water ; but it was now out of repair, and water was brought in from a fountain a mile distant.

I was disappointed in the extent of 'Akka. The area on which it stands is small. The present population, according to our host, is reckoned at only 5000 souls ; although the census gives 3171, as the number of males. Of these there are 2378 Muslims and Druzes ; and 793 Christians and Jews.

'Akka at the present day is the seat of a Turkish Pasha ; whose jurisdiction extends over the districts of the Sâhil, the Jebel, the Shâghûr, Shefa 'Omar, Safed, Tiberias, Nazareth, and Atlit and Haifa. The chief exports are grain and cotton. The place is visited by French, Italian, and Austrian vessels ; but by few from Great Britain.⁵ Vessels of much size anchor at Haifa.

¹ Sandys mentions, that in his day (1611) cotton grew "abundantly in the country adjoining;" p. 160.

² Along this plain lies the great northern road to Tyre, Sidon, and Beirût. I subjoin an Itinerary of the route between 'Akka and Tyre by Capt. Newbold. See Note II, end of the volume.

³ Marmont's *Voyage*, etc. III. p. 79.

⁴ G. de Vinisaulf I. 26, 32 ; in Bohn's *Chronicles of the Crusades*, pp. 104, 112. For other names of this hill, see Wilken *Gesch. d. Kreuzz.* IV. p. 255. n.

⁵ Bowring's *Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria*, pp. 52, 58.

We were indebted to Mr Jemâl for a document giving the statistics of the province of 'Akka, viz. its population, yokes of oxen, villages, taxes in money and produce, its productions, and the number of mosks, churches, and synagogues. This document is given in full at the end of the volume.¹

This city is the *Accho* of the Old Testament; from which Asher did not drive out the Canaanites.² It would hence appear to have lain in the territory of that tribe; although not mentioned in the distribution of Joshua.³ Afterwards it took the name of *Ptolemais*, probably from one of the earlier Ptolemys of Egypt; though the occasion is unknown. It is referred to in the New Testament, as visited by Paul on his way to Jerusalem.⁴ Several times it is mentioned as Ptolemais in the books of the Maccabees;⁵ and also frequently by Josephus, who correctly describes its position, and assigns it to Galilee.⁶ Strabo speaks of it as a great city; of which the Persians availed themselves as a point from which to attack Egypt.⁷ By Pliny it is called a colony of the emperor Claudius; and it bears the same appellation on coins.⁸ In the early centuries of the Christian era, it is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome;⁹ and was the seat of a Christian bishopric. This latter, however, seems to have possessed no extensive influence; since no historical notice of it has come down to us, except the names of five or six of the incumbents; and that only in the signatures of councils.¹⁰ Upon the capture of Jerusalem by the Khalif Omar, in A. D. 637, his victorious armies followed up the conquest of Palestine; and after the surrender of Cæsarea, the other cities, including Ptolemais or 'Akka, yielded without resistance, in A. D. 638, to the summons of the invaders.¹¹

Little more is known of the city until the time of the crusades. Among the inhabitants of the land its Greek appellation, as in so many other instances, was forgotten; and Arabian writers know the place only as 'Akka. With the crusades began a comparatively brief but palmy period of prosperity and renown. The first host of pilgrims in 1099, in their haste to

¹ See Note III, end of the volume.

² Judg. 1, 31. Heb. 'אֲכָז; Sept. 'Ακχά; also Gr. 'Ακκ, Jos. Ant. 9. 14. 2. Diod. Sic. 19. 93; Lat. *Acc*, Plin. H. N. 5. 17. See Reland p. 534 sq.

³ Josh. 19. 24-31.—The name is now commonly held to be implied in the form בִּכְרִי, for בִּכְרִי. Mic. 1, 10.

⁴ Acts 21, 7.

⁵ 1 Macc. 10, 39. 56 sq. 11, 22. 24, etc. 2 Macc. 13, 24. 25, etc.

⁶ Jos. B. J. 2. 10. 2. ib. 2. 18. 5; also Antt. 12. 8. 2. ib. 13. 2. 1. ib. 13. 4. 1, 2, etc.

⁷ Strabo 16. 2. 25. p. 758.

⁸ Pliny H. N. 5. 17, *colonia Claudii Cæsaris Ptolemais, quæ quondam Acc*. Comp. 36. 65.—For the coins, see Reland p. 538. Earlier coins, struck under Alexander the Great, see in Gesen. Monum. Phœn. p. 269, and Tab. 35.

⁹ Onomast. art. *Accho*. Hieron. Comm. in Am. i. 2.

¹⁰ See the names in Reland, p. 542. Comp. le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 775.

¹¹ Gibbon, History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. 51.

reach the Holy City, left 'Akka as well as other cities in the hands of the Muslims as they hurried by; receiving from the governor of 'Akka a pledge to surrender to them the city when they should have captured Jerusalem, unless he should be relieved.¹ This promise was of course not kept. In 1103 king Baldwin I, with an army of five thousand men, sat down before 'Akka. The possession of the place was regarded by the Latins as of great importance, on account of the good and secure harbour; which at this time was enclosed by the walls of the city.² For five weeks the Christians carried on a vigorous siege; but drew off their forces on the arrival of a fleet from Tyre and Tripoly for the relief of the garrison.³ The next spring, however, in 1104, king Baldwin renewed the siege with the aid of a Genoese fleet; and pressed it with such vigour and success, that after twenty days the city was delivered over to the Christians.⁴

'Akka speedily became to the crusaders, next to Jerusalem, the most important city of the Holy Land; and ultimately the residence of the Christian sovereigns. To its port came the fleets of the Pisans, Genoese, Venetians, and others, laden with crusaders and pilgrims, and also with stores, wares, and merchandise.⁵ These circumstances account for the massive fortifications and the numerous palaces, hospitals, arsenals, and warehouses, which now gave strength and importance to the city. In 1148 a grand council assembled here to deliberate upon the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Three sovereigns took part in the council; Conrad III. of Hohenstaufen, Louis VII. of France, and Baldwin III. of Jerusalem; besides many princes and barons, spiritual and temporal, including the Grand Masters of the two great orders of Templars and Hospitalers.⁶ Yet with all its wealth and splendour and might, the accumulated results of more than fourscore years of prosperity, 'Akka, in 1187, two days after the disastrous battle of Hattin, surrendered without resistance on the approach of Saladin. The booty was immense.⁷

But the possession of 'Akka, as the entrance and key of Syria, was too essential to the Christians, for them to suffer it to remain long in the hands of the infidels, without an effort to recover it. Near the end of August, 1189, king Guido, with a force not exceeding ten thousand men, pitched his camp upon the hill Turon on the east side of 'Akka. The city, which in

¹ Raim. de Ag. in Gesta Dei, p. 173. Wilken, I. p. 267 sq.

² Fulcher. Carn. c. 30, "nobis valde necessaria, quoniam inest ei portus adeo utilis, ut intra moenia secunda naves quam plurimas sane concipere valeat."

³ Fulcher. Carn. c. 23. Albert. Aqueua. 9. 18. Wilken II. p. 194.

⁴ Fulcher. Carn. c. 30. Alb. Ag. 9. 27-29. Will. Tyr. 10. 26. Wilken II. p. 195 sq.

⁵ Comp. Benj. of Tud. I. 63 sq.

⁶ See a list of those present, Will. Tyr. 16. 1. Wilken III. i. p. 236. n.

⁷ Bohaed. Vita Salad. p. 71. Geof. Vini. sauf I. 5, 6. Wilken III. ii. p. 292.

the mean time Saladin had taken the utmost pains to fortify, was immediately invested ; while a Pisan fleet shut it in also by sea. Saladin, who was occupied with the siege of Kūl'at esh-Shūkif (Belfort), hastened to the relief of 'Akka ; but could only hover upon the outskirts of the Christian host. The siege continued with variable fortunes ; until after almost two years, the arrival of Philip Augustus, king of France, in April, 1191, and of Richard of England in the June following, with fresh forces, inspired the besiegers with new confidence, and filled the besieged with despondency. On the 12th of July, 'Akka was again delivered over to the Christians, with all its treasures of gold and silver, its stores of arms and provisions, and all the vessels of war and merchantmen lying in its port.¹

The city now remained for a century in the possession of the Christians. It suffered greatly from an earthquake in May, 1202 ;² and became in 1229 the chief seat of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the rendezvous of the crusaders.³ Along with the court followed also the great orders of the knights ; and 'Akka became henceforth the head-quarters of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Templars, and of the Teutonic knights. The former took now the style of St. John of 'Akka ; which, in the French orthography, *St. Jean d'Acre*, became the current appellation of the city in the European world.⁴ The Teutonic knights acquired extensive lands and many fortresses in the mountainous districts in the northeast of 'Akka ; some of which may be recognised at the present day.⁵

The early religious zeal of the crusaders, had long since degenerated into what was little more than political and personal ambition ; and 'Akka, as the place where the varying interests of different sects, orders, and nations, were all concentrated, became the scene of bitter strife and open feuds. Between the Pisans and Genoese in 1192, and between the latter and the Venetians in 1256, disputes ran so high as to result in bloody warfare.⁶ The great orders of the Hospitalers and Templars were ever at variance ; to say nothing of the personal enmities and intrigues existing among the princes and nobles of every name. The Christian inhabitants of the city, generally, had likewise acquired the unenviable renown of dealing more favourably with the Saracens than with their Christian brethren ; of being given over to falsehood and wickedness ; and of habitually prac-

¹ See the history of this siege. and the authorities, in Wilken IV. pp. 253-357.

² Wilken VI. p. 6.

³ Wilken VI. p. 515.

⁴ The crusaders appear early to have corrupted the Arabic form 'Akka into *Acker* ; or, as written in French, *Acre*. See

the old German poem "Freydank," as quoted by Wilken, VI. p. 515. Benjamin of Tudela already wrote עקרא, though with a wrong Hebrew letter ; Asher's edit. I. p. 63 ; Heb. p. 31.

⁵ Ritter Erdk. XVI. i. p. 782.

⁶ Wilken. IV. p. 473. VII. p. 396.

tising deceit, fraud and treachery.¹ Along with all these evils, the increase of wealth, splendour, and luxury, was enormous. The city was the centre of intercourse between the east and the west; wealthy nobles from the other cities of Syria and from Europe took up here their abode; merchants of all countries, from the west and from the east, established themselves in 'Akka, and filled their warehouses with the products of every clime; and all external circumstances testified to the activity, the extent, and the prosperity of commercial enterprise.

Such was 'Akka, when, on the 5th of April, 1291, the Sultan Melek el-Ashraf, the son of Kalāwūn, with an immense host of Saracen warriors, sat down to invest it.² After various conflicts and impetuous assaults of the besiegers, and a brave, but not united defence on the part of the besieged, the city was at length taken by storm on the 18th of May. The Christian inhabitants in great numbers, were treacherously massacred; the place after being given over to plunder, was set on fire in every part; the walls, the churches, and the strong palaces, were demolished; and the whole city was levelled to the ground.³ The crusaders immediately withdrew from all the other cities; and such was the end of the Christian dominion in Palestine.

Fifty years later, Ludolf von Suchem tells us, that the work of demolition was continued through many years; and was not so complete, but that the churches, walls, towers, and palaces, might under better fortunes be again restored. In his day, 'Akka was still empty and desolate. The place swarmed with doves and partridges. About sixty Saracens still lingered there, to guard the place and the port; who got their living from these birds and from the culture of silk.⁴

Other travellers of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, appear not to have visited 'Akka; and those who mention it, speak of it only from hearsay, or as seen from the vessel as they sailed by.⁵ Sandys, in 1611, was four days at 'Akka; and speaks of the remains as still exhibiting the utmost massiveness and strength.⁶ Only two or three hundred inhabitants dwelt among the ruins. There were also Frank merchants, dwelling in a strong square cave, and freighting their ships with

¹ Wilken VI. p. 515.

² Wilken VII. p. 736.

³ Wilken VII. pp. 760-770.

⁴ Ludolf de Such. c. 26.

⁵ So Breydenbach (1483) in Reyasb. p. 118; Zuallart (1586) V. c. 8; Cotovicus (1598) p. 125.

⁶ Sandys' Travels, pp. 159, 160: "The carcass shews that the body hath been strong, fortified with bulwarks and towers; to each wall a ditch, lined with stone; and

under those divers secret posterns. You would think by the ruins, that the city rather consisted wholly of divers conjoyn-ing castles, than any way mixed with private dwellings; . . . the huge walls and arches turned topsie-turvy, and lying like rocks upon the foundation."—Sandys refers to no particular ruin, except "a goodly temple" of the Hospitalers near the south side of the city; p. 160.

cotton, which grew abundantly in the country adjoining. Eugene Roger in 1645, Doubdan in 1652, and D'Arvieux in 1658, describe in like manner the desolation of 'Akka; and enter into more specifications.¹ The latter speaks of the place as a vast heap of magnificent ruins, partly covered by the sand driven up by the winds.² There were many large and fine vaults, which once served as cisterns or as magazines; but being now full of stagnant water, they added to the unhealthiness of the place. D'Arvieux specifies the remains of five structures as then existing, all of them from the time of the crusades; viz. the church of St. Andrew, the Marine arsenal, the hotel of the knights Hospitalers, the palace of their Grand Master, and the church of St. John connected with it.³ The Emir, Fakhr ed-Din, had erected a large and convenient Khân; but, at the same time, had filled up the port, as in the case of Sidon and other cities.⁴ In this Khân the Frank merchants were now lodged; and here, in July, D'Arvieux and most of the others fell sick of fever; which he ascribes to the noxious qualities of the atmosphere.⁵

For almost another century the leading travellers in Palestine add little to our knowledge of 'Akka; as Nau in 1674, Maundrell in 1697, and Pococke in 1737.⁶ But about 1749, a new era began for the desolated city. The noted Sheikh Dhâher el-'Omar, whose history has been glanced at in a former volume of this work,⁷ had now taken possession of 'Akka. His story is told with some fulness by Niebuhr, and especially by Volney.⁸ He was master of Safed, Tiberias, and all Galilee; and made 'Akka his residence; professing to hold all as a fief from the Pasha of Sidon,⁹ yet maintaining himself for many years as an independent chief, against the attacks and intrigues of neighbouring Pashas and of his own family. The walls and fortifications were early built up;¹⁰ the population greatly increased;¹¹ the administration of justice was praiseworthy;¹² and the Sheikh took

¹ Eug. Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, pp. 44-46. Doubdan p. 545 sq. D'Arvieux *Mémoires*, I. p. 269 sq.

² D'Arvieux *ib.* pp. 270, 279.

³ D'Arvieux *ib.* pp. 272-275.

⁴ D'Arvieux *ib.* p. 278. Mariti, II. p. 84.

⁵ D'Arvieux *ib.* p. 292.

⁶ *Nau Voyage*, 5. c. 19. Maundrell under March 21st, "Besides a large Khân, in which the French factors have taken up their quarters, and a mosque, and a few poor cottages, you see nothing here but a vast and spacious ruin." Pococke II. i. p. 51 sq.

⁷ See Vol. II. p. 393 sq.

⁸ Niebuhr (1766) *Reisebeschr.* III. p. 72 sq. Volney (1783) *Voyage* c. 25. Tom. II. p. 84 sq.

⁹ Mariti II. p. 96.

¹⁰ Stephan Schulz was at 'Akka in 1754. Dhâher had already completed his own castle, on the site of the hotel of the knights of St. John; and the wall of the city on the land-side; using for that purpose the stones of one of the old churches. The Sheikh gave Schulz letters to two of his sons, then governors in Tiberias and Safed. See Schulz *Leitungen* etc. V. pp. 181, 187, 227. Paulus' *Sammlung*. Th. VII. pp. 40, 45, 72.

¹¹ I find no estimate of the population at this period; but Niebuhr says that "the houses are here high, and the place populous;" *ib.* p. 72.

¹² Mariti *ib.* p. 98.

great pains to revive and extend commerce. In this he was successful ; and in Mariti's time (1760), consuls from several European powers had been established at 'Akka. One of the principal exports was cotton.¹ In 1775, when nearly ninety years old, the Sheikh was entrapped and slain by the emissaries of the Sultan ; and his head sent to Constantinople.² He was succeeded by the still more notorious Ahmed, surnamed *el-Jezzâr* 'the Butcher.'

This remarkable and ferocious personage was a native of Bosnia. While still young, he sold himself to a slave-merchant in Constantinople ; and, being purchased by 'Aly Bey in Egypt, he rose from the humble lot of a Memlûk slave, to the post of governor of Cairo.³ Volney relates,⁴ that in 1773, the Emir of the Druzes, Yûsuf, placed Jezzâr, a creature of the Turks, in command at Beirût. He first took possession of fifty thousand piastres belonging to the Emir ; and then declared, that he acknowledged no superior but the Sultan. Yûsuf applied to the Pasha of Damascus ; who disavowed Jezzâr, but did not displace him. Piqued at this neglect, Yûsuf now made common cause with Sheikh Dhâher of 'Akka ; and, aided by a Russian fleet, they made a successful attack upon Beirût. Jezzâr was compelled to capitulate ; he betook himself alone to Dhâher, and followed him to 'Akka ; but soon escaped. On the death of Dhâher, he was made Pasha of 'Akka and Sidon ; took up his residence in the former city ; and was for some years occupied in subduing and destroying the sons of Dhâher, and securing for himself their territories.⁵ In Volney's time, 1785, his Pashalik embraced the whole country between the Nahr el-Kelb and Cæsarea along the coast ; extending inland to Anti-Lebanon and the upper Jordan ; and including also Ba'albek.⁶

At this time 'Akka had become one of the chief cities along the coast. The Pasha had already erected his splendid mosk, the covered bazaar or market, and the fine aqueduct bringing water across the plain from the northeast, with its noble fountains. In all these and other works, Jezzâr was his own engineer and architect ; himself directing and superintending their progress. The fortifications, though built with great care, were of little value.⁷ In like manner, Brown in 1797, describes the wall as "of very moderate strength ;" while the arbitrary caprices of Jezzâr had injured commerce and agriculture ; so that his chief source of revenue and wealth was now the district

¹ Mariti ib. p. 102 sq.

² Niebuhr ib. p. 76. Volney ib. p. 120.

³ These particulars are stated by Dr E. D. Clarke on the authority of Jezzâr himself. How far they accord with exact verity, is another question. See E. D.

Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land, Lond 1812, 4to. c. 12. pp. 364, 365.

⁴ Voyage, II. p. 112 sq.

⁵ Volney, ib. II. p. 125.

⁶ Volney, ib. II. p. 164 sq.

⁷ Volney, ib. II. p. 209 sq.

of Damascus. In 1791 he had quarrelled with the French factories at 'Akka, Sidon, and Beirût ; and expelled the merchants from his territories on three days' notice. He had early conceived an enmity against that nation ; which the events of his subsequent history did not tend to allay.¹

Such was the general position of 'Akka, when on the 20th of March, 1799, it was invested by the French army under Bonaparte. The English admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, had arrived two days before, with two ships of war ; and had aided Jezzâr hastily to put the fortifications in a state of preparation for an attack. A fleet of transports, bringing stores and heavy ordnance from Alexandria for the French, had been captured by the English ; and were now turned against the invaders. As this celebrated siege is a matter of recent history, we need here only remark, that after eight deadly assaults, in which the French were repulsed by Arab valour aided by English skill ; and notwithstanding the intermediate victory of Mount Tabor ; the invaders after sixty days gave up the siege on the 20th of May, and commenced their retreat. Here first waned the star of Napoleon's fortunes.²

The fortifications of 'Akka were afterwards strengthened by a second rampart and ditch on the land side.³ Jezzâr died in May, 1804, after an illness of nine months, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his rule as Pasha.⁴ His cruelty and atrocities bring vividly to mind the like characteristics of the first Herod ; and it is remarkable, that two such monsters in human form should die in their beds, and not be cut off by the vengeance of their outraged subjects. According to Dr Clarke, Jezzâr was his own "minister, treasurer, and secretary ; and not unfrequently both judge and executioner in the same instant." Of his attendants, "some were without a nose ; others without an arm, with one ear only, or one eye ; *marked men*, as he termed them."⁵ As late as 1815, it was not uncommon to meet in the streets of 'Akka men who had been deprived by Jezzâr of an eye, an ear, or part of the nose.⁶ On one occasion, he put to death seven of his wives with his own hand.⁷

The successor of Jezzâr was Isma'il ; and he again after a few years was succeeded by Sulcimân ; under whose peaceful rule the city and district recovered their prosperity.⁸ Such is

¹ Brown's Travels, c. 23. pp. 366-370.

² Thiers Hist. de la Révolution, X. pp. 402-410. Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon, I. c. 29.

³ Marmont, III p. 79. Irby and Mangles, p. 195. [60.]

⁴ Buckingham, Palest. 4to. p. 80.

⁵ E. D. Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land, 4to. p. 362 sq.

⁶ Turner's Tour in the Levant, II. p. 114.

⁷ Clarke ib. p. 363.

⁸ Buckingham ib. pp. 84, 85.

the general testimony of travellers at this period ; who, however, differ greatly in their estimates of the population.¹ In 1820, Abdallah became Pasha of 'Akka ; but soon fell into strife with the Porte and the neighbouring Pashas ; and was besieged for nine months in vain.² He at last made his peace through the mediation of Muhammed 'Aly of Egypt. In 1829 he had become jealous of this powerful neighbour ;³ and was making every preparation for a vigorous defence.⁴ Nor were his fears groundless ; for on the 27th of November, 1831, Ibrahim Pasha with an Egyptian army sat down before 'Akka. Without engineers to carry on the siege in that scientific manner, which ensures success within a certain number of weeks or days, Ibrahim occupied the time in a furious bombardment. More than thirty-five thousand shells were thrown into the town ; not a habitation escaped uninjured ; and whole streets were blocked up with half-demolished houses. Yet no breach was made in the walls ; and the ramparts remained with little damage, and almost untouched. Wearied at the delay and loss of time, as also at this waste of munitions without result, Muhammed 'Aly sent to the siege a Neapolitan engineer who was in Egypt, named Roset. He set on foot regular approaches ; and at the end of fifteen days, the city was taken. Marmont remarks, that the same result would probably have been gained at the outset, had the attack been at first directed by skilful engineers. As it was, the siege continued six months ; the city having been taken by storm on the 27th of May 1832. It was given over to pillage, and the place was left a shapeless mass of ruins.⁵

Yet by reason of that tenacity of habit or affection, with which orientals cling to their hearths and homes, 'Akka speedily, though partially, recovered from its overthrow ; the walls and fortifications were renewed ;⁶ the streets and dwellings reappeared ; and commerce once more revived.⁷ But again, in the autumn of 1840, the city was subjected to bombardment by the combined fleets of England, Austria, and Turkey ; and on the 3d of November the explosion of the powder magazine destroyed in a moment more than two thousand Egyptian soldiers, and put an end to the contest. The remnant of the Egyptian troops retired from 'Akka during the next night.⁸ The houses and

¹ In 1815, Turner gives the population at from seven to eight thousand ; II. p. 111. In the same year O. v. Richter states the number at 15,000 ; p. 68. Mr Connor, in 1820, specifies 10,000 ; see Jowett's *Chr. Researches* p. 423. Berggren, in 1821, again has 15,000 ; *Reisen* II. p. 225. The account of Turner is probably nearest the truth.

² *Conversations-Lexicon der Gegenw.* 1839, art. *Ibrahim Pasha*.

³ Prokesch, pp. 146, 147.

⁴ G. Robinson's *Travels*, I p. 197.

⁵ See generally, Hogg's *Visit etc.* II. p. 159 sq. Marmont *Voyage* III. p. 84 sq — The Egyptian bulletin on the occasion, see in Hogg, I p. 153 sq.

⁶ Marmont *ib.* p. 79. Bowring's *Report*, p. 28.

⁷ Bowring's *Report*, pp. 52, 58.

⁸ *Nautical Magazine*, Jan. 1841. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 236. Durbin's *Observations in the East*, II. p. 39.

other buildings of the city suffered of course great damage ; and in 1843 many workmen were employed in repairing them, as well as the fortifications, under the direction of Turkish officers.¹

These efforts have been in the main successful ; and 'Akka, as we saw it, bears few traces of having been a desolated city ; at least not more than the other cities of the country, among which it is still the strongest. Yet among the many devastations and renovations which the place has undergone, it is easy to conceive, that the remains of edifices from the times of the crusades should have become less and less distinct. Of the five structures of which D'Arvieux speaks,² a French traveller, De Mas Latrie, who in 1845 searched here expressly for the monuments of the crusades, found only three ; viz. the church of St. Andrew, of which, however, there now remains only a small chapel near the sea ; the hotel (Hôpital) of the knights Hospitalers, now the military hospital ; and the church of St. John.³ Many fine relics of an earlier, and probably of Greek and Roman antiquity, are seen built into the walls of public edifices and other works ; consisting of the shafts and capitals of granite and other columns, fragments of antique marble, masses of the *verd antique* breccia, and of Syenite. But the splendid columns and marble decorations of Jezzar's mosk, and of his palace, were brought by him from the ruins of Cæsarea.⁴

HAIFA, as I had occasion to state in a former volume, is the *Sycaminum* of Greek and Roman writers.⁵ This is expressly affirmed by both Jerome and Eusebius, who lived in the country ; the latter near by at Cæsarea ; and the authority of these fathers, in such a case, is too great to be called in question.⁶ It is several times spoken of in the Talmudic writings under both names.⁷ The traveller Sæwulf mentions it ; as also R. Benjamin and R. Parchi.⁸ In A. D. 1100, Tancred besieged it, and took it by storm.⁹ Arabian writers also often speak of it.¹⁰ In the times of the crusades, it was sometimes mistaken for the ancient Porphyreon ;¹¹ which, however, as we have seen, was at Neby Yûnas between Sidon and Beirût.

The present convent on MOUNT CARMEL is an edifice of quite

¹ Wilson ib. p. 236.

² See above, p. 96.

³ See his Letter in Archives des Missions Scientif. et Lit. Fevr. 1850, p. 105. Ritter Erdk. XVI. i. p. 736.

⁴ Clarke's Travels, ib. pp. 381, 382.

⁵ Strabo 16; 2. 27. Jos. Ant. 13. 12. 3. Itin. Antonini, p. 149. Itin. Hieros. p. 584. See Vol. II. p. 340. [iii. 194.]

⁶ Onomast. art. *Japhic*: "Oppidum, Sycaminum nomine, de Cæsarea Ptolemai-

dem pergentibus super mare propter montem Carmelam, *Ephe* ('Ηφά) dicitur."

⁷ Reland, pp. 699, 819, 1024.

⁸ Sæwulf, Bohn's edition, p. 48. Asher's Be j. of Tud. I. p. 64. II. p. 429.

⁹ Alb. Aqueua. 7. 22-26. Wilken II. pp. 71, 72.

¹⁰ Edrisi par Jaubert, I. p. 348. Schultens Ind. in Vit. Saladin, art. *Chaipha*.

¹¹ See Will. Tyr. 9. 13. Jac. de Vit. p. 1067.

recent date. The site is very conspicuous ; and therefore is most probably that of the heathen altar where Vespasian sacrificed, and the priest foretold his future fortunes.¹ The mountain was early the resort of hermits dwelling in caves and grottos ; many of which are still extant.² This continued in the time of the crusades.³ In A. D. 1180, Phocas speaks of the ruins of what he calls a large monastery, on the extreme point of the promontory, towards the sea.⁴ A century later, when Brocardus wrote, the order of Carmelites occupied the mountain ; and about 1340, in the time of Ludolf von Suchem, they had on it a fine *claustrum* built in honour of the virgin ; and fifteen *claustra* in the Holy Land generally.⁵ In the days of Quaresmius, about 1620, there existed upon the summit of the mountain, only the ruins of a large church.⁶ Thirty or forty years later, Doubdan and D'Arvieux both speak of the massive remains as those of an ancient monastery ; which the former refers to Helena, and the other to St. Louis, king of France ; and both with equal probability.⁷ At this time the monks dwelt in excavated grottos ; and had also an excavated chapel. All this, according to Mariti, continued in the same state in 1760.⁸ At some later time, a regular convent was erected ; as to which I find no historical notice ; but it was used by the French army in 1799 as a hospital ; and was afterwards desolated by the Turks.⁹ In 1821, Abdallah, Pasha of 'Akka, totally destroyed this building.¹⁰ The present structure has been since erected by the persevering efforts of a single monk. The history of the enterprise is given by Schubert and Wilson.¹¹

¹ Tacit. Hist. 2. 78. Sueton. Vesp. c. 5.

² In some of these Scholz found early Greek inscriptions ; which, from the form of the letters, he refers to the early centuries of the Christian era ; Reise, pp. 151-154.

³ Jac. de Vit. c. 52. p. 1075.

⁴ Phocas in L. Allat. Symmikta, p. 45.

⁵ Brocardus, c. 10. Ludolf de Such. c. 28.

⁶ Quaresmius, II. p. 893. b.

⁷ Doubdan, p. 500. D'Arvieux Mém. II. p. 306.

⁸ Mariti Voyage. II. pp. 126, 130. Pococke, II. i. p. 56.

⁹ Turner, II. p. 117. O. v. Richter, p. 65. Wilson, I. p. 244.

¹⁰ Document in Wilson, II. p. 244.

¹¹ Schubert, III. p. 210 sq. Wilson, II. p. 243 sq. Ritter Erdk. XVI. i. p. 718 sq.

SECTION III.

FROM 'AKKA THROUGH GALILEE AND SAMARIA TO JERUSALEM.

Monday, April 19th. Having this morning succeeded in hiring a horse, and our host having obtained for us a *Biryurdy* from the Pasha, we left the gate of 'Akka at 10.20, setting our faces again towards Galilee, and intending to proceed by the route of Wady 'Abilin.

Our road for half an hour was the same by which we had approached the city on Saturday. Here a fork went off in a more southeasterly direction, which we took. It led us at once into a low, broad, miry tract, which had quite recently been a wide marsh ; but was now dry enough in most places to sustain the horses. Earlier in the season this part of the road must be impassable. The path even now was blind ; and we lost twenty-five minutes in seeking for it, and in waiting for our muleteers ; who seemed ever to have a special faculty for taking the wrong road. Through this low tract passes the water-bed of Wady Sha'ab or Hailazôn, on its way to unite with the river Na'mân near the mouth of the latter.

Beyond this depression in the plain, we soon came to rich pastures ; where many cavalry horses were tethered out to graze, watched by soldiers, whose tents were near at hand. Large numbers of camels were also feeding. In one place the soldiers were regularly mowing and making hay ; the only time that I saw this process in Palestine. The hay, when dry, was twisted into ropes for easier transportation. Then followed, nearer the mountains, fields covered with splendid crops of wheat and barley ; the latter in the ear. As we rode along, a hill with two sharp points rose apparently directly in front of the gap, which comes from the plain of Râmeḥ ; and it was difficult to tell on which side of it the valley actually descends. As we advanced, however, we could see the gap on the south side of

the hill ; on which side also the Damascus road passes up. We came at length to the northern foot of Tell Kisôn ; which we had seen at a distance on Saturday. Here was a well or fountain, with a low building over it ; but no water. Two men were asleep on the top ; one of whom, from Tûmrah, we engaged as a guide. He proved to be the best we had yet found. We reached the summit of the Tell at 12.30 ; the muleteers having been sent forward to await us at Kefr Menda.

Tell Kisôn stands in the plain, directly in a range with the low spur, or line of hills, which runs down west from the mountains to Dâmôn. It is nearly two miles distant from that village.¹ It is high and regular ; but has no traces of any ruin upon it. Here many villages were in sight, mostly lying higher or lower upon the eastern hills. Nearly in the south was Shefa 'Omar, on a ridge overlooking the plain. It is a market town, now the head of a district, with streets of shops frequented by the neighbouring peasants. Here is a large castle or palace, built by a son of Dhâher el-'Omar, but now deserted.² 'Abilin was before us and nearer at hand, perched upon a high and sharp hill, on the south side of the Wady of the same name ; also looking out over the plain.³ Still nearer to us were Tûmrah, Ruweis, Dâmôn, and Birweh ; as also Mi'ar on its higher mountain brow. Kabûl was not here visible ; being hidden by intervening hills. In the northeast, along the hills, we could still distinguish, among others, Kûl'at Jedin and Yerka ; while 'Amkah, which we had seen from the road further north, was now concealed. 'Amkah is on the south side of the deep Wady, on the north of which is situated Kûl'at Jedin. The name suggests the *Beth-emek* of Asher, but the position does not seem to admit of their identity ; since the latter is mentioned as near the valley of *Jiphtah-el*, on the border between Asher and Zebulun.⁴

In the plain, still a mile or more west of Tell Kisôn, was another similar mound called Tell Da'ûk, said to have remains upon it.⁵ More towards the southwest, perhaps two miles distant from us,

¹ The name of Tell Kisôn has a resemblance only in English to that of the river *Kishon*. In Arabic the letters are different (*Kaph* and *Koph*). The Tell has no connection with the river.

² E. Smith, *Ma. Journal*, Apr. 20th, 1844. Clarke's *Travels*, p. 396. *Mod. Traveller in Palest.* p. 329.—Mentioned also by R. Parchi, as *Shefaram*, Asher's Benj. of *Tud.* II. p. 428.

³ Comp. Pococke, II. i. p. 61. Lynch's *Official Report*, p. 13. It is mentioned also in a Jewish *Itinerary* of the fourteenth century ; Carmoly, p. 255.

⁴ Josh. 19, 27 ; comp. v. 14.—Bearings from Tell Kisôn : 'Akka 310°. Kûl'at Jedin 32°. Yerka 39°. Abu Sinân 44°. Birweh 43°. Dâmôn 87°, 1½ m. Mi'ar 93°. Ruweis 115°, 1¼ m. Tûmrah 120°. 'Abilin 150°. Shefa 'Omar 172°. Tell Kurdâny 238°. West end of Carmel 261°. Tell Da'ûk 271°, 1 m. Bakhjeh 330°. This latter is a country seat of 'Abdallah, former Pasha of 'Akka, in the plain north of the city.

⁵ *Dhouk*, with ruins, in Pococke II. i. p. 60.

was likewise Tell Kurdány, nearly in the middle of the plain. It is large and regular; and near its base on the north, is a village and the perennial source of the Nahr Na'mán; with a dam and several mills. This stream is necessarily the river *Belus* of antiquity; celebrated for the accidental discovery of the art of making glass.¹ It runs about N. N. W. through the plain; and enters the sea twenty minutes south of the gate of 'Akka. According to Strabo, the sand from the mouth of this river was carried to Sidon to be melted for glass. Pliny speaks also of a marsh, called *Cendevia*, as the source of the *Belus*.² In this he probably refers to the waters at the base of Tell Kurdány.

Leaving Tell Kisón at 12.50 we came at 1.10 to another low rocky ridge running down into the plain. There was a fork of the road going off to Tūmrah on the left. Our guide, finding that we desired to visit Jefât, proposed to take us thither on a more direct route. We therefore took the Tūmrah road, along the northern base of the low ridge; and came in ten minutes to Bir Tīreh. Here was a well; and a camel was drawing water by dragging off a long rope. On the ridge, just by the well, is a ruin; but the present village of Tīreh is a quarter of a mile further south.³ After five minutes we proceeded; and at 1.33 had Ruweis and Dāmón in a line on our left; the former an eighth of a mile distant, and the latter three quarters of a mile. Tūmrah lies on a low hill, encircled by a valley on the south. Instead of ascending the hill to the village, we kept along around it in the valley; and at 1.55 were opposite the village. Ten minutes later the village was behind us a quarter of a mile distant.

We now ascended gradually, about E. N. E. by a blind and bad path, very little travelled. At 2.30 we came out on the top of the first ridge; affording a noble view of 'Akka and its bay, and of Carmel and the plain.⁴ Another ridge was before us, beyond a broad shallow valley, running down southwest to Wady 'Abilin. On the top of this second ridge at 2.50, we came out upon table land, tilled and with fields of grain; with the village of Kaukab in the southeast, to which we came at 3.15. It stands on a rocky Tell in the southeast part of the table land, with a deep valley on the east and south. The place has an old look; but we could find no trace of antique remains. It has an

¹ The chief authority here is Pliny: "Belus, vitri fertiles arenas parvo litori miscens," H. N. 5. 17; and more fully, ib. 36. 65 sq. Comp. Tacit. Hist. 5. 7. Strabo 16. 2. 25. p. 758. Jos. B. J. 2 10. 2 — The river was also called Pagida, Plin. 5. 17.

² H. N. 5. 17. ib. 36. 65.

³ Bearings from the ridge at Bir Tīreh: Tūmrah S. 65° E. Tīreh S. 5° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. Ruweis N. 55° E. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. Dāmón N. 35° E. Tell Kisón N. 35° W.

⁴ Bearings at 2.30, from ridge: Tell Kisón 297°. Tell Kurdány 284°. 'Abilla 231°. Shefa 'Omar 232°. 'Akka 303°. Kaukab 129°.

extensive prospect towards the west, south, and southeast. Directly east of us, looking across a basin and up a short valley, was Jefât, surrounded by high hills. In the southeast, the Wely on the hill above Nazareth was visible; here known as Neby Sa'id, though called Neby Isma'il at Nazareth.¹

We now descended into the fine fertile basin, full of olive trees, on the east and northeast of the village. This is strictly the head of Wady 'Abilin, which sweeps off south and southwest around the high tract on which Kaukab stands; and afterwards runs down northwest to the western plain. We passed up a short side valley coming down from the east; having its head at a broad ridge which crosses from the northern hill to the higher hill on the south, called Deidebeh, and said to have remains upon it. Beyond the ridge another valley runs off E. S. E. and very soon sweeps around the southern base of the Tell of Jefât. We reached this latter place at 4 o'clock.

It is a singular spot. The high round Tell is perfectly regular and isolated; except that it is connected with the northern hills by a low ridge or neck. On the west side of the neck a deep Wady begins and sweeps around its western and southern base. On the east of the neck a Wady has its head further north; and runs down along the eastern base to join the former. The united valley now continues for a short distance south; and then turning E. S. E. runs to the Büttauf. From the Tell, looking west, one sees Kaukab and the high tract around it; on the other side, looking down the valley, is seen a small strip of the plain el-Büttauf.² Otherwise, the place is wholly shut in by mountains; having on the north a range of high hills between it and Sükhnin; and on the south the still higher ridge of Deidebeh, between it and the Büttauf. Or, we may regard the broad ridges between Sükhnin and Kefr Menda, as here cleft longitudinally by these valleys; and thus enclosing Jefât within their hidden recesses.

We approached by the neck. On its northern part are the remains of an ancient place, with many hewn stones as of houses; extending also somewhat up the slope of the northern hill. The whole surface of the top of the Tell itself is flat naked rock; with two or three ordinary cisterns sunk in it, now used for watering flocks. Around, and just below the brow of the Tell, on all sides except the north, are many caverns, which hardly seemed all to be artificial; though in some of the smaller ones there were steps cut to descend into them, perhaps either for water or as habitations. Or, did some of them perhaps

¹ Bearings from Kaukab: 'Akka 307°. Jefât 31°. 'Ailût 180°. Neby Sa'id 164°. See Vol. II. p. 336. [iii. 189.]

² Bearings from Jefât: Kaukab 271°. Ba'ineh 114°. el-'Ozeir 135°.

lead to passages underground? There is on the Tell no trace of any fortress, nor of dwellings; and nothing to show that any ever existed. We searched in vain for any remains or appearance of a wall; either around the summit of the Tell or on the sides lower down. Not a stone nor a fragment marks the Tell itself as having been an ancient site.

Yet the conclusion is irresistible, that this was the site of *Jotapata*, the renowned fortress of Galilee; which, under the command of Josephus himself, so long held out against the assaults of Vespasian; and where the historian was taken prisoner after the downfall of the place.¹ The only traveller who has visited the spot in modern times, was E. G. Schultz in 1847.² It lies at a distance from all the ordinary roads of the country; a circumstance which readily accounts for its long concealment.

The minute description of *Jotapata* by Josephus, would of itself go far to establish the identity of this place; even had the name been wholly lost. According to him, it was surrounded by a precipice, except in one part; with deep and steep valleys on all the other sides. It was accessible only from the north; and here the city extended out upon the sloping extremity of the opposite mountain. This mountain Josephus included in the wall, when he fortified the place; that its top might not be seized upon by the enemies. The city was hidden on all sides by other mountains; and could not be seen at all, until one came close upon it.³ There was no fountain in the place; but only cisterns; so that the besieged suffered for want of water.⁴ There were also caverns, and subterranean recesses; in which Josephus and many others hid themselves after the place was captured.⁵ No description of the external features could be more exact at the present day.

As to the name, Reland long ago remarked, that the *Gopatata* of the Talmudic writings was sufficiently like to *Jotapata*, to be regarded as the same; and that form we may still recognise in the modern *Jefät*.⁶ The Greeks, who in the travesty of foreign names were the French of antiquity, seem to have preferred a corrupted form as easier of pronunciation.⁷ The distance of *Gopatata* from Sepphoris is given by the Rabbins at three miles;⁸ the true distance is between four and five English miles.

¹ Jos. B. J. 3. 7. 3-36.

⁶ Heb. ג'ספ'ר'ת, Reland Palest. pp. 816, 867.

² Zeitschr. der morgenl. Ges. III. pp. 51, 61.

⁷ Not improbably the same interchange and transposition already existed in the corrupt dialect of Galilee; we find once ג'ספ'ר'ת, probably the same name; Reland p. 868.

³ Jos. B. J. 3. 7. 7. The fortification of *Jotapata* by Josephus is mentioned, B. J. 2. 20. 6 Vit. § 37.

⁴ Jos. B. J. 3. 7. 12.

⁵ Ibid. 3. 7. 35, 36. ib. 8. 8. 1.

⁸ Reland, p. 816.

Against historical evidence so strong, the absence of all traces of ancient fortification on the Tell, as it seems to me, has comparatively little weight ; although it is utterly unaccountable. We know not what causes have been at work in later ages, to remove such remains. The account of Josephus is in some respects doubtless exaggerated and hyperbolical ; as where he speaks of the sight failing to reach the depth of the valleys ; his estimate of more than forty thousand persons destroyed during the siege of forty-eight days ; and the manner of his own surrender to the Romans.¹ Indeed, the thought stole over my mind, as we stood upon the spot, whether the historian had not here given himself up to romance, in order to laud the valour of the Romans, of the Jews, and especially of himself. Yet this idea was rebutted, except as to general exaggeration, by the minute and striking accordance of his description with the physical features of the place.

In the Old Testament we find mention of a valley *Jiphthah-el*,² on the border of Zebulun and on the border of Asher ; that is, on the confines of these two tribes. The question naturally arises, whether this name has any affinity with the names *Jotapata*, *Gopatata*, *Jefät* ? and also whether we may look for the valley in this neighbourhood ? At first view, there seems, indeed, to be little resemblance between the pure Hebrew form *Jiphthah* and the later names ; and yet, when we take into account the corrupt dialect of Galilee, which often confounded different gutturals and other letters, such an affinity is not at all impossible.³ This view is strengthened by the probable place of the valley. The plain el-Büttäuf, as we shall see, was in Zebulun ; and the northern border of that tribe is described as running apparently westwards to the valley of *Jiphthah-el*.⁴ Again, the western or southwestern border of Asher is said to pass from Carmel to Zebulun, then to the valley of *Jiphthah-el*, and so to Cabul.⁵ It seems probable, therefore, that the line of hills between Sükhniin and Kefr Menda formed the boundary between Asher and Zebulun in this part ; and that the valley of *Jiphthah-el* was no other than the great Wady 'Abilin, which has its head in those hills near Jefät. This valley, therefore, may have given its name to the place, or *vice versa* ; and the

¹ Jos. B. J. 3. 7. 7. ib. 3. 7. 83, 36. ib. 3. 8. 6.

² Heb. יִפְתָּח־אֵל Josh. 19, 14. 27.

³ Heb. יִפְתָּח, גִּפְתָּח, יִפְתָּח, etc. Gr. *Iordana*, Reland Palest. pp. 816, 867 sq. Compare the ancient *Iturea* and the modern *Seidûr* ; and for the interchange of Yod and Gimmel (י, ג) see Gesenius

Thesaur. pp. 252, 557.—The Galilean dialect confounded also different gutturals and letters ; as ח and כ. פ and ס, etc. See Lightf. Hor. Heb. in Opp. fol. I. p. 232. Schoettg. Hor. Heb. I. p. 235.

⁴ Josh. 19, 14.

⁵ Josh. 19, 26. 27.

early form have become afterwards thus variously corrupted in the dialect of the Galileans.¹

If the preceding view be correct, it follows, that the *Beth-emek* of Asher, which lay on the south side of the valley of Jiphthah-el,² cannot be represented by the modern 'Amkah, which lies much further north near Wady Jedin.

We left the neck below the Tell of Jefät at 4.20 ; and proceeded down the eastern valley without a path for twenty minutes. Here we struck a path, apparently leading from Sükhnin to the Büttauf. The valley, which thus far runs south, here turns S. 65° E. and continues nearly in a straight line to the Büttauf at Kâna, which was in sight. As we passed down the valley, vast quantities of wild fennel were growing all around, filling the air with its fragrance. There were also rich tracts of white clover ; some of it nearly two feet high. We reached Kâna at 5 o'clock.

Kâna, called also Khirbet Kâna, is known by these names to all the inhabitants of the region round about, both Christians and Muslims. It is situated on the left side of the Wady coming from Jefät, just where the latter enters the plain el-Büttauf, on the southern declivity of a projecting Tell, and overlooking the plain.³ The situation is fine. It was once a considerable village of well built houses now deserted. Many of the dwellings are in ruins. There are also several arches, belonging to modern houses ; but we could discover no traces of antiquity.—In a former volume I have stated the grounds, which render it certain that this village, and not Kefr Kenna, was the *Cana* of the New Testament, where our Lord wrought his first miracle in Galilee ; and that it was so regarded down to the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴

¹ The identity of *Jiphthah-el* and *Jefät* has been before suggested ; but merely on the ground of a conjectured affinity of the names ; Keil's Comm. zu Josua, p. 346. Ritter Erdk. XVI p. 768.

² Josh. 19, 27.

³ Bearings from Kâna : Ba'ineh 112°. el-'Ozeir 146°. Rümmaneh 173°. Khirbet Rümah 200°. These are all on the opposite side of the Büttauf.—el-Meshhed 172°. Neby Sa'id 184°. Seffürieh 202°.

⁴ John 2, 1-11, 4, 46. See Vol. II. p. 346. [iii. p. 204.]—M. de Saulcy takes ground against this Kâna as representing the ancient Cana ; and pronounces in favour of Kefr Kenna ; Narrative, II. p. 417 sq. His arguments are two. One is, that the Greek name *Cana of Galilee* could never have been expressed by Kâna el-Jelil ; since *Jelil* is an adjective meaning *great* or *illustrious* ; and that phrase

therefore can only mean *Cana the Great*. But had M. de Saulcy turned to his Arabic New Testament, he would have found, not only that *Galilee* (Γαλιλαία) is always rendered by *el-Jelil* ; but also that *Cana of Galilee* (Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας), wherever it occurs, is uniformly given by *Kâna el-Jelil* ; John 2, 1. 11. 4, 46. 21, 2. The other argument asserts, that at the time of the wedding, "Jesus was travelling on foot with his mother, his disciples, and his cousins, from Nazareth to Capernaum ; and nobody can reasonably conceive, that with such an object, under such circumstances, he should have made a circuit of at least thirty English miles ;" p. 420. To this it may be replied, that the passage in question (John 2, 12) gives no intimation that Jesus went directly from Cana to Capernaum ; and further, that even had he been thus on his way from Nazareth to

Leaving Kâna at 5.20, and crossing the mouth of the valley from Jefât, we came to a fountain or cistern, at the foot of the hills, where the flocks and herds were gathering for water at evening. We now proceeded along the base of the northern hills on a course about west; having the glorious plain upon our left. On our right was the high ridge and point of Deidebeh. The whole eastern portion of the plain has no outlet, being shut in on the east by hills; so that in winter it becomes a lake, extending sometimes as far west as to the road between Kâna and Rûmmâneh. On the south of this part of the plain rises a steep and almost isolated ridge, dividing it from the plain of Tu'rân and Kefr Kenna beyond. This ridge ends on the west not far from Rûmmâneh; and the plain of Tu'rân is drained by a Wady passing down through uneven ground into the south-western part of el-Bûttauf. This latter again is drained off southwest to the great Wady Melik.

We reached Kefr Menda at 6 o'clock. Not finding our tent and luggage as we expected, we had nothing left, but to push on to Seffûrieh. After about a quarter of the way, we met the muleteers coming from that place. They had again taken the wrong road, and gone to Seffûrieh unwittingly. It was after 7 o'clock before the tent was pitched, near the large well of Kefr Menda. We had done a hard day's work.

Kefr Menda is a considerable village at the foot of the northern hills; the summit Deidebeh impending over it, a little towards the east. On the west the road to 'Akka crosses a low swell, and descends into Wady 'Abilin as it passes down from Kaukab. Among the people of the village are some of the descendants of Dhâher el-'Ômar. The great well of the village was said to be fourteen fathoms in depth, besides seven fathoms of water. Around it lay three ancient sarcophagi as drinking-troughs; one of them sculptured on the side with rather elegant festoons. Two lids of sarcophagi were also built into or upon the wall of the reservoir above; and near by was a small ancient basin of variegated limestone. These were all the traces of antiquity that we saw; but they sufficiently mark the place as ancient. Van Egmond and Heyman speak of it in their day as walled and defended by several small forts.¹

From this village there is an extensive view over the whole great plain of el-Bûttauf and its environs. At the west end of

Capernaum, there surely was, in the desire to be present at the wedding, a motive sufficient to induce him to make the circuit; which said circuit, moreover, does not amount to one half of the alleged thirty miles. M. de Saulcy expresses great regret and some complaint (pp. 420, 421), that I did not visit Kefr Kenna. Did he

visit the more northern Kâna? And if not, do not his remarks fall back upon himself?

¹ Van Egmond and Heyman, II. p. 15. Lond.—Kefr Menda is also mentioned in the Jewish Itineraries after the crusades; Carmoly, pp. 255, 383, 455.

the plain and overlooking the whole, is a large Tell, called el-Bedawiyeh. Nearly south of us was Seffûrieh with its ancient tower; and beyond it, the Wely Neby Sa'id above Nazareth. In the southeastern part of the plain were the villages Ba'ineh el-'Ozeir, Rummâneh, and Khirbet Rûmeh. In Rummâneh we have, in all probability, the *Rimmon* of the tribe of Zebulun.¹ Rûmeh is on a low Tell further west; and may well represent the *Ruma* of Josephus, mentioned in his narrative of the siege of Jotapata.² Whether the *Rumah* once named in the Old Testament was the same, we have no means of determining.³

Tuesday, April 20th. We set off from Kefr Menda at 8.15, for Seffûrieh, without a guide, along the beautiful plain. The fields were every where covered with a low wild plant, with large serrated leaves; which the Arabs called 'Akûb. At 8.40, Tell Bedawiyeh was close on our right; having at its foot a ruined Khân of the same name, and a well. Here comes in the road from 'Akka to Seffûrieh by way of 'Abilin; and the Khân was doubtless erected for the benefit of travellers and caravans passing from 'Akka to Tiberias or to the bridge of the Jordan below the lake. This Tell is mentioned by Pococke; who speaks of a village on the summit, which we did not notice.⁴ Just beyond the Khân we crossed the water-bed of the plain, with small pools of water. It is here called Wady Bedawiyeh, and passes down southwest as a not wide plain between low ranges of hills; those on the right of the Wady being covered with olive trees, and those on the left with oaks. Further down, it is called Wady Khülladiyeh from another Tell; and runs to Wady Melik.—In the plain, above the Khân, it receives the Wady coming from Tûr'ân, which passes down west of the intervening ridge, through the hills between Seffûrieh and Rummâneh. As the water-shed in el-Büttauf is nearly on a line between Kefr Menda and Rummâneh, it follows, that the head of Wady Melik, by which all this district is drained, is strictly above Tûr'ân, not far from Lûbich.

At 9.5 there was a fork of the roads; one leading direct to Seffûrieh, and the other lying more to the right along a valley towards Bethlehem. Here we waited five minutes for the mules to come up.

We now took leave of this noble and extensive plain; which of old belonged to the territory of the tribe of Zebulun.⁵ It may, without hesitation, be regarded as the "great plain" called

¹ Josh. 19, 13. 1 Chr. 6, 77 [62]. See Vol. II. p. 340. [iii. 195.]

² Gr. *Ῥομμά*, Jos. B. J. 8. 7. 21. Ritter Erdk. XVI. i. p. 760.—It is mentioned also in the Jewish Itineraries; Carmoly, pp. 186, 383, 464.

³ 2 K. 23, 36.

⁴ Pococke, II. i. p. 61. The well is also spoken of by Van Egmond and Heyman, II. p. 15. Lond.

⁵ Rummâneh, the *Rimmon* (or *Remmon*) of Zebulun, is in this plain Josh. 19, 13.

Asochis, spoken of in this region by Josephus ; so named from a city *Asochis*, where the Jewish leader for a time had his residence.¹ But in respect to the *city* *Asochis*, the case is not so clear. The only data for judging as to its position are, first, the obvious presumption that it was in or near the plain which bore its name ; and then the circumstance, that it was apparently on the direct road between Sepphoris and Gabara.² Both these data point very decisively either to Tell el-Bedawiyeh or to Kefr Menda. Each of these places occupies a conspicuous position on the western border of the plain, and might well give name to it ; and each lies directly on the way between Seffûrieh and Kûbarah. But Tell el-Bedawiyeh has no appearance, so far as we saw, of being an ancient site ;³ while Kefr Menda is doubtless ancient, and has been a strong place. Could we certainly assume, that the term *Kefr* does not imply an ancient name ; or that the place might once have borne two names ; the balance of probability, so far as the facts are yet known, would seem to preponderate in favour of the identity of Kefr Menda and the ancient 'Asochis.⁴

We followed the Seffûrieh road ; and, soon crossing a low ridge, descended into a valley coming down from the right. We were now at the foot of the hill on which Seffûrieh is situated. Here were fragments of columns and sculptured entablatures built into the walls of the fields along the road ; and also a number of sarcophagi sunk in the rocks. At 9.30 we reached the village, a collection of mean and miserable houses, lying on the southwest declivity of the hill, not far below the ancient tower that crowns the summit. In the open place, as we rode up, lay a large double column ; which probably once belonged to the early cathedral. Just east of it are the remains of the Gothic church, often mentioned by travellers as marking the house of Joachim and Anna, the reputed parents of the Virgin. The high arch of the middle aisle, and the lower ones of the side aisles, are still standing ; but the eastern end appears to have

¹ Jos. Vit. 41, μέγα πεδιον, ἐν ᾧ διέτριβον. 'Ασωχίς ἐστιν ὄνομα τοῦτοφ. Comp. §§ 45, 68. B. J. 1. 4. 2. Ant. 13. 12. 4.

—The phrase μέγα πεδιον in Josephus is usually applied to the great plain of Esdraelon ; as Ant. 5. 1. 22. ib. 8. 2. 3. etc. But here the context definitely limits it to el-Büttan ; and Josephus himself likewise employs the same epithet (μέγα πεδιον) in speaking of the plain of the Jordan around Jericho : B. J. 4. 8. 2. Zeitschr. d. morg. Gesell. III p. 59.

² The Jewish legates went from Sepphoris to Asochia, and thence to Gabara ; Jos. Vit. § 45.

³ It will be worth the attention of future

travellers, to examine this Tell more particularly, in reference to this very question.

⁴ Gr. 'Ασωχίς, 'Αζωχίς, 'Ασωχί, the latter in a few manuscripts ; Reland Palest. p. 605. Suidas has a form 'Ασωχίρ, which Reland regards as a mere error ; p. 606. But E. G. Schultz adopts it, and compares with it the name el-'Ozeir ; and thus assumes the identity of that village with Asochia. This is rightly rejected by Gross ; and is but one of the many instances of haste and rashness exhibited by Schultz, in his comparison of names. Zeitschr. d. morg. Ges. III. pp. 52, 62.

been wholly destroyed ; and is now built up by a common modern wall, like those of the houses around.¹

The tower or fortress on the summit of the hill is of ancient date. It is a square of about fifteen paces (say 50 feet) on each side. The lower courses of stones all around it are regularly *bevelled* ; and most of them are dressed smooth. One stone on the east side is six feet long by three high ; and there are others nearly as large upon the south side. Here, on the south side, the traces of antiquity are the most extensive ; and yet the fragment of a column is built in crosswise in the upper part of the wall. On the south, too, is a later portal, with a Gothic arch. The corners of the tower, for several courses at the bottom, are square ; but higher up are rounded off.

The historical notices of Seffûrieh, once the strongest place of all Galilee, have been given in a former volume ; and I deem it unnecessary to add anything further here.²

We could here look out over the plain of Tu'rân and Kefr Kenna ; and could see the course of the Wady by which it is drained into el-Büttauf. The whole tract immediately around Seffûrieh appears to be drained off in the same direction.³

We did not visit the great fountain of Seffûrieh, about half an hour distant on the way to Nazareth, and celebrated in the history of the crusades.⁴ The people of the village get their supply of water from it ; and it is copious enough to drive eight pairs of millstones within a short distance. I regret that we did not pass that way.

We left Seffûrieh at 9.55 ; taking with us a guide, who did not "saddle" his ass, but rode his beast without a saddle. We passed down the hill southwest ; and then pursued a general course of S. 80° W. At 10.30 we crossed Wady Seffûrieh, coming from the great fountain on our left, and here forming a fine basin with a stream flowing through it. The valley sweeps round to the W. S. W. and we followed along its left side for fifteen minutes ; when it turned W. N. W. the stream still flowing in it. We still kept along it among fine fields of grain till 11 o'clock ; and then began to diverge from it, rising along the low rocky slope on our left. This was covered with shrubs of oak and many fine oak trees, with rich pasturage among them ; and such was the character of other hills and the rolling region round about. At 11.15, being still near the brow of the

¹ Maundrell, Apr. 20th. Pococke, II. i. p. 62. Hasselquist, Reise p. 177. Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land. 4to. p. 407 sq. To judge from his description, Dr Clarke must have looked at these ruins with saucer eyes. See also above, Vol. II. p. 346. [iii. 203.]

² See Vol. II. p. 344 sq. [iii. 201 sq.]

³ Bearings from Seffûrieh : Kefr Menda 349°. Khirbet Rûmeh 23°. Rûmmâneh 42°. Kurûn Hattin 78°. Tell el-Bedawiyeh 335°.

⁴ See Vol. II. p. 345. [iii. 202.]

valley below, we were opposite the valley or narrow plain coming from Tell el-Bedawiyeh. That Tell was in sight; as also Tell el-Khülladiyeh in the Wady, more than a mile distant from us. That valley is here called Wady Khülladiyeh. It unites with Wady Seffürieh; and farther down the united valley takes the name of Wady Melik. The village of el-Musheirefeh, apparently surrounded by a wall, was not far distant on a hill south of the Wady.¹

We now proceeded across the rolling tract, covered with oaks and fine pasturage; and came at 11.45 to Beit Lahm, the *Bethlehem of Zebulun*.² It is a very miserable village; we saw none more so in all the country. We could find no trace of antiquity, except the name. This occurs but once in Scripture; is simply mentioned in the Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome; and has ever since been forgotten. The French in their survey in 1799 overlooked the place; and, although travellers have often passed near it, none has noticed it, except R. Joseph Schwarz in 1845.³

We here came in view of the two villages Semmûnieh and Jebâtha, which we had seen in our former journey; corresponding to the ancient *Simonias* and *Gabatha*.⁴

Leaving Bethlehem at 12 o'clock, we came at 12.40 to Jeida, also a miserable village, with no traces of antiquity. It lies upon a low swell running out into the great plain of Esdraelon, and sinking gradually to the level of the latter. It is on the route between Haifa and Nazareth; and has therefore sometimes been mentioned by travellers.⁵ We halted here for lunch; though we found no shade. Meantime a train of baggage-animals, with the baggage of a party of French travellers, coming from Haifa, passed up the valley on the northwest of the village.⁶

We set off again at 1.35 for Tell Shemmâm in the great plain, lying nearly in a direct line towards Lejjûn. As we advanced, we found the plain ploughed in some parts, with much fine pasture; but the greater portion was lying waste. The soil here was a red sandy loam, like that of el-Büttauf. We came at

¹ Bearings at 11.45: Tell el-Bedawiyeh 41°. Tell el-Khülladiyeh 87°, 1½ m. el-Musheirefeh N. 75° W. 1 m.

² Josh. 19, 15.

³ Descript. of Palest. Philad. 1850, p. 172.—Bearings at Beit-Lahm: Seffürieh 80°. Semmûnieh 150°. Khuneifs 158°. Jebâtha 161°. Zebdeh 178°. Jeida 211°. Sheikh Bureik 240°. Tell Kaimôn 227°. Um el-'Amad 264°.—The people of Bethlehem said there were no columns at Um el-'Amad.

⁴ See Vol. II. p. 344. [iii. 201.]

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⁵ E. g. by Schubert III. p. 204.

⁶ Bearings at Jeida: Sheikh Bureik 270°. Tûb'ân 301°. Kûskûs 317°. Um el-'Amad 9°. These four are on the hill or swell beyond the western valley.—Zebdeh 89°. Semmûnieh 96°. Jebâtha 131°. Beit Lahm 30°. Khuneifs 135°. Mujeidil 117°. Tell esh-Shemmâm 203°. Tell el-Mutsellim 179°. Tell Kaimôn 237°. Tell el-Kûsis 254°. Tell eth-Thôreh 185°. These five Tells are in, or connected with the great plain.

2.30 to Tell esh-Shemmâm, a hamlet upon a low Tell in the plain, about one third across in the direction we were travelling. There is no other village in the vicinity. We encamped here thus early, because there is no inhabited village at or near Lejjûn, where we could pitch our tent in security. The people here probably have little to do with passing travellers. We had been encamped just outside of the village for half an hour, before they seemed to be aware of our arrival. First came some of the boys; then all the dogs of the village, with a general bark; and afterwards women and children,—all to stare at us. The people were civil; and said they came hither from Haurân. Although the village is so small, yet its tax was said to be farmed by a man in Nazareth for 10,000 piastres. The men drawn as soldiers here, as in most of the villages along our way, were said to have fled. The soil around this hamlet is black loam, and so in some other parts; but the greater portion of the plain is covered with a rich and fertile soil of a reddish hue.¹

We were here opposite the middle of Carmel; or rather opposite to a spot somewhat north of the middle; Tell Kaimôn being almost directly west of us. The course of the mountain is about from S. S. E. to N. N. W. The river Mukûtta' (Kishon) reaches its base not far north of Tell Kaimôn; and then the valley of that stream continues along between the mountain and the low hills of Galilee, to the plain of 'Akka. From the southern end of the mountain, and along its eastern base, comes down a narrower valley, Wady el-Milh, which separates Carmel from the lower rounded hills, that stretch off southeast as far as to Lejjûn. Up this valley lies the road from 'Akka to Ramleh, on the east of Carmel; it is the proper eastern pass of Carmel, and by it the French army approached in 1799. The pass at Lejjûn lies merely through the hills; it has no connection with Carmel, and nowhere approaches that mountain. The road through Wady el-Milh runs near Um ez-Zenât and Sübbarin; another branch lies further east. Carmel was here before us in all its beauty; sprinkled over with noble oaks, and rich in pasture. The southeastern hills, on the contrary, were naked, though now green; presenting in their appearance a strong contrast with the mountain.

Tell Kaimôn is on the eastern side of Wady el-Milh, at its mouth as it enters the plain; and is the northwestern termination of the hills which stretch off southeast. The position is conspicuous and important; commanding the main pass from the western portion of Esdraelon to the more southern plain.

¹ Bearings from Tell Shemmâm: Khuneifis 102°. Jebâtha 89°. Dûhy 111°. Tell eth-Thôrâh 158°. Tell el-Mutsellim 168°. Tell Kaimôn 267°. Tell Kusûs 296°. Sheikh Bureik 330°. Tûb'un 346°. Kûskûs 367°.

The name refers us at once to the *Cammona* of Eusebius and *Cimana* of Jerome, situated in the great plain, six Roman miles north of Legio, on the way to Ptolemais.¹ This is precisely the position of Tell Kaimôn. But a further question arises, whether this may not be the site of a still earlier city? The inquiry was started by my companion when passing near the Tell in 1844, whether this Tell may not represent the ancient *Jokneam* of Carmel? There dwelt one of the Canaanitish kings; and before it was a river, which could well be no other than the Kishon.* The same was also a Levitical city; and is further mentioned as on the west of the great plain.³ The position is sufficiently important for the site of a kingly city; and, although at first view, there seems little affinity between the names *Jokneam* and Kaimôn, yet a little reflection will show, that the latter may well be a corruption from the former.⁴ I cannot therefore help regarding the site of *Jokneam* as identified; and that with as much probability as can be expected in similar cases.⁵

Wednesday, April 21st.—In April 1844, my companion, in crossing over from Tell Kaimôn to Sheikh Bureik, had found the ford of the Mukütta' so miry as to be almost impassable. There was therefore reason to fear, that we might find difficulty in crossing the same stream to day. The men of the village said the ford on this route was tolerably good; but we took with us a guide on horseback, to lead us to the right spot.

We left Tell Shemmâm at 7 o'clock; and had immediately to cross a small channel with water and deep mud, coming from the north. Twelve minutes later there was another like channel nearly dry, coming from the northeast. Tabor came soon into view; and at 7.25 we passed close to Tell eth-Thôrah on the left hand. It is a low isolated mound; with marshes and several small ponds of water near it. At 7.40 we stopped for five minutes, and took bearings.⁶ Only portions of the plain were

¹ Onomast. art. *Camon*. Gr. Καμμον.

² Josh. 12, 22. 19, 11.

³ Josh. 21, 34. 1 K. 4, 12. In this last passage the Heb. is יִקְנֵאִם *Jokneam*; but the reference to its position, as on the opposite end of the great plain from Beth-shean, is so obvious, that the English translators have not scrupled to write it *Jokneam* in their text.

⁴ Heb. יִקְנֵאִם, for which יִקְנֵאִם 1 K. 4, 12, is probably a later corruption. For these forms we find in Sept. Josh. 12, 22 יִקְנֵאִם Vat. יִקְנֵאִם Alex. 19, 11 יִקְנֵאִם Vat. יִקְנֵאִם Alex. 21, 34 יִקְנֵאִם Alex. 1 K. 4, 12 יִקְנֵאִם Alex. marg. יִקְנֵאִם Vulg. Eusebius has also יִקְנֵאִם. Among these various corruptions, יִקְנֵאִם

and יִקְנֵאִם, also יִקְנֵאִם, יִקְנֵאִם, are represented by the present Arabic *Kaimôn*. The *Yod* of the Hebrew is dropped, as in *Zer'im* for *Jezreel*; the tenacious guttural *Koph* is retained; while the *Ayin* may well have disappeared through the medium of the Galilean dialect, which confounded *Aleph*, *Heth*, and *Ayin*; see Lightfoot Opp. fol. I. p. 232.

⁵ Eusebius and Jerome refer to *Jokneam* simply as a city of the Old Testament near Carmel; its name and site were then unknown. Onomast. art. *Jethonam*, Gr. יִקְנֵאִם.

⁶ Bearings at 7.40: Khneifis 75°. Sem-mûnieh 37°. 'Ain el-Beida, a small Tell on the north side of the plain, 42°. Tell

under tillage ; and these were covered with the richest crops of wheat and barley. The rest was mainly left to run to waste producing for the most part only rank weeds ; which die and decay, and thus keep up the fertility of the soil. In some places there was white clover nearly or quite two feet high.

At 7.50 we reached the river Mukütta', winding through the plain in a deep and tolerably wide channel, sunk fifteen or twenty feet below the level of the plain. It is indeed nothing more than a deep gully worn in the earth by the action of a torrent. The stream was not large ; the water scarcely reaching the fetlocks of our horses. It was just here limpid, and flowing over a bed of fine gravel ; but a little further above there were standing pools and mud. The gravel here, the guide said, was only a few inches in thickness ; and, in the rainy season, the stream could not be crossed at this spot. We had been told at Tell Shemmâm, that the horses would sink perhaps up to their bellies ; and we now rejoiced greatly at our easy passage.

The plain continued of the same general character on the south of the stream. At a distance on our right we could see the tents of nomadic Arabs, and the men ploughing in the fields. The Arabs Turkmán are permitted to encamp here, and pasture their flocks and till the ground ; but only on the south of the Mukütta'. Here also were occasional fountains, forming small ponds and marshes. At 8.15 we crossed a small stream of water coming from the southwest ; and three minutes later there was another similar channel, now dry, coming from the south ; these have their sources doubtless at some of the many fountains scattered along the base of the hills. In a depression of rich black mould we passed quite a large field of onions ; which a man was watching. As we advanced, the plain rose gradually and gently towards the southern hills. At 8.50 we reached el-Mensy, a ruined village on the road from Haifa to Nâbulus, which passes along near the hills. Here was a cemetery ; and just by a pretty fountain on the left, from which a rill went off into the plain.

Tell el-Mutsellim was now just before us on the right ; and turning off to it, we reached the top at 9 o'clock. The line of hills, which beginning at Carmel thus far skirts the plain, here makes an offset towards the southwest ; and then runs on again as a tract of lower hills, to Jenin or beyond. In front of this offset a low ridge extends out for some distance, leaving a nook behind it, in which are the remains of Lejjûn. This ridge is merely the projecting southeast corner of the line of hills. In front

eah-Shemmâm 341°. Tell el-Mutsellim 173°. Um ez-Zenât, on a southern spur of Carmel, 275°.—The following are ruins on the southwest side of the plain : el-Kireh 273°. Abu Zureih 260°. Kuleileh 225°. el-Mensy 173°.

of it, near its termination stands Tell el-Mutsellim. This Tell is quite regular in its form ; with a flat summit, containing four or five acres, now covered with a fine crop of wheat. On its northwest quarter are two fountains.

The prospect from the Tell is a noble one ; embracing the whole of the glorious plain ; than which there is not a richer upon earth. It was now extensively covered with fields of grain ; with many tracts of grass, like meadows ; but still, a large portion of it was overrun with weeds. Zer'in (Jezreel) was distinctly in view, bearing S. 74° E. Looking in the direction of Iksâl, we could perceive, that a low swell runs through the plain in that direction ; through which the Mûkutta' and all the waters running to it must find a channel ; while it would seem to form the water-shed near Fûleh, to turn the waters in that neighbourhood towards the valley of Jezreel and the Jordan. Nearly in the south, a little village, Zelafeh, was perhaps a mile and a half distant ; and also, more to the left, the Tell on the southeast side of which stands Ta'annuk, the *Taanach* of Scripture. As we stood upon the noble Tell, with the wide plain and Taanach thus before us, we could not but feel, that here had been the scene of the great battle of Deborah and Barak, "in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo."¹ A city situated either on the Tell, or on the ridge behind it, would naturally give its name to the adjacent plain and waters ; as we know was the case with Megiddo and Legio.²

The Tell would indeed present a splendid site for a city ; but there is no trace, of any kind, to show that a city ever stood there. Legio, as we shall see, was situated on a different spot.³

We left Tell el-Mutsellim at 9.15 ; and, descending on the southeast side, passed around the end of the ridge, on a course about S. W. by S. and came at 9.30, to a very old bridge over the stream of Lejjûn. Here, on the higher southern bank, are the ruins of the large Khân of Lejjûn ; which in Maundrell's day was still in good repair.⁴ The great road from Ramleh issues from the mouth of a valley in this nook, and immediately divides ; one branch, going to Nazareth, passes down by the Khân and bridge ; the other, leading to Tabor and Damascus, lies about forty rods east of the Khân. The stream comes down from the southwest by a winding course ; and passes off towards

¹ Judg. 4, 19.

² Judg. 5, 19. 2 Chr. 35, 22. Reland Palest. pp. 873, 893.

³ Bearings from Tell el-Mutsellim : Sheikh Bureik 342°. Semmûnieh 16°. Iksâl 65°. Dûhy 81°. Zer'in 106°. Ta'annuk 160°. Khuneifis 28°. Jebâtha 20°.

—The following additional bearings were

taken in 1844 : Jenîn 145°. Wezar 116°. el-Mensy 353°. Kaukab 92°.

⁴ Maundrell, March 22nd.—Bearings from the Khân of Lejjûn : Zelafeh S. 15° E. 1½ m. Mr Wolcott, in 1842, has the following : Zelafeh S. 7° E. Sûlim S. 29° E. Zer'in S. 77° E. Tabor N. 63° E.

the northeast into the plain ; running here along the southwestern base of the projecting ridge above described. This stream, though now not very full, is much the largest which enters the plain on this side ; and is the principal arm of the *Mukütta'* in connection with the plain. It was still sufficient to drive two or three mills ; one of which is under the bridge. On the south-eastern bank, just by the water, is a ruin of some size ; possibly that of a larger mill.

The remains of the ancient *Legio* are not extensive. Maundrell speaks of them as "an old village."¹ They lie mainly on the eminence north of the stream. "Among the rubbish are the foundations of two or three buildings, with limestone columns mostly worn away ; and another with eight or ten polished granite columns still remaining, and others of limestone among them." In the foundations of the ruin at the brook are two marble columns with Corinthian capitals, and several of granite, all mingled indiscriminately.² We noticed also a column standing before the door of a mill. All these circumstances with the name *Lejjün*, serve to fix this spot indubitably, as that of the ancient *Legio*.

In a former volume, I have set forth the grounds for assuming the identity of *Legio* with the more ancient *Megiddo* of the Old Testament.³ Our visit only strengthened this conviction ; and I have here nothing more to add ; except the fact, that the same identity was held to by R. Parchi, the cotemporary of Abulfeda, as early as A. D. 1322.⁴ Another hypothesis has since been brought forward, namely, that *Legio* represented, not *Megiddo*, but *Maximianopolis* ; which latter is twice mentioned by Jerome, as a later name for the earlier *Hadadrimmon*.⁵ The reasons assigned by Raumer for this hypothesis I have attempted to meet in another place.⁶ His main reason, however, depending on the supposition, that the ancient Roman road from *Cæsarea* to *Jezeel* passed by way of *Lejjün*, is without foundation ; as we shall see, a little further on.⁷ *Maximianopolis* most probably lay somewhat further south ; and perhaps more in the plain.⁸

There were quite a number of men ploughing in the adjacent fields ; and others at work or lounging in the mills ; but we

¹ Maundrell, March 22nd.

² Rev. S. Wolcott, in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1843, p. 77.

³ See Vol. II. pp. 328–330. [iii. pp. 177–180.]

⁴ See in *Asher's Benj. of Tud.* II. p. 433.

⁵ Raumer's *Palästina*, p. 402, 3d edit. comp. Reland, p. 891.

⁶ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Feb. 1844, p. 220.

⁷ It certainly is not probable in itself,

that the Romans should give to one and the same ancient place, *Hadadrimmon*, and at the same time, the two later independent names, *Legio* and *Maximianopolis*. Probably no similar instance exists.

⁸ Zech. 12, 11, "Hadadrimmon in the valley of *Megiddo*." Hieron. in loc. "Hodie vocatur *Maximianopolis* in campo *Mageddon*." *Lejjün* is not in the plain, but on the hills.

tried in vain to obtain one of them as a guide. We left the bridge at 10.20 ; and took the great Damascus road towards Ramleh. Passing out of the nook, it follows up a narrow winding valley among rounded naked hills, about S. W. by S. We came out at 10.45 at the top of this valley on a ridge ; and at once descended steeply into another valley coming down before us in the like direction (from the S. W. by S.) and bending round here to the east to reach the great plain. We were at the bottom at 10.55. A small brook was flowing along the valley and to the plain, not half as large as that at Lejjûn. A road also, coming down before us, here went off eastwards along the same valley to Sâlim and the plain, a part of which was visible.

Here, of course, was the natural fork of the ancient road from Cæsarea to Jezreel ; leaving Legio half an hour on the left hand. The road to Tabor and Nazareth naturally continued on till it divided near Lejjûn ; but to a person going to Jezreel this fork down the valley would save a considerable circuit, as well as the steep and difficult hill, which we had just descended. In all probability therefore, Maximianopolis lay upon this road, near the borders of the great plain ; and not at Lejjûn. In that case, this valley in which we now were, might well lower down be the valley of Hadadrimmon.¹

We followed up this valley for five minutes ; when it and the brook bent off, and came from a northwesterly direction. We crossed the stream, and proceeded up a side valley on the same course, about S. W. by S. At 11.15 a miserable hamlet was on our right, called Mushmush. We came to the top of the pass at 11.30 ; where the road at once descends into the head of another valley with wooded sides, running down in the opposite or rather a more westerly direction, to the great plain along the coast.

As this has been for many ages a great military and caravan road, we expected at every moment to find traces of an ancient pavement ; but nothing of the kind appeared. It is however not infrequent, where the road passes over flat limestone rocks lying even with the surface of the ground, that the seamy nature of the rock presents at first view the appearance of a pavement ; and it sometimes requires a close scrutiny to distinguish between the two. Such appearances we found here, and often elsewhere ; and by these travellers have probably sometimes been misled.²

Five minutes below the top of the pass on the other side is

¹ See on p. 118.

² Von Wildenbruch, in travelling this road, speaks of reaching Khân el-Lejjûn along a 'Via Romana' in a good state of preservation. Prokesch and Russegger, who travelled the same route, appear to have

seen no such ancient road, any more than ourselves. See *Monatsber. der Geogr. Ges. Berlin*, N. Folg. I. p. 233. Prokesch pp. 125-129. *Russ. ggger*, Vol. III. p. 123 sq. *Ritter Erdk.* XVI. p. 593 sq.

the mouth of a lateral valley on the left, coming down nearly from the south. We entered and followed this up to its head in a pretty and well cultivated basin among the hills. On the steep declivity and ridge above it in the southwest, is situated the large village Um el-Fahm ; to which we came at 12 o'clock. The ridge is narrow ; and south of it a deep valley runs out to the western plain. The side valley which we had ascended, is likewise separated from the valley we left only by a ridge ; on the southern end of this latter is the village. It thus overlooks the whole country towards the west ; with a fine prospect of the plain and sea, and also of Carmel ; with glimpses of the plain of Esdraelon, and a view of Tabor and Little Hermon beyond. There was, however, a haze in the atmosphere, which prevented us from distinguishing the villages in the plain.¹

There were said to be in Um el-Fahm twenty or thirty families of Christians ; some said more. Outside of the village, near the western brow, was a cemetery. Here too was a threshing-sledge ; in form like the stone-sledge of New England ; made of three planks, each a foot wide ; with holes thickly bored in the bottom, into which were driven projecting bits of black volcanic stone. The village belongs to the government of Jenin. They had hitherto paid their taxes at so much a head ; but the governor had recently taken an account of their land, horses, and stock ; with the purpose, as was supposed, of exacting the tithe. Twenty-five men had been taken as soldiers under the conscription.

Having obtained a guide with some difficulty, we left Um el-Fahm for Ya'būd, at 1 o'clock, after passing through the whole length of the village. It was our general purpose, to keep along on the western part of the hills of Samaria, either above or below the brow, as the case might be ; and holding ourselves ready to turn aside to any place, to which a visit might seem desirable ; especially to Nābulus. We made a large circuit towards the east, in order to pass round the broad head of the Wady, that runs down west on the south of the village ; and then rose along its southern side to higher ground ; where Um el-Fahm was still in view, and we saw also Kūbātieh at a distance at the foot of a line of hills.² We now descended again slightly into a basin, on a general course S. S. E., and then rose along a gradual acclivity. At 1.55 we came out upon the top of a flat rocky ridge, and kept along it to the right ; in order to pass around the broad head of a Wady running down north-easterly to the plain of Esdraelon.

¹ Bearings at Um el-Fahm : es-Sin-diāneh 293°. Um ez Zenāt 336°. Tabor 55°. Dūhy 63°.

² Bearings at 1.20 : Um el-Fahm N. 5° W. Kūbātieh 152°. el-Yāmōn 130°.

As we reached the southern side of this head or basin, we found ourselves upon the water-shed between the two great plains, Esdraelon in the northeast, and that along the coast in the west ; with valleys running down to each, and varying views of both. The rocky hills and tracts, over which our road led, were sparsely covered with stunted trees, chiefly oaks. At 2.20 we came upon the brow of a somewhat lower tract ; from which we saw Ya'bud (S. 20° E.) and had a view towards the southeast into the interior of Samaria. The hills in this direction seemed to rise higher, and were like mountains ; those around Nâbulus forming the highest nucleus. Descending gradually we now crossed the large basin or lower table land above mentioned ; which is drained by a short Wady towards the western plain. At 2.50 we came out upon its eastern brow ; and were in sight of 'Arrâbeh and Ya'bud.¹ The latter was beyond a valley, upon a ridge running from east to west. Descending into the head of this valley, we reached Ya'bud, high on the opposite side, at 3½ o'clock.

The ridge, on the northeastern part of which Ya'bud is situated, rises to a higher point or Tell further in the southwest, about half a mile distant ; and soon after sinks down to the level of the plain. On the north is the valley running down west, the head of which we had just crossed. Towards the northeast, east, and southeast, the village looks down upon another of those beautiful plains, of which we had now seen so many. Across this plain, about E. S. E. in an offset running up among the hills, lies Kûbâtieh. At the northern end of the plain, nearly west from Jenin, is the village of Bürkin ; and half an hour west of Bürkin, in an offset or valley among the hills, is Kefr Kûd, the ancient *Caparcotia*.² Not far distant from it in the plain is a well, called Bir Hasan, which is the well of Kefr Kûd. This fine plain sweeps around the hill on which Ya'bud lies, towards the S. S. W. and is drained off in that direction by a valley, called at first Wady el-Wesa', and further down Abu Nâr. South of this plain is another ridge or line of hills, lying between it and the narrower valley north of Fendekûmieh. On one of these southern hills, overlooking the northern plain, is 'Arrâbeh, not here visible ; but it sometimes gives its name to the plain ; as does also Ya'bud. Another of the same hills, further west, was pointed out to us as that of Fahmeh, which is situated on its southern declivity, and was not here in view. The Wady Abu Nâr, and the Wady Mussin, the latter coming from towards Fendekûmieh, were said to unite

¹ Bearings at 2.50 : 'Arrâbeh 155°. its position, see S. Wolcott in *Biblioth. Sac.* Ya'bud 180°.

² See Vol. II. p. 317. [iii. 158.] For Vol. III.—11

after reaching the great western plain ; and then to run to the sea between the bay of Abu Zabûrah and Cæsarea. This account seemed, however, to rest upon report, rather than on personal knowledge.

But what most interested us in connection with this fine plain, was a green and well-marked Tell in its southeastern part (S. 55° E.) at the distance of three or four miles, bearing the name of Dothân. At the southern foot of the Tell is a fountain called el-Hûfireh. Here then was the ancient and long-sought *Dothain* or *Dothan*, where the sons of Jacob were pasturing their father's flocks, when they sold their brother Joseph to the Ishmaelites of Midian, passing by on their way to Egypt.¹ Eusebius and Jerome place it rightly at twelve Roman miles north of the city of Samaria.² Just in that very situation, the name thus still exists in the mouths of the common people ; although overlooked by all modern travellers, as not being on any usual road ; and especially by the crusaders, who thought they found Dothan at the Khân Jubb Yûsuf, southeast of Safed.³ R. Parchi notes it correctly in the fourteenth century.⁴

We learned also at Ya'bud, that the great road from Beisân and Zer'in (Jezreel) to Ramleh and Egypt, still leads through this plain ; entering it on the west of Jenin, passing near the well of Kefr Kûd, and bending southwestwards around the hill of Ya'bud to the great western plain. It is easy to see, therefore, that the Midianites to whom Joseph was sold, coming from Gilead,⁵ had crossed the Jordan near Beisân ; and were proceeding to Egypt along the ordinary road. It could not have been difficult for Joseph's brethren to find an empty cistern, in which to secure him.⁶ Ancient cisterns are very common, even now, along the roads and elsewhere ; and many villages are supplied only with rain water.

It may also be remarked of Joseph's brethren, that they were evidently well acquainted with the best tracts of pasturage. They had fed their flocks for a time in the plain of the Mûkhna by Shechem (Nâbulus) ; and had afterwards repaired to the still richer pasturage here around Dothan.⁷

The Peutinger Tables mark a military road from Cæsarea by Caparcotia to Scythopolis. As Kefr Kûd is not far north of Ya'bud, it would seem not impossible, that this road passed near the latter place and so along the plain ; while beyond Kefr Kûd it led directly over the mountains of Gilboa to Beisân ; or else

¹ Gen. 37, 17-36. ² K. 6, 13. Mentioned also in the book of Judith, 3, 9. 4, 6. 7, 3. 18.

³ Onomast. art. *Dothaim*.

⁴ See Vol. II. p. 419. [iii. p. 316 sq.]

⁵ See in Asher's Benj. of Tudela, II. p.

434.—We learned afterwards from Mr Van de Velde, that he too had unexpectedly lighted upon Dothan a few days earlier.

⁶ Gen. 37, 25.

⁷ Gen. 37, 24.

⁸ Gen. 37, 12-17.

made a detour by way of Zer'in. At any rate, this route must have been more circuitous than the one further north, by way of Maximianopolis and Jezreel.¹

Ya'bud is a large village ; but now contained only five or six families of Christians. The rest are Muslims, divided into two hostile parties, occupying different quarters of the village ; one called the 'Abd el-Hâdy, and the other Beni Tûkân. We had pitched our tent on the east of the village, near the quarter of the latter. They received us very kindly ; and several of their chief men spent the evening in our tent. These two parties divide the whole district ; the latter (Beni Tûkân) embracing, as they said, all the old families, viz. Tûkân, Jerâr, Berkâmy, and Jem'iny. Up to the last summer they were often at war with each other ; and indeed the district of Nâbulus has long had the reputation of being the most disorderly and unsafe region in the whole country. But last year Muhammed Pâsha seized no less than eight of their leaders, and sent them to Constantinople ; whence they were banished to Trebizond. At present, Mahmûd 'Abd el-Hâdy is governor at Nâbulus. A short time since, a number of the opposite party went to Beirût, as a delegation, to complain of his oppressions. He however anticipated them, by transmitting a bribe of 40,000 piastres. On their arrival, they were thrown into prison for twenty-five days ; and were then sent back with the assurance, that Mahmûd himself would examine into their complaints.

Thursday, April 22nd.—We took a guide for 'Attil ; and rode first to the Tell fifteen minutes W. S. W. of Ya'bud, where we had a wide view towards the west.² Leaving the Tell at 7.30, we descended in the same direction, about W. S. W. in order to fall into the Ramleh road. After twenty minutes, we were at the bottom, in a shallow Wady, or narrow plain, coming down from the left ; but not connected with the larger eastern plain. The Wady Wesa', which drains the latter, lies further south, behind a ridge ; making with its continuation, Wady Abu Nâr, a large bend towards the south, which the Ramleh road does not follow down. The shallow Wady, which we here crossed, unites with that on the north of Ya'bud ; and so passes off northwesterly to the great plain. It may perhaps have been the track of the ancient road from Cæsarea above mentioned.

Our path now led across an uneven tract of tilled ground ; and hereabouts we struck the Ramleh path. We were thus

¹ The distances given in the Peutinger Tables are : From Cæsarea to Caparcotia 28 Roman miles ; to Scythopolis, 24 ; in all 52 R. miles.—The Itin. Hieros. gives on the other route : From Cæsarea to Maximianopolis 17 R. miles ; to Stradela (Jezreel), 10 ; to Scythopolis, 12 ; in all 39 R. miles. p. 586.

² Bearings from the Tell near Ya'bud : Berta 306°. Zebdeh 291°, 1½ m. Ferâsh 256°. Nezeh 241°. Saïda 218°. Zeita 244°. Hill of Fahmeh 172°.

upon the very road, by which Joseph was carried down to Egypt. At 8.15 we came upon open ground, affording views of the western plain, still far below us. At 8.30 we were on a rocky brow ;¹ and began to descend gradually along a broad shallow rocky Wady or basin. The village of Ferâsin was close on our right at 8.50, on a rocky Tell. A few minutes later the Wady became narrower, and turned more northwest towards the plain. We rose from it towards the left ; and at 9.05 were on the low ridge between it and the next valley. Our road thus far had lain chiefly among inconsiderable and inarable hills. 'Attil here came in sight, bearing S. 25° W. We turned in that direction ;² and descending gradually came at 9.40 to Wady Abu Nâr, the outlet of the plain of 'Arrâbeh, with a deep water-bed.³ It here takes this name from a Wely on a hill upon the right. It comes down on the north of Neẓleh ; and passes off as a broad fertile valley, on the north of Jett and south of the two Bâkahs, to the western plain.

We now rose along the somewhat higher ground on the left of the valley ; and kept along towards Zeita. At 10 o'clock we left the Ramleh road, which proceeds by way of Zeita ; and turned directly south towards 'Attil.⁴

We were now nearly or quite down the mountain ; and almost on a level with the great plain. The region round about us was an open rocky tract or basin, with low rounded naked hills, shut in from the western plain by the low broad rocky ridges in front, on which the villages of Jett and Zeita are situated ; the former on a marked Tell. All the valleys and outlets which run to the great plain, have very little descent. We crossed a fine level basin in order to reach 'Attil ; the soil was stony, but strong. We came at 10.40 to that village, situated on a hill with plains on the north and south. It is a considerable village ; and in the street we noticed a large fragment of a double column.⁵

A horseman from Zeita had overtaken us, and kept us company until our roads parted. He was very civil, and gave us a good deal of information. It appears, that the land in the district of Nâbulus including the plains, is generally freehold ; and the taxes are mainly paid in the form of a poll tax.

From 'Attil we now turned again up the mountain, follow-

¹ Bearings at 8.30 : Ferâsin 266°. Bâkah, West, 264°. Jett 253°. Zeita 241°. Neẓleh 232°. Saida 197°. Kâkôn 244°. Ya'bud, about N. 65° E.

² Bearing at 9.25 : Saida S. 35° E.

³ Bearings at 9.40 : Jett S. 75° W. 1½ m. Zeita S. 50° W. 1½ m. Neẓleh E. 1 m.

⁴ Bearings at 10 : Deir el-Ghûsûn 172°.

Zeita 237°, 1 m. Jett 282°, 1½ m. Bâkah, West, 325°. Bâkah, East, 16°. Ferâsin 52°. Neẓleh 67°. 'Ellâr 130°. Saida 107°.

⁵ Bearings from 'Attil : Deir el-Ghûsûn 170°, 1½ m. 'Ellâr 97°. Bâkah, East, 1°. Bâkah, West, 338°. Jett 319°. Saida 76°. Southern end of Carmel 8°.

ing the direct road to Nābulus; and taking a guide for Rāmin. Leaving the village at 11.15, we descended into the southern basin, and then entered a long shallow valley running up on the right of Deir el-Ghūsūn and its hill. A string of ten camels, led by donkeys, was slowly climbing the hill to that village. At 11.50 we were at the top of the valley; Deir el-Ghūsūn bearing N. 70° E. half a mile distant. The region is full of olive trees. A valley comes down from the south nearly to the village, and then sweeps round to the west. This we crossed, and then rose upon sloping ground on our left. At 12.05 we came out upon the brow of the deep Wady Müssin, coming from the plain of Fendekūmieh; it is said to unite with Wady Abu Nār in the western plain beyond Jett.¹ We reached the bottom of the valley at 12.20; and noticed its deep water-channel, now dry.—The road thus far from 'Attil was evidently very old; but we saw no appearance of pavement. Whether this was the ancient way from Cæsarea to Sebaste may be doubted; since a more feasible route exists from the plain along the great Wady Sha'ir, which comes down from Nābulus, and is the next valley south of Wady Müssin.

We now followed up the latter valley, which is narrow, and winds a good deal. At 12.40 we were passing among the olive trees of Bela', which was on our right, but not in view. We somewhere lost the main Wady, that comes from Fendekūmieh, probably supposing it to be a side Wady coming in on the left; for we now found ourselves passing up a smaller Wady with few marks of water; and at 1 o'clock we came out at its head upon the ridge between it and Wady Sha'ir, coming from Nābulus. Looking back down the Wady we had ascended, its course was about N. 70° W. Before us now was the deep basin of Wady Sha'ir, full of old olive trees, here too called *Rūmy*, as in Galilee;² further up was the village of 'Anefta in the valley; and Rāmin beyond on a high hill on the north side of the Wady.³

A very steep descent now took us to the bottom in twenty minutes; and in twenty more we came to 'Anefta, at 1.40. A few minutes before reaching the village, there were two cisterns by the way side, filled with rain water from the road, at which women were filling their jars. There was now a small brook in the valley, which seemed just about to dry up, and then the water of cisterns becomes the sole dependence of the village. About half an hour below the village, in the valley, is a Tell of considerable size, called Na'rabeh. 'Anefta is large

¹ Bearings at 12.05, on north brow of Wady Müssin: Deir el-Ghūsūn N. Kefr el-Lebad? 181°.

² See above, p. 80.

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³ Bearings at 1 o'clock, on brow of Wady Sha'ir: Kefr el-Lebad 173°. 'Anefta 150° Rāmin 142°. Kefr Rūmmon 116°.

and well built ; and has two mills on the stream, now stopped for want of water. The race of one of them is carried over the road on arches. Here were many camels, apparently resting ; and we learned, with some surprise, that the great camel road from Nâbulus to Yâfa and Ramleh passes down this valley by 'Anebta and Tûl Keram to the plain. This latter village was said to be in the valley, on the north side, about two hours below 'Anebta. This route is certainly circuitous ; but it affords an easier ascent and descent of the mountains, than any other. A similar instance is the camel road from Jerusalem to Ramleh by el-Jib.

Setting off from 'Anebta at 2.15, we proceeded up the fine valley, amid its rural scenery. The air was full of the songs of larks and other small birds ; and we heard also the note of the mourning dove. The little stream was flowing along the bottom. There were also two more mills, not running ; and the people in summer, it was said, had always to go to Nâbulus to get their grain ground. We were now necessarily upon the ancient way from Cæsarea to Sebaste and Neapolis ; and there were evident traces of antiquity along the road ; but we saw no pavement in this valley.

Râmin was before us, on the high northern shoulder or buttress, which bounds the valley as it issues from the basin of Samaria. We ascended towards it gradually ; and reached the village at 3.15. Here, at once, we overlooked the whole northern portion of the great basin around Sebüstieh ; this northern part being drained by a Wady, which unites with Wady Sha'ir just at the foot of the hill of Râmin. A low rocky ridge lies between the two above the point of junction. It needed but a few moments to assure us, that the observations made on our former journey in this region were wrong in several particulars, in consequence of the ignorance of the guide who then accompanied us.¹ We therefore now took the more pains.

Wady Sha'ir comes down from Nâbulus along the southern part of the basin of Sebüstieh ; and issues from its northwestern quarter between high hills. Râmin is on the first or corner hill on the right side ; while Kefr Lebad is on the left, on the second hill down the valley.² We could here see Burkah upon our former route ; and could also distinguish with our glasses the ancient portal west of Sebüstieh, and some of the columns of the colonnade. The basin of Sebüstieh has been celebrated by others, as well as by ourselves.³ It is beautiful ; but we had now seen so many fertile regions, that it seemed to lose in the comparison. It is sur-

¹ See Vol. II. p. 311 sq. [iii. 150.]

² The position of these two villages was reversed on our former map. Tûl Keram

we could never have seen ; it lies far down the valley, below 'Anebta.

³ See Vol. II. p. 307. [iii. 144.]

passed in richness and beauty by the plains of Râmeih, of el-Büttauf, and of Ya'bud ; to say nothing of the larger plains of 'Akka and Esdraelon.¹

We pitched our tent on the east of the village, after some trouble ; where the hill falls off towards the lower ground by terraces. On this side is the cemetery. The people seemed kindly disposed ; but some were rude and intrusive. In the Shâghûr and ever since, we had found the peasants refusing to *sell* bread ; regarding it as a disgrace to do so. In the best houses, there are rooms for strangers ; where food is provided for them without charge. As we lodged in our own tent, we had to buy flour, and get it baked. Here in Râmin they would take no pay for wood, which they gave us ; and they lent us a jar, that we might fetch water for ourselves, instead of paying them for bringing it. The village is supplied wholly with rain water from cisterns. These are quite numerous ; not only in this and other villages, but along the roads. Provisions and articles sold were here dear. Poultry, for which the usual price was 2½ or 3 piastres a piece, cost here 4 piastres.

Friday, April 23d.—We set off from Râmin for Nâbulus at 7 o'clock ; and descended obliquely and steeply into the valley coming from the northern basin. For some reason, the great road here passes up this Wady rather than the other ; and then crosses obliquely the low ridge between the two, opposite Sebüstieh. At 7.30 we were on the top of this ridge or swell ; with Sebüstieh not far off on the left, and the ruins of a village, called 'Aslûn, close upon our path. We now entered the southern basin ; and at 7.45 struck again the little brook of yesterday, here running with a fuller stream. We followed up its right side through the broad basin ; and then ascended to cross the point of a rocky ridge running down southwest ; while the valley bends off to the south around the point. In the plain we met several strings of camels, hardly fewer than a hundred in all, laden with soap, on their way from Nâbulus to Gaza and Egypt. The soap of Nâbulus is regarded as the best in the country ; it is manufactured on a large scale, and thus exported. It is put up in large bales ; of which a camel carries two, slung across its back. One party of these animals was loaded with bales of cotton in like manner. Each string of camels was led off by a little donkey, hardly equal to the fifth part of a camel in size or weight.

On the top of this ridge, at 8 o'clock, we found very distinct

¹ Bearings from Râmin : 'Anehta 313°. Keft Râmin n 332°. Bizzârieh 36°. Bur-tah 70°. Sebüstieh 109°. Sheikh Sha'-leh 114°. en-Nâkrah 119°. Nâbulus 125°. —The following are south of Wady

Sha'ir : Beit 'Uzin 138°. Beit 'Iba 141°. Keidn 154°. Kuryet Jit 174°. Tell el-Kerkef, a large Tell in the south part of the basin, 189°. Beit Lid 221°. Keft el-Lebad 294°.

traces of the ancient road, with walls along the sides, and the path sometimes sunk below the adjacent surface. Here were also the remains of an ancient place, with hewn stones and the fragments of two columns. It is now called Dibbârieh. In the valley below was a mill; and these now became frequent along the brook all the way to Nâbulus. Some of the mills are large; and to most of them the water is brought in at the top, in long races resting on arches. In the basin we had just left, many of the olive trees have misletoe growing upon them, called by the Arabs *Suffcir*.

After passing the ridge, one road ascends the hill to the village Deir Sheraf; while another goes round the hill on the south. We kept the latter; and at 8.10 were opposite the village. A brook soon came in from a broad side valley on the left. At 8.40 we came to the road from Nâbulus to Sebüstieh, our former route; and here was still Richardson's famous "ancient bridge," across the valley, namely, an Arab mill-race.¹ Overagainst us, on the flank of the southern mountain, around which the valley here makes a bend, were the three villages, Juncib on the top, Beit Ūzin lower down but in the same line, and Beit İba still lower and further west. At 8.55, Zawâta was above us on the left. At 9.15 the green Tell of Râfidieh, below the village of that name, was close on our right across the brook. We came to a fork in the road at 9.35; and waited fifteen minutes for the mules to come up. Here, while waiting, some eight or ten Sheikhs from the country passed us, on their way to visit the governor of Nâbulus, on his invitation. They had on their gala dresses; and rode spirited horses.

We were told, that both roads were equally good; and took the upper or left hand one; but soon came to a tract of rocks, very difficult for the horses to pass over. We therefore turned down by the next by-road, and crossed over to the road on the other side of the brook. This brought us at 10 o'clock to the western gate of the city. As the weather threatened rain, and a mist was already falling, we went directly to the house of a Protestant, named 'Audeh, who was accustomed to receive Frank travellers. The house was situated nearly midway in the city; so that we had to traverse several of the narrow streets. In some of these a stream of water was flowing; and a number were arched over.

The entrance to the house was by a low gateway, and then by a dirty passage among stables to a small court. From this narrow stairway led up outside to a terrace, upon which the family rooms opened. There were two large rooms; one of which was given up to us; and some English travellers, who arrived later, took possession of the other for the night. Our

¹ See Vol. II. p. 303. [iii. 187.]

room was tolerably furnished in the usual oriental style, with divans and carpets ; and there were also a table and a few rude chairs for Frank visitors. Here we took our meals, which were provided by the family and served up by Rashid ; and here too we slept, setting up again our own bedsteads. The accommodations were, at least, much superior to the peasants' houses, in which we had before taken refuge.

Our host, 'Audeh, was a good-looking intelligent person ; and one of the leading men among the Protestants of Nâbulus. He seemed also to be an active business man, and was at his place of business in the city when we arrived ; so that we did not see him till towards evening. We found in the house a young man, Ya'kôb el-Mûsa, the teacher of the school recently established by the Church Missionary Society, a pleasant and intelligent young man, speaking a very little English. He showed us every attention, and did the honours of the house.

The Protestants in Nâbulus had at this time an order from the Pasha of Jerusalem, authorizing them to be publicly acknowledged as a Christian community ; but this they had not yet presented to the governor of Nâbulus. Quite a number had united in the original application ; but of these only seven or eight were now prepared to give in their names. The leader of the movement, named Dâûd, and his party, were holding back. Only two, 'Audeh and Ya'kôb, had been admitted to the communion in the English church at Jerusalem. Indeed, the whole movement seemed to stand in connection with the efforts of the English missionaries and bishop in the Holy City. The school established under their patronage was still small ; but promised well. Dr Smith spent much of the evening in conversation with the two persons above named ; and was pleased with their intelligence and spirit. They urged us to remain with them over Sunday, so that my companion might conduct public worship in Arabic ; a privilege which they had never yet enjoyed. At their request our evening worship was held in Arabic. There were said to be in Nâbulus about 122 taxable male Christians.

As we rode up to the gate of the house, we had met the younger Samaritan priest coming out ; he having been on a visit to Ya'kôb respecting his school. As we afterwards desired to visit the Samaritans, Ya'kôb went to give them notice of our coming. The same priest returned with him, to welcome us ; and, after sitting some time, we all went together to their Keniseh ; putting off our shoes as we entered. Here the elder priest, Selâmeh, also came to us ; he seemed in a measure superannuated ; and the son was now the chief man among his people.¹ The room was the same that we visited in 1838,

¹ See Vol. II. p. 280 sq. [iii. 104.]

with the recess towards the left hand ; the whole as plain and ordinary as possible. The floor on the side of the room opposite the recess is higher by a step than the rest. The whole floor was covered with mats and ancient rugs, not always very clean. The place seemed to be used likewise as a school-room ; and several books were lying about on the raised portion of the floor.

The priest was courteous and communicative ; and showed us the manuscript treasures of their literature, such as it is. Besides their manuscripts of the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch, they have several copies of an old Arabic version of the same, which they prize highly. One of the best of these the priest consented to loan to Dr Smith, to take with him to Beirût, for the purpose of using it in his own version. It was very neatly written ; and originally the heads of the sections were inserted in the Samaritan language and character ; but all these had been carefully covered by pasting paper over them. Such an act of courtesy was something before unheard of ; and excited the wonder of 'Audeh and others. Dr Smith, however, had already obtained a less correct copy of the same work from Damascus, which probably had been handed down from the former Samaritan colony in that city.¹

An ancient commentary on the Pentateuch, in the Samaritan character, was also laid before us ; held to have been composed by Marky, who is said to have lived about a century before Christ. It is in Hebrew and Samaritan, in parallel columns, covering about 700 pages in octavo ; and the copy exhibited was said to have been made more than four centuries ago. They have also several partial commentaries in Arabic, covering together the whole of the Pentateuch. But the commentary of Marky is the great one, on which they rely. The priest offered to dictate a translation of this latter in Arabic to Ya'kôb, to be written down by him for Dr Smith, at an expense of about 375 piastres. But he would not (or did not) consent to part with a copy of the original at any price ; saying it was against their religion, to let any book in the sacred language and character go into the hands of strangers and foreigners. Perhaps the time may come, when the offer of a high price will remove their scruples.

We saw also their book of Joshua, existing only in Arabic ; being merely a collection of legends, and of little value. They have likewise, professedly, a history of their nation in Arabic, from the Exodus to Muhammed. Their prayers are in Hebrew, and fill twelve volumes. We did not learn that they have any hymns now in use in connection with their liturgy.

¹ The first copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch, likewise, were purchased by Della

Valle at Damascus ; see Vol. II. p. 297 sq. [iii. 129.]

It appears, that individuals of the community, besides the priests, have copies of perhaps all these manuscripts in their possession ; and from them books have been purchased, and may doubtless hereafter be obtained.¹ This fact implies, that many of them are able to read. There was talk also, that Bishop Gobat was desirous of establishing a school among them, in which the younger priest was to be employed as the teacher.—The priests seemed still to suppose, that there are Samaritans in other parts of the world ; for example in Bombay ; and they referred to Dr Wilson as having told them, that the Black Jews employ the written character of the Samaritans. They inquired also, with some degree of earnestness, about Genoa.

The next day, Saturday, was of course the Sabbath of the Samaritans. Their morning Sabbath worship begins at day-break ; and continues an hour after sunrise. It consists in a liturgy, and the reading of the Pentateuch. They keep their Sabbath very strictly ; doing no work at all, and remaining secluded. When 'Audeh heard, that the priest had promised to my companion the loan of his Arabic Pentateuch, he hurried off at once to fetch it before sunset ; since after that time he would not be able to find the priest.

For other particulars respecting the Samaritans, as well as for their history, the reader is referred to the account of our former visit, in 1838.²

The region around Nâbulus, within the valley, is full of fountains. They seem to break out in all directions ; and water from some of them runs through the streets of the city. We examined again, particularly, the question as to the comparative fertility of the two mountains, Gerizim and Ebal ; but with the same result as formerly, viz. that we could perceive no difference, except in the Wady which descends from Gerizim, where there are fountains. The broad terraces rising along the flanks of both mountains, are all alike cultivated.

The antiquities of Nâbulus are few. The ancient city may have extended itself much further east ; but we saw no remaining traces of any such extension, either formerly or now. Several sepulchres are excavated along the base of Mount Ebal. As we approached the city from the west, we came upon some remains of a very ancient wall ; which probably mark an extension of the ancient city towards the west. In the same quarter we saw also the lid of an ancient sarcophagus, finely sculptured.

¹ Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 296. In Jerusalem we learned, that a considerable number of volumes had in this way been recently purchased for the British Museum.

² Vol. II. pp. 273–301. [iii. 97–184.] See also the very full and particular account in Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, II p 45 sq. 687 sq.

Towards evening, my companion being otherwise occupied, I rode with Rashid to the mouth of the valley, to visit Jacob's well. The distance was just half an hour. The well is on the end of a low spur or swell, running out from the northeastern base of Gerizim ; and is still fifteen or twenty feet above the level of the plain below. The mouth of the well was stopped with several stones, which could easily be removed. Several men gathered around us, who said there was now much water in it. The depth of the well as now ascertained is about seventy-five or eighty feet.¹ The remains of the ancient church are just above the well, towards the southwest ; merely a shapeless mass of ruins, among which are seen fragments of gray granite columns, still retaining their ancient polish. Under the hill, a few rods distant, is a mill ; the copious stream of which comes from the fountain of Defneh above in the valley. Above and around the mill are the houses of the village Belâtah, now mostly deserted.²—I was glad once more to visit this undoubted scene of our Lord's conversation with the Samaritan woman ; and to yield myself for the time to the sacred associations of the spot. I was glad, too, to look out again upon the plain of the Mûkhna ; although, after having now seen so many noble plains, this one struck me as less broad and comparatively less fertile, than I had been wont to regard it. The mountains on its eastern side seemed higher, and were more naked and rocky, than I remembered them.

A travelled road runs along the plain in front of the mouth of the valley, at some distance from the well. The men said it led to Jenin. It passes probably through the upper part of Wady Fâri'a and so on the east of Sânnûr. The more usual road, at the present day, goes to the city of Nâbulus ; and then crosses the western shoulder of Mount Ebal, to Jeba' and Sânnûr. The distance must be about the same on both the roads.

The Wely marking the place of Joseph's tomb is in the valley, midway between the base of Gerizim and that of Ebal. We rode to it ; and found it to be merely an enclosure of plastered walls, without roof, and with a door in the northern side. We then proceeded to a site of ruins, situated low down on the southeast shoulder of Ebal, yet high enough to overlook the plain and the valley, and called 'Askar. The ruins are merely those of a village. There is among them a fine limpid fountain, issuing from under a low arch into a broken reservoir. This seemed to be the only trace of antiquity.

¹ See Vol. II. p. 284. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 57.

² This village is mentioned by R. Parchi in the fourteenth century, as *Balta*. He holds it to be the site of the ancient Sichem, distinct from Nâbulus. See in

Asher's *Benj.* of Tud. II. p. 426.—It is mentioned likewise by later Jewish travellers ; as Gerson de Scarmela in 1561, and Uri de Biel in 1564 ; see Carmoly pp. 386, 445.

This name, 'Askar, has been compared with the *Sychar* of the New Testament, and the inference drawn, that a Sychar existed here of old distinct from *Sichem* or Neapolis.¹ With this accords the language of Eusebius and the Bourdeaux pilgrim; while Jerome pronounces Sychar to be an erroneous reading for Sichem.² I have elsewhere stated the grounds for believing that Sychar and Sichem were identical.³ It may here be added, that the name 'Askar, in its present form, begins with the letter 'Ain; and this circumstance at once excludes all idea of affinity with the name Sychar.⁴ But even granting for a moment, that Sychar was a distinct city, and stood upon this spot; the difficulties of the general question are in no degree lessened. The woman would have had to cross a mill stream in order to reach the well; and it remains just as inexplicable, why the well should ever have been dug. The easiest solution of this latter difficulty, is the hypothesis, that the fountain Defneh, from which the mill stream comes, may be of later date than the well; the effect, perhaps, of earthquakes in this abundantly watered region.

From 'Askar to Nâbulus we returned in 25 minutes.

Saturday, April 24th.—We concluded to take the direct road leading from Nâbulus to Ramleh, by way of Kuriet Jit and 'Azzûn, and left the western gate of the city at 7½ o'clock. Before this gate is a large cemetery, tolerably well kept, but without trees. The road keeps along high up on the flank of Gerizim. One of the Protestants of Nâbulus accompanied us as far as to Râfidieh, in order to procure for us there a guide. He seemed to hold in remembrance, with great respect, the former American missionaries in Jerusalem.

We came to Râfidieh at 7.55. It lies in a depression which here runs down the side of the mountain; and was partly in ruins. It contains about two hundred Christian men; and only some half a dozen Muslims. We learned afterwards from our guide, that for the last two years a school had been kept in Râfidieh, taught alternately by the two priests, at the expense of the Greek convent in Jerusalem. This was supposed to have been done in order to forestall the English. We here noticed a mode of irrigation of which we had also seen a good deal yesterday. The ground was divided off into beds, six or eight feet long by three or four wide; and these were surrounded by a rim, like pans, to receive and retain the water. This mode is used especially for garden vegetables. We stopped here ten minutes for a guide; and obtained a very good one for 'Azzûn.⁵ At

¹ John 4, 5. See Raumer's *Palæst.* ed. sometimes prefix an Alef to foreign names, p. 146. e. g. Iksâl; but never 'Ain.

² See Vol. II. p. 292 sq. [iii. 120.]

³ Vol. II. *ibid.*

⁴ Gr. *Σαχαρ*, John 4, 5. The Arabs

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⁵ Bearing from Râfidieh: Zawâta N. 25° W.

8.20 Juneid was on our left, a quarter of a mile above us ; here we turned off a little to a brow on our right for bearings ; and were detained fifteen minutes in all.¹ At 8.40 Beit Ūzin was on the right below us, a quarter of a mile off ;² and five minutes later Beit Ība was half a mile below us.³ We now began to pass round the shoulder of the mountain, where the valley below (Wady Sha'ir) trends more west for a time ; having Kuriet Jit and other villages before us, coming into view. The mountains here were tilled to their tops ; and there was a valley at some distance before us breaking down from the south to Wady Sha'ir. At 8.55, on a hill before coming to the said valley, we stopped five minutes for bearings.⁴ As we descended, there was a fountain with a drinking-trough by the way side ; a provision for the traveller which we had as yet seldom found ; though the like occurs more frequently further south.⁵ We reached the bottom of the valley, Wady Sherak, at 9.25, running down to the right to join Wady Sha'ir ;⁶ and at 9.40 there was a smaller parallel Wady running to it along the eastern foot of the hill of Kuriet Jit.

We came at 9.50 to the top of the ridge of Kuriet Jit. That village was just above us on the left, on a Tell ; and has the appearance of a large and old place. This is doubtless the *Gitta* of the province of Samaria ; mentioned by several ancient writers.⁷ Descending westwards immediately into another small valley, we kept along it in that direction, until it entered a larger one, Wady Sheikh 'Aly, coming from the south.⁸ We were here among rounded naked hills ; and were shut out from all further view of Wady Sha'ir. At 10.15 we were on the top of the next low ridge ; and saw Funduk before us, S. 50° W. A Wady came down before us from that village ; and this we afterwards followed up.⁹ At 10.30 Fer'ata was about a mile and a half on our left, on a Tell. This place represents the *Pirathon* of Scripture and Josephus.¹⁰ A Wady coming from that

¹ Bearings at 8.20, below Juneid : Râ-
fīieh 112°. Zawāta 19°. 'Asīreh 58°.
Sheikh Sha'leh 351°. Deir Sheraf 320°.
Beit Ūzin 813°, $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Bizzārieh 333°. Rā-
mīn 318°. Kefr el-Lebad 311°. Beit
Lid 299°. Keisīn ? 296°. Shūfeh 297°.
Kūr 280°. Juneid 222°, $\frac{1}{2}$ m.—'Asīreh
was north of Mount Ebal, and only its
olive groves could be seen.

² Bearings at 8.40 : Kuriet Jit S. 70° W.

³ Bearings at 8.45 : Beit Ība N. 20° W.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Sūrrah 230°, 1 m. Fer'ata 231°.

⁴ Bearings at 8.55 : Burkah 359°. Se-
būstīeh 354°. Deir Sheraf 344°. Bizzā-
rieh 344°. Shūfeh 300°. Beit Lid 305°.
Kuriet Hajja 255°. Kuriet Jit 250°. Bā-
kah 257°. Rāmīn 328°.

⁵ Bearings at 9.10 : Till S. 25° E. 1½
m. Sūrrah S. 20° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ m.

⁶ Bearing at 9.25 : Keisīn N. 20° W.

⁷ Gr. *Γίττα*, see Keland Palest. p. 813
sq. See Vol. II. p. 307. n. [iii. 144. n.]—

Bearing from Kuriet Jit : Keisīn N. 20° E.
⁸ Bearings at 10.10 : Kuriet Hajja S.
80° W. 1½ m. Bākah S. 85° W. 1½ m.

⁹ Bearing at 10.20 : Kefr Kaddūn N.
35° W. 1 m.

¹⁰ Judg 12, 15. 1 Macc. 9, 50. Jos. Ant.
5. 7. 15. ib. 13. 1. 3. See Keland p. 956.
Raumer Pal. p. 142. It is mentioned by
R. Parchi in the fourteenth century ; Benj.
of Tud. by Asher, II. p. 486.—Bearings
at 10.30 : Fer'ata S. 60° E. 1½ m. Um-
matein S. 60° E. 1 m.

direction crossed our path towards the right ; all the valleys thus far running towards Wady Sha'ir.

The small and poor village of Funduk was close on our left at 10.45.¹ We kept along beyond it up a slope of cultivated ground ; and at 11 o'clock, on the top, had the small village Jins Sâfût on our left, directly south, half a mile distant, across the head of a valley running down S. S. W. to Wady Kânah. Keeping to the right we came five minutes later upon a low ridge ;² and at 11.15 looked down into a deep valley on our right, coming from the region of Kuriet Hajja and passing down to the western plain.—Thus far the country was mostly under cultivation ; with many villages and olive trees ; the hills mostly round and naked, and the soil chalky. Here we began to have glimpses of the great western plain ; there was little cultivation and few villages along the slope ; the region was sterile ; the hills and valleys more rugged ; and there were many stunted trees, chiefly oaks.

Our road continued high above the valley ; and led us, at 11.30, around the northern shoulder of a high and rocky Tell ; with the village Kefr 'Abbûsh on our right not far distant.³ We now came out, southwest from the Tell, upon a broad tract of table land, rocky and sterile, with a gentle descent towards the west, between the valley from Kuriet Hajja on the north, and Wady Kânah on the south. In this latter valley we have without doubt the river (brook) *Kanah* of the book of Joshua, the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh.⁴ It was here very deep and rugged, with water running in it. A man from Kefr Kâsim afterwards assured us, that it comes from the plain el-Mûkhna, from a fountain of that name. Near Deir Estieh several fountains spring up in it ; and the valley is there wide and cultivated. It enters the western plain just south of Hableh ; where we afterwards crossed it, bearing a different local name.

Upon this table land, as we advanced, there were, at 11.45, evident remains of an ancient paved road. At 12 o'clock⁵ we were on the brow of a shallow rocky basin, forming the head of Wady 'Azzûn ; which thus divides the broad ridge towards the west. At 12.25 the valley became narrower ; we left the great road along its bottom, and rose obliquely upon its right bank to the village 'Azzûn at 12.45. This village does not lie high ; it con-

¹ Bearings from Funduk : Wely of Fârisy 102°. Kuriet Hajja 42°. er-Râs Sheikh Salmôn el-Fârisy, high and distant, 330°. Kefr 'Abbûsh 277, 1½ m. 110°. Fer'ata 96°. el-'Arâk 81°. Kuriet Jit 55°. ⁴ Heb. נַחֲלֵי קָנָח, lit. *Wady Kanah*, Josh 16, 8. 17, 9.

² Bearings at 11.05 : Deir Estieh, distant, 163°. Jins Sâfût 134°. Fer'ata 82°. ⁵ At 12 o'clock, es-Sennârieh bore S. 20° W. It is a ruin in the south of Wady Kânah, and distant.

³ Bearings at 11.30 : Sheikh Salmôn el-

tains a population of 290 males ; all of them Muslims, except one family of Christians. The head of this family had resided in the place for thirty years, and was universally respected. As we stopped here for lunch, he did the honours of the village ; brought us coffee ; and afterwards accompanied us for some distance on our way.¹

Leaving 'Azzûn at 1.40, we descended obliquely and by a side valley to the larger Wady, and struck the great road again at 2 o'clock. Our way now led down this winding valley, shut in on both sides, and with nothing visible but its rugged walls, formed of horizontal strata of flinty rocks, with stunted trees and shrubs sparsely scattered upon them. We overtook and passed a large drove of horses, apparently on the way to market. At 3 o'clock the valley opened to a wider cultivated tract ; and continued to expand towards the plain. At 3.30 we reached Hableh, on the low rocky ridge along its southern side, and near the extremity towards the great plain. It overlooks the plain extensively, although not high above it. Directly in view and not far distant, are the three villages, Kilkilieh, Kefr Sâba, and Jiljûlieh ; and further south is Râs el-'Ain. Wady 'Azzûn, which we had followed down, passes just under Kilkilieh, leaving it on the right ; and then sweeping round to the S. S. W. leaves Kefr Sâba also on the right, and runs to the 'Aujeh.

The ground around Hableh was so rocky, that we found no place to pitch our tent on the hill. We therefore descended to the low ground between the village and a Wely on another rocky point a quarter of a mile further south ; and there pitched near a cistern, to which the women came for water. Here we remained over Sunday.

The road, which we had now travelled, is evidently an ancient one, leading from Neapolis to Joppa, Gaza, and Egypt, as is evinced by the remains of pavement mentioned above. The descent of the mountains is quite gradual, with no steep pass whatever ; being very different in this respect from the region further south. Indeed, so far as we had yet seen, the whole western descent from the higher tracts of Samaria, is a very easy one through valleys among hills.

During all our journey through the district of Nâbulus, there was much talk about a new inventory which the government had caused to be taken, of lands, houses, and live stock. The object was not yet known ; though every one supposed, that it foreshadowed an increase of taxation.

Our tent, as said above, was in the low tract between the village and the Wely, about sixty rods from the former. We

¹ Bearings at 'Azzûn : Jeliyûs N. 30° W. On the south side of the Wady is a ruin 2 m. el-Mudahdirah, distant, 350°.— called Kefr Thulth.

were here surrounded by cisterns dug out in solid rocks, mostly with a round opening at the top. Some were entirely open. One of them, seven feet long by five broad and three deep, was merely sunk in the rock, with two steps to descend into it. Another one, of similar dimensions, had but one step left. A larger cistern was near the water-course ; it was twelve feet long by nine broad, and about eight feet deep ; two rude and very flat arches were thrown over it ; and on these rested the covering of flat stones, some of which still remained. All these excavations were evidently ancient ; and were thus numerous just here in the low ground, because of the greater abundance of water in the rainy season. Only one of them seemed to be now in use.

Another excavation near by was at first more puzzling. Its appearance was like a sarcophagus, regularly hewn on the outside. On going to it, the interior proved to be only five feet long by twenty inches broad ; but this was merely the entrance to an arched vault beneath, all hewn in the solid rock. The interior was now filled with stones. It was doubtless a sepulchral excavation ; it could not have been a cistern, for no water could have run into it. I afterwards found seven similar excavations on the southern hill not far beyond the Wely ; all in one large flat rock. The entrances of these were level with the surface of the rock, and there were also traces of grooves for lids ; though no lids are now to be found.

Still another excavation, close by our tent, which interested me, was an ancient wine-press ; the first I had ever seen. Advantage had been taken of a ledge of rock ; on the upper side, towards the south, a shallow vat had been dug out, eight feet square and fifteen inches deep ; its bottom declining slightly towards the north. The thickness of rock left on the north was one foot ; and two feet lower down on that side, another smaller vat was excavated, four feet square by three feet deep. The grapes were trodden in the shallow upper vat ; and the juice drawn off by a hole at the bottom (still remaining) into the lower vat. This ancient press would seem to prove, that the adjacent hills were once covered with vineyards ; and such is its state of preservation, that were there still grapes in the vicinity, it might at once be brought into use without repair. I would have given much to have been able to transport this ancient relic *in natura* to London or New York.

From the Wely there was an extensive view of the plain. Here I spent several hours, at various times, beneath the shade of a spreading tree ; and here our bearings were taken.¹ The

¹ Bearings from the Wely near Hableh : Mirr and mills 231°. Bir 'Adis 271°. ez-Zâkâr 160°, 1½ m. Mejdel Yâba 196°. Jilhûlieh 256°. Kefr Sâba 307°. Kilkilieh Râmleh 207°. Kul'at el-'Ain 220°. el- 344°.

ruin of ez-Zâkûr in the S. S. E. seemed extensive and old. Further off was Mejdél Yâba ; and, in the plain, Râs el-'Ain, or Kûl'at el-'Ain, as it is called from its castle. Far in the S. S. W. the tower of Ramleh was visible. On the 'Aujeh, further west, was the village el-Mirr, with several mills. Nearer at hand, about a mile distant, was Jiljûlieh S. 76° W. said to be now almost a ruin, and having in its southern part a large Khân similar to that at Ramleh. Then followed Kefr Sâba N. 53° W. distant from us about two miles, in full view ;¹ and lastly Kilki-lich, N. 16° W. also about two miles distant. The plain in the west and northwest is uneven ; rising beyond Kefr Sâba and towards the coast into low hills or swells, some of which are wooded.

The chief interest in this prospect is connected with Kefr Sâba, as the representative of the *Antipatris* of the New Testament ; whither the apostle Paul was sent off from Jerusalem by night, on the way to Cæsarea, in order to save him from a conspiracy of the Jews.² Josephus relates, that the first Herod built here a city, on a site formerly called *Capharsaba*, in a fertile spot, where a river encompassed the city, and there were also many trees.³ He speaks of it also as near the mountains ; and tells us, that Alexander Jannæus drew a trench with a wall and wooden towers from Antipatris to the coasts of Joppa, one hundred and fifty stadia in length, in order to prevent the passage of Antiochus.⁴ Two military roads led from Jerusalem to Antipatris, and so to Cæsarea ; one by way of Gibeon and Beth-horon ; the other by way of Gophna.⁵ By which of these roads Paul was conducted, we have no means of determining. Antipatris is mentioned by Jerome and the Bourdeaux pilgrim ;⁶ a bishop of Antipatris was present at the council of Chalcedon held A. D. 451 ; and it continued to be inhabited by Christians in the middle of the eighth century.⁷ From that time onward, as in so many other instances, the later Greek name (*Antipatris*) has disappeared in history ; while the earlier Kefr Sâba has retained its hold upon the lips of the common people even unto this day.

¹ Yet v. Wildenbruch, when passing this way several years after the visit of Dr Smith, could find no trace of the name Kefr Sâba. Monatsber. der Geogr. Ges. in Berlin, N. F. I. p. 233. Ritter Erdk. XVI. p. 572.

² Acts 23, 31 ; comp. v. 12. 23 sq.

³ Gr. Καφάρσαβδ, Joseph. Antt. 16. 5. 2 ; comp. 13. 15. 1, Χαβαρσαβδ . . . ἡ νῦν Ἀντιπατρίς καλεῖται.

⁴ Jos. B. J. 1. 4. 7 ; comp. Antt. 13. 15. 1. The direct distance from Kefr Sâba to the coast is not over ten or twelve miles. There must therefore be some error in the number of 150 stadia (18½ Roman miles) ;

unless the trench was drawn very obliquely, or perhaps along the river 'Aujeh.

⁵ The road by Beth-horon was followed by Cestius in the flight of his army, Jos. B. J. 2. 19. 8, 9. That by Gophna was traced in 1843, by Dr Smith, to the neighbourhood of Mejdél Yâba ; many portions of the road being still in good preservation ; see Biblioth. Sac. 1843, p. 481 sq.

⁶ Hieron. Epit. Paulæ, p. 673. ed. Mart. Itin. Hieros. p. 600.

⁷ Reland Palest. pp. 568-570. Theophan. Chron. p. 358.

The present Kefr Sába is a village of some size ; the houses are built of mud, as in most of the villages of the plain ; and there are no relics of antiquity visible. A well just east of the houses is fifty-seven feet deep to the water, and is walled up with hewn stones. The village stands on a low eminence near the western hills ; but is separated from them by a smaller Wady or branch of the plain.¹ There seems to be no valid reason for questioning the identity of this spot with Antipatris. The ancient name itself is decisive ; while, in the rainy season and spring, the Wady coming from the mountains would sufficiently correspond to the river described by Josephus. The distance from Lydda is also tolerably near to the ancient specification of ten Roman miles.²

The name Jiljùlieh seems to correspond to an ancient *Gilgal*; and Eusebius and Jerome mention a village *Galgulis* situated in the sixth mile north of Antipatris.³ As there is now no such village known in the north of Kefr Sába ;⁴ and as Jiljùlieh lies short of that distance in the opposite direction ; it may well be a question, whether perhaps a slip of the pen may not have given rise to the reading *north* instead of *south*. Eusebius must have known the place ; as he often travelled between Cæsarea and Jerusalem. This Galgulis may, or may not, have been the same with the Gilgal mentioned once along with Dor in the book of Joshua.⁵

Monday, April 26th.—Refreshed after the day of rest, we started from the Wely at 6.45, for Mejdel Yába ; without a guide, as the way was plain, and we were likely to fall in with persons, of whom we could make inquiries. At 7.05 we crossed the deep and broad water-bed of Wady Kânah coming from E. S. E. It is here known as Wady Zákûr, from the ruin of that name on its northern side, half a mile on our left ; and is also called Wady Khureish, from another ruin on its southern bank. It runs off just south of Jiljùlieh to the Wady which comes from Kefr Sába ; and thus goes to the 'Aujeh. At 7.10 the ruin Khureish was on our left, not far from our path. At 7.35 we crossed a smaller Wady, with a ruin on its southern bank, called Kefr Hatta ; consisting of a few walls partly standing, a reservoir, and a sarcophagus used as a drinking-trough. Our road led along the low rocky hills as they jut out into the great plain ; in some places just crossing their extremities. At 8.05 we came

¹ See "Visit to Antipatris" by E. Smith, in 1843 ; in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1843, p. 492 sq. Ritter *Erdk.* XVI. p. 569 sq.

² *Itin. Hieros.* p. 600. The distance from Kefr Sába to Lydda, according to our own observation, is about four hours ; which, at our rate of travelling, would not vary much from 12 Roman miles ; while ac-

cording to the usual rate of mules, it would not exceed ten miles.

³ *Onomast. art. Gilgal.*

⁴ The name Kilkilieh has no affinity with the name Gilgal ; nor is that village in any sense in the sixth mile north of Kefr Sába.

⁵ *Josh.* 12, 23.

to the broad channel of Wady Ribâh, coming down from the east on the north of Mejdél. According to an informant from this village, it has its head near 'Akrabeh,¹ and passes down near ez-Zâwieh. It runs north of Kûl'at el-'Ain, and so to the 'Aujeh. On this Wady, just within the hills, is situated Kefr Kâsim, not here visible; but appearing like an old place, as we saw it afterwards from the plain.

As we passed along our road, Kûl'at el-'Ain lay below us on the right, in a depressed part of the plain. On a low mound is a structure in the form of a long parallelogram, said to have been once a fortress. At the foot of this mound, on the west, is the great fountain of the river 'Aujeh; one of the largest in Palestine. It forms a marshy tract, covered with reeds and rushes. This fountain and others below furnish, at this season, the whole supply of water for the river; which is nearly as large as the Jordan near Jericho. The water has a bluish tinge; and the current is usually sluggish.² The river sweeps off about W. N. W. until it reaches the hills or higher plateau; and just here are the mills, at el-Mirr, about a mile from the source. The stream then passes on about W. by S. under steep banks formed by low cliffs.

We came, at 8.30, to Mejdél Yâba; situated on a rather steep declivity on our left, with a Sheikh's house or palace overlooking the rest of the village. The place has an old look; but we saw few definite traces of antiquity. The Sheikh's palace is large and high; it had recently been built up; for when my companion passed this way in 1843, it was in ruins.³ Its owner, Sheikh Sâdik el-Jema'iny, was now in banishment. In a field in the lower part of the village we noticed two sarcophagi; the isolated rocks had been hewn away outside, perhaps with vaults below, like those at Hableh. We were delayed here ten minutes in trying to obtain a guide; but without success.⁴

From Mejdél we turned our course towards the plain, S. 67° W. in order to enter the great road from Damascus to Ramleh. Descending from the village, we struck at 8.50 the deep channel of Wady Kurâwa, the continuation of Wady Belât;⁵ and followed down its right side for fifteen minutes; when we crossed it. We could see a bridge with three arches about half a mile below, on the Damascus road. This Wady must drain a large region of country. It was now dry; and runs to the 'Aujeh on the west of the Kûl'ah. At 9.15 we struck the Damascus road

¹ See under May 12th.

² E. Smith in *Bibliotheca Sacra*. 1843, p. 491.

³ E. Smith, *ibid.* p. 488 sq.

⁴ Bearings from Mejdél Yâba: Kefr Sâba N. Jiljûlieh 258°. Ludd 204°. Ram-

leh 212°. Renthieh 224°. el-Mirr 316°. Râs el-'Ain 322°.—The following are on the western side of the plain: el-Yehûdi-yeh 233°. el-Fejeh 282°. el-Mulebbia 291°.

⁵ See Vol. II. p. 266. [iii. 82.]

called es-Sultāna, at a Wely named Neby Thāry, situated on a low Tell, with a pond of clear water on the north of it. Here we stopped ten minutes.¹

We now proceeded along the Sultāna towards Ludd and Ramleh. After five minutes the road crossed a Wady with dirty standing water; and then rose to a higher tract in the plain, with a more gravelly soil. At 9.45 we came to Renthieh, close upon our left hand; situated on an isolated ledge of rock, which here protrudes in the midst of the plain. It was once apparently a place of some size; but is now a miserable hamlet.*

The name Renthieh (or Remthieh, as we sometimes heard it) is sufficiently near in form, to suggest an identity with the *Arimathea* of the New Testament.² In a former volume, I have given reasons for regarding Arimathea as having no connection with Ramleh, but as probably situated on some one of the hills in the east or northeast of Lydda.³ The same general grounds hold good against the idea of seeking Arimathea at Renthieh; and I may here subjoin a few additional remarks.

Josephus mentions in the north of Judea four toparchies, named from their chief towns, viz. Acrabatene, Gophna, Thamna, and Lydda. These towns are now all known; Thamna having been discovered in 1843 by Dr Smith, under the present name of Tibneh, on the way from Gophna to Mejdél Yāba.⁴ The nature of the country shows, that these toparchies probably formed long parallelograms lying parallel to each other, extending in length from north to south. The first occupied the eastern side of the water-shed on the mountains; the second, the western side of the same, still upon the mountains; the third, that of Thamna, lay along the western slope of the mountains; while the last, that of Lydda, comprised most of the plain. South of the Thamnitic toparchy was that of Emmaus; while Joppa and Jamnia had jurisdiction over the towns adjacent to them.⁵ Now as Arimathea was situated in the Thamnitic district;⁶ and this included the western declivity of the mountains and probably the adjacent hills; we certainly cannot well look for Arimathea either at Ramleh or at Renthieh, which are both

¹ Bearings from Neby Thāry: Mejdél 67°. Kūl'at el-'Ain 10°. Fejjeh 318°. Renthieh 193°. Kefr Kāsim 48°. el-Muzeiri'ah 136°. Kūly 145°. These last three are on and among the lower eastern hills.

² Bearings at Renthieh: Kūly 106°. Muzeiri'ah 83°. Mejdél Yāba 45°. el-Yebūdiyeh 250°, 1½ m. Ramleh 206°. Ludd 200°. Deir Abu Mesh'al ? 114°. Deir Tūrf 167°. et-Tireh 147°.—These last two are at the foot of the eastern hills.

³ There is however another *R-mth'h*, east of the Jordan, on the Huj road south

of Eshmiskīn. This would seem to show, that the name can have no necessary connection with the form *Arimathea*.

⁴ See Vol. II pp. 239, 241. [iii. 40, 44.]

⁵ E. Smith in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1843, p. 484.

⁶ Jos. B. J. 3. 8. 5. Antt. 14. 11. 2. Plin. H. N. 5. 15.

⁷ Onomast. "*Armathea Sophim* . . . in regione Tamnitica juxta Diospolim, unde fuit Joseph qui in Evangeliiis ab Arimathea esse scribitur."

in the middle of the plain, and naturally within the district of Lydda.

The same result seems to follow from a notice of Jerome. That father, in describing the journey of Paula, represents her as passing from Antipatris to Lydda; thence, not far from that city, to Arimathea and Nobe; to Joppa also; and then, turning back, to Emmaus or Nicopolis; whence she took the route by the two Beth-horons to Jerusalem.¹ All this serves to show, first, that Arimathea was not Renthieh, which lies directly on the road between Antipatris and Lydda; and, secondly, that it probably did lie somewhere between Lydda and Nobe, now Beit Nûba, a mile northeast of Yâlo. Perhaps it is not too much to hope, that the ancient site of Arimathea may hereafter be discovered somewhere in that region; which, as yet, has not been fully explored.

Leaving Renthieh at 10 o'clock, we proceeded towards Ludd. The ground soon sinks again to the lower plain, level and rich, extending towards Yâfa, lying back of the hills that are on the west of Fejjeh. In that direction several villages came in sight as we passed along; the names of which we lost for want of a guide. In the same direction the large Wady just north of Ludd runs to the 'Aujeh.² At 10.25 we had a distant view of Yâfa, bearing N. 78° W. We crossed a Wady at 10.40, having a bridge with two arches and a pool of water under them.³ At 11 o'clock there was a ruin on the right; apparently once a Khân. At 11.20, Berfilieh was in sight, S. 60° E. on the summit of one of the eastern hills, apparently a ruin. We came at 11.30 to a noble bridge of three or more arches, spanning the great Wady which encircles Ludd, and passes off northwest to the 'Aujeh. This bridge is one of the best in the country, well built, of twice the usual width, and still tolerably paved. All these bridges and Khâns along the Sultâna show how important this road once was, as the great line of communication and commerce between Egypt and Damascus.

We reached Ludd at 11.45; and stopped for lunch on the northeast corner of the town outside. The Ramleh road lies a little further west; and our mules and muleteers (*par nobile*) took it into their heads to keep on towards that place. We had nothing left, but to send Rashid after them to bring them back; and this detained us here for nearly two hours. There was a

¹ Hieron. in Ep. 86 ad Eustoch. Epit. Paulæ, p. 673, "et Lyddam versam in Diospolim (vidit) . . . haud procul ab ea Arimathiam viculum Josephi, qui Dominum sepelivit; et Nobe urbem sacerdotum . . . Joppen quoque . . . *repetitoque itinere* Nicopolim, quæ prius Emmaus vocabatur . . .

atque inde proficiscens ascendit Bethoron inferiorem," etc.

² At 10.15, the village et-Tîreh bore S. 45° E. 1½ m.

³ At 10.50, Deir Tûrif bore S. 60° E. 2 m.

large muster of camels in the open ground near us ; many of them young. Among the houses in this quarter were several large buildings, said to be in use as soap factories. The houses of Ludd, though numerous, are in general small and mean. Here our eyes were again greeted with the pleasant sight of a number of palm trees.

We engaged a guide for Yálo ; and before leaving, he took us to the ruins of the old church, in the southwest quarter of the town. Instead of passing through the streets, he led us around on the outside towards the south ; where we entered by another gate not much frequented. These are noble ruins ; but were now, by daylight, less majestic and imposing, than as we saw them formerly, by moonlight. The historical notices of the church, and of Lydda, I have elsewhere given.¹

Leaving the gate at 1.55, we took the road for Yálo by way of el-Kubáb, at first S. 26° E. After fifteen minutes we crossed obliquely Wady Harir, coming from the S. S. W. and uniting a little further north with Wady 'Atallah, to form the great water-course on the north of Ludd. Here were pools of stagnant water ; from which women were filling their jars, and bearing them away on their heads. The ground now became higher ; and at 2.20 there was a ridge or swell, with an extensive view.² After another reach of the plain, we came at 2.45 to the water-bed of Wady 'Atallah, coming down by Kubáb from the Merj Ibn 'Ömeir. We followed up this valley ; and ten minutes later Kubáb came in sight, S. 35° E. We afterwards rose upon the western side of the valley along the plain ; and at 3.10 had several villages in sight.³ Among them was Abu Shúsheh on the western end of a range of hills in the south ; also 'Annábeh, a village of some size on the north of the Wady. We here dismissed our guide, who had given us little satisfaction.

Keeping along the edge of the plain, we at length climbed the steep hill of Kubáb, and reached that village at 3.55. This hill may be regarded as one of the northern extremities of the range running out N. N. W. from Zorah ; or rather perhaps, as a northeastern spur of the same. The village is of considerable size ; but has no marks of antiquity, nor any historical importance. As we passed up along its southwestern side, we had some difficulty to pick our way among the numerous openings, like small wells, leading to subterranean magazines for grain. The people were quite civil. We found that having no guide we had come out of our way in ascending to the village ; inas-

¹ See Vol. II. pp. 244-248. [iii. 49-55.]

² Bearings at 2.20 : Jimzu 106°. Ram-
leh 264° Ludd 334°. Neby Daniál 116°.

³ Bearings at 3.10 : Abu Shúsheh 198°. el-Birriyeh S. 50° W. 1½ m. el-Kubáb 148°. el-'Annábeh 82°, 2 m.

it issues from the eastern hills into the plain.

much as our proper road lay along the bottom of the valley on the north ; and we now had some difficulty in descending the very steep declivity on that side to regain it. Here Wady 'Aly, coming from Sâris and Lâtrôn, unites with Wady 'Atallah coming from the Merj.¹

The large village 'Annâbeh was here in the north beyond the valley. The name suggests the *Bethoannaba* or *Bethannaba* of Jerome ; which according to him was in the fourth mile from Lydda ; though many said it was in the eighth mile.² This seems to imply, that, even thus early, the names of 'Annâbeh and Beit Nûba were sometimes confounded ; the specifications of four miles and eight miles from Lydda being still applicable to these villages respectively.

Leaving Kubâb at 4.15, we descended towards the northeast, crossed Wady 'Aly, and proceeded up Wady 'Atallah towards Yâlo. The position of this place was pointed out to us, as on the north side of a spur or ridge running out west from the mountains on the south of the Merj ; but it was not visible from Kubâb. Our road led along the broad open valley, about S. 70° E.³ After half an hour our course became about E. S. E. and at 5 o'clock we reached the western extremity of the spur. We soon turned up along the hill side ; and after a while passed a small Wady running down north, with a little fountain on its further side by the path. At 5.40 we came to Yâlo.

This village is situated midway up this northern declivity, between two ravines running down to the plain below ; it thus overlooks the beautiful meadow-like tract of the Merj Ibn 'Omeir. There is a fountain in the western ravine, which supplies the village. The place has an old appearance ; and in a cliff beyond the eastern ravine are several large caverns in the rocks ; which may be natural, but have probably been enlarged. The village belongs to the family of the Sheikhs Abu Ghaush, who reside at Kuriet el-'Enab. One of the younger of them was now here, and paid us a visit in our tent. The people of Yâlo were well disposed, and treated us respectfully.

The fine plain or basin, Merj Ibn 'Omeir, which now lay spread out before us, stretches in among the hills quite to the base of the steep wall of the mountains ; on the top of which are situated Upper Beth-horon and Sâris. South of it is the ridge of Yâlo ; and on the north and northwest are lower hills.

¹ Bearings at Kubâb : Ramleh 314°. 'Annâbeh N. el-Lâtrôn 151°. 'Amwâs 135°. Selbit 91°. Sâris ? 130°. Beit Nûba 107°.

² Oronast. art. 4.666 : "Est usque hodie villa juxta Diospolim quasi quarto milliario ad orientalem plagam, quæ voca-

tur Bethoannaba. Plerique autem affirmant in octavo ab ea milliario sitam, et appellari Bethannabam."

³ Bearings at 4.40 : el-Lâtrôn S. 1½ m. 'Amwâs S. 25° E. 1 m. Selbit N. 4° E. 1 m. This last is a ruin north of the Wady.

The name Ibn 'Omeir belongs to a district, and not specially to the plain. In our former journey we had looked down upon this fine tract from the high position of Beit 'Ūr el-Fôka ; and the description then given we now found to be correct ; with the single exception, that, as seen from so high a point, the basin seemed to be drained off more in the southwest towards Ekron ; whereas, as now appears, it is drained by Wady 'Atalleh to the 'Aujeh.' In and around the plain are several villages. From Yâlo we could see Beit Nûba in the plain ; Beit Lûkieh at the foot of the northern hills ; Rûmmâneh, a ruin, on the top of the mountain ; also Râs Kerka' and Jemmâla on the lower parts of the mountain further north, in the district of the Simhân Sheikhs, who live at Râs Kerka', and are Keis.² Could we have taken a direct route from Mejdél Yâba to Yâlo, more towards the east, it would have brought us through a tract as yet little visited, containing apparently many villages.

The whole of the Merj, and indeed very much of the great plain through which we had passed to-day, was now covered with heavy crops of wheat and barley. The Merj, especially, reminded me in this respect of the rich harvest I had seen a year before in Lincolnshire, in passing from London to Scotland. The barley was now in the ear ; and would soon be ready for harvesting. Many tares were mingled with the grain. The dry season, too, had already commenced ; the grass in many places was beginning to lose its green ; and in two or three weeks the present verdure of the fields would be no more.

In a former volume I have stated the reasons for regarding Yâlo as the ancient *Aijalon* ; and the fine basin below as the valley of Aijalon, over which Joshua commanded the moon to stand still.³ The place had always interested us ; and we were gratified in being able to spend a night in it. So far as I know, it had as yet been visited by no modern traveller.⁴

Beit Nûba, which lay below us in the plain, about a mile distant, with a large olive grove beyond it, we may regard as the representative of the *Nobe* of Jerome ; and was also in his day regarded by some as a *Bethannaba*.⁵ The historical notices are given in a former volume.⁶ This plain was selected by Richard of England as the place of his long encampment, doubtless on account of its convenience and fertility.

¹ See Vol. II. p. 253. [iii. 63.]

² For the two great parties, Keis and Yemen, see in Vol. II. p. 17. [ii. 344.]—Bearings at Yâlo : Beit 'Ūr el-Fôka 64°. Beit Nûba 41°, 1 m. Beit Lûkieh 59°. Rûmmâneh 86°. Râs Kerka' 59°. Jemmâla 38°.

³ Josh. 10, 12. See Vol. II. p. 253 sq. [vi. 63.]

⁴ Dr Wilson speaks of having seen the

three villages, 'Amwâs, Beit Nûba, and Yâlo, from the Jerusalem road near Lâtrôn. This would not be possible, I think, as to Beit Nûba, and certainly not as to Yâlo. *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 266.

⁵ Hieron. in Ep. 86 ad Eustoch. Epit. Paulæ, p. 673 ; see above, p. 142. n. 1.—*Onomast. art. Anob* ; see above, p. 144. n. 2.

⁶ Vol. II. p. 254. [iii. 64.]

At Yálo we were told of a ruin in the mountains on the east, said not to be far off, called Kefir. It was, however, now too late for us to visit it from Yálo; nor were we able afterwards to make an excursion to it from Jerusalem. But, in the name Kefir, it is impossible not to recognise the ancient *Chephirah*, a city of the Gibeonites, afterwards assigned to Benjamin; and, after the captivity, again inhabited by the returning exiles.¹ From that day till this, it has remained unknown. When ascertained, it will complete our knowledge of the four cities of the Gibeonites; the other three, Gibeon, Beeroth, and Kirjath-Jearim, having already been recognised in el-Jib, el-Bireh, and Kuriet el-'Enab.

Tuesday, April 27th.—The morning opened with an appearance of rain, and a slight shower fell; but the clouds soon broke away, and the day became fine. We broke up from Yálo at 6.55, with a guide for Sūr'a. At first we returned on our road of last evening for ten minutes, and then kept still high along the declivity, about N. 65° W.² At 7.25 we turned to the left around the shoulder of the ridge; and had 'Amwás and Látrón before us in a line, S. 47° W.³

Descending gradually we came at 7.40 to the village of 'Amwás, lying on the gradual western declivity of a rocky hill, sufficiently high to have an extensive view of the great plain. It is now a poor hamlet consisting of a few mean houses. There are two fountains or wells of living water; one just by the village, and the other a little down the shallow valley west. The former is probably the one mentioned by Sozomen in the fifth century, by Theophanes in the sixth, and again by Willibald in the eighth, as situated in a spot where three ways met (*in trivio*), and as possessing healing qualities.⁴

We noticed also fragments of two marble columns; and were told of sarcophagi near by, which had recently been opened. But the chief relic of antiquity consists in the remains of an ancient church just south of the village, originally a fine structure, built of large hewn stones. The circular eastern end is still standing, as also the two western corners; but the intervening parts lie in ruins. Such is the present state of the ancient Nicopolis.⁵

That 'Amwás represents the ancient *Emmaus* or *Nicopolis*, situated at the foot of the mountains, and according to the *Itin.*

¹ Josh 9, 17. 18, 26. Ezra 2, 25 Neh. 7, 29.

² Bearings at 7 10: el-Burj 15°. Kubáb 299°.

³ Bearings at 7.25: Kubáb 304°. Abu Shúsheh 283°. Khúldeh 256°. Beit Jiz 235°. Látrón 227°. 'Amwás 227°.

⁴ Sozom. H. E. 6. 21. Theophan. p. 41.

Vita S. Willibaldi ab anon. § 13. The fame of this fountain seems to have been spread abroad, as healing both man and beast; see Reland Pal. p. 759 sq.

⁵ Bearings at 'Amwás: Kubáb 314°. Ramleh 314°. Abu Shúsheh 289°. Beit Jiz 234°. 'Annábeh 333°.

Hieros. twenty-two Roman miles distant from Jerusalem, and ten from Lydda, I believe no one doubts.¹ The name does not occur in the Old Testament; but from the first book of Maccabees and from Josephus we learn, that here Judas Maccabæus defeated the Syrian general Gorgias;² that Emmaus, having been dismantled, was afterwards fortified by the Syrian Bacchides;³ that under the Romans it became the head of a toparchy; was afterwards reduced to slavery by Cassius; and at last was burned by order of Varus just after the death of Herod the Great.⁴ The place appears not to have received the name *Nicopolis* until the third century after Christ; when it was again rebuilt by the exertions of the writer Julius Africanus, who flourished about A. D. 220.⁵ This name, along with Emmaus, it continued to bear during the centuries of the crusades.⁶ Yet the writers of that epoch, and later travellers, who speak of a *Castellum Emmaus* (from the Vulgate), evidently had in view, as we shall see further on, the fortress at el-Lâtrôn, a mile distant, on the Jerusalem road.⁷ The village 'Amwâs, though in sight from that road, would seem hitherto to have been actually visited by no traveller.

A question of a good deal of historical interest connects itself with this place; viz. whether it stands in any relation to the Emmaus of the New Testament, whither the two disciples were going from Jerusalem, as Jesus drew near and went with them, on the day of his resurrection?⁸ As the text of the New Testament now stands, the distance of the place from Jerusalem is said to have been sixty stadia; which, if correct, of course excludes all idea of any connection with the present 'Amwâs; the latter being at least one hundred and sixty stadia distant from the Holy City.⁹

Yet there can be no doubt, that in the earliest period of which we have any record, after the apostolic age, the opinion prevailed in the church, that *Nicopolis* (as it was then called) was the scene of that narrative. Both Eusebius and Jerome, in

¹ Hieron. ad. Dan. c. 8 et 12: "Emaus, que nunc Nicopolis . . . ubi incipiunt montana Judææ consurgere." Itin. Hieros. p. 600.

² 1 Macc. 3, 40. 57. 4, 3. 14. 15. Hieron. ad. Dan. c. 8.

³ 1 Macc. 9, 50. Jos. Antt. 13. 1. 3.

⁴ Jos. B. J. 3. 3. 5.—Antt. 14. 11. 2. ib. 17. 10. 9.

⁵ Hieron. in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. "Julius Africanus, cujus quinque de temporibus extant volumina, sub Imperatore M. Aurelio Antonino . . . legationem pro instauratione urbis Emmaus suscepit, quæ prætea Nicopolis appellata est." Chron.

Paschal. ad A. D. 223. See Reland p. 759.

⁶ Will. Tyr. 7. 24. ib. 8. 1. Brocardus c. 9. 10.

⁷ Here the first host of crusaders encamped for the last time before reaching Jerusalem; Will. Tyr. 7. 24.

⁸ Luke 24, 13–35.

⁹ The Itin. Hieros. gives the distance of *Nicopolis* from Jerusalem at 22 R. miles. But the specifications of that Itinerary as to distances are only general, and can never be taken as exact. The traveller now occupies from *six to six and a half* hours between 'Amwâs and Jerusalem, over a very bad road.

the fourth century, are explicit on this point ; the one a leading bishop and historian, the other a scholar and translator of the Scriptures.¹ Indeed, they seem to have known of no other interpretation ; nor is there a trace of any other in any ancient writer. The same opinion continued general down through succeeding ages until the commencement of the fourteenth century ;² when slight traces begin to appear of the later idea, which fixed an Emmaus at Kubeibeh ; a transfer of which there is no earlier vestige, and for which there was no possible ground, except to find an Emmaus at about sixty stadia from the Holy City.³

Thus, for thirteen centuries did the interpretation current in the whole church regard the Emmaus of the New Testament as identical with Nicopolis. This was not the voice of mere tradition ; but the well considered judgment of men of learning and critical skill, resident in the country, acquainted with the places in question, and occupied in investigating and describing the scriptural topography of the Holy Land.—The objections which lie against this view have been well presented by Reland and others ; and are the four following :⁴

First. The express statement of Luke, that Emmaus was distant from Jerusalem sixty stadia.⁵ Such is indeed the present reading, as found in all the editions and in most of the manuscripts of the New Testament that have come down to us. But it is no less true, that several manuscripts and some of them of high authority, read here *one hundred and sixty* ; and thus point to Nicopolis.⁶ This may then have been the current reading in the days of Eusebius and Jerome. There seems indeed, to be a strong probability that it actually was so ; since otherwise, those fathers in searching for the Emmaus of Luke, had only to seek at the distance of sixty stadia from Jerusalem, in order to find it. We therefore, may draw at least this definite conclusion, viz. that in their day such an Emmaus was unknown ; and, also, that probably their copies read one hundred and sixty stadia.—It may have been that the word or numeral letter signifying a hundred had early begun to be dropped from

¹ Onomast. art. *Emaus* ; here Jerome, translating Eusebius, writes : “ *Emaus*, de quo loco fuit Cleophas, cujus Lucas meminit Evangelista. Hæc est nunc Nicopolis insignis civitas Pælestinae.”

² So Sozomen H. E. 5. 21. Theophan. p. 41. Vita S. Willibaldi ab anon. § 13. Will. Tyr. 7. 24. Jac. de Vitruv. 63. p. 1081. Brocardus c. 10.

³ Sir J. Maundeville, *Voyage* p. 94. Ludolf de Suchem § 43 ; in Reissb. p. 850. See more in Vol. II. p. 255. n. 4. [iii. 66.]—Mr Williams supposes Kuriet el-

Enab to have been earlier regarded as Emmaus ; of which there is not the slightest vestige in history or tradition. Churches in Palestine, no. 1. p. 7

⁴ Reland Pal. p. 426 sq. Raumer Pal. p. 169. Edit. 3.

⁵ Luke 24, 13.

⁶ Two uncial manuscripts have this reading, viz. *K*, or *Cod. Cyprianus* ; and *N*, or *Cod. Vindobonensis* ; besides several cursive manuscripts. See the critical editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, Tischendorf, etc.

the text by a lapse of transcribers ; and that this was increased as copies were multiplied in other lands, by copyists who knew nothing of Palestine ; until at length by degrees the omission became current in the manuscripts. Indeed, few if any of the manuscripts now extant, were written in Palestine. There exist likewise in the New Testament other examples of erroneous readings, which have doubtless, in like manner, crept in through the error of transcribers.¹

Second. Josephus relates, that Vespasian (or Titus) assigned in Palestine a place of habitation for eight hundred men, whom he had dismissed from his army ; it was called Emmaus, and was distant from Jerusalem sixty stadia.² This, it is said, confirms the present reading of the New Testament. But since, as is well known, the works of Josephus were copied in a later age almost exclusively by Christian transcribers, this passage would very naturally be conformed to the current reading in Luke ; while it is also true, that several manuscripts of Josephus still read here *thirty* stadia.³ This at least shows the reading to be variable, and therefore doubtful ; so that it can have no weight in determining the text of the New Testament. Indeed, the original of it may just as well have been one hundred and sixty.

Third. The Emmaus of Luke and Josephus, it is said, is called a *village* ;⁴ while Nicopolis was a *city*. But the word employed by Luke signifies strictly a *town without walls*, a country-town, as distinguished from a fortified city ; and that used by Josephus denotes a *place*, and is also put for a fortified post or town. Emmaus had been laid in ashes by Varus shortly after the death of Herod, and would seem not to have been fully rebuilt until the third century ; when it received the name of Nicopolis. When Luke wrote, therefore, it was probably still a place partially in ruins and without walls ; a fitting post for a colony of disbanded soldiers.

Fourth. The distance of Nicopolis from Jerusalem is too great, it is said, to admit of the return of the two disciples the same evening, so as to meet the assembled apostles. This however would depend, not so much upon the distance, as upon the time when they set off. They "rose up the same hour,"⁵ and

¹ Thus in John 19, 14 it is said that Jesus was sentenced by Pilate at the *sixth* hour ; while according to Mark 15, 25 he was crucified at the *third* hour ; which last alone accords with the circumstances of the crucifixion. A transcriber probably mistook *ς* for *τ*. See the author's Gr. Harm. p. 226.—Another instance is Acts 7, 16, where *Abraham* is put for *Jacob* ; comp. Gen. 33, 18, 19.—A third is the insertion of the name *Jeremiah*, Matt. 27, 9 ; comp. Zech. 11, 12, 13.

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² Jos. B. J. 7. 6. 6.—Both De Wette and Meyer, on Luke 24, 13, refer to Josephus as placing this Emmaus on the *north* of Jerusalem. But neither Josephus nor any other writer says one word as to its direction from the Holy City.

³ See note on Joseph. l. c. ed. Havercamp. Rodiger in Allg. Lit. Zeit. Apr. 1842, no. 72, p. 576.

⁴ Luke 24, 13 *κώμη*. Jos. B. J. 7. 6. 6 *χωλὸν*. See the Lexicons.

⁵ Luke 24, 33.

naturally returned in haste, to make known their glad tidings ; although with all their haste, they could not well have traversed the distance in less than five hours. It was not yet evening when they arrived at Emmaus ;¹ and if they set off to return even as late as six o'clock, which at that season would be about sunset, they might reach the city by eleven o'clock. The apostles were assembled and the doors were shut "for fear of the Jews ;"² they had indeed partaken of an evening meal, but this had already been long ended ; for Jesus afterwards inquires, if they have there any food.³ It was evidently late. There is therefore nothing impossible or improbable in the supposition, that the two had hastened back a long distance, late at night, perhaps with much bodily effort, to declare to their brethren the wonderful things of which they had been witnesses. A like amount of travel, on an extraordinary occasion, would be nothing strange even at the present day.

The case then may be thus presented. On the one hand, the reading of good manuscripts gives the distance of Emmaus from Jerusalem at one hundred and sixty stadia ; at which point there was a place called Emmaus, which still exists as the village 'Amwâs ; and all this is further supported by the critical judgment of learned men residing in the country near the time ; as also by the unbroken tradition of the first thirteen centuries. On the other hand, there is the current reading of sixty stadia in most of the present manuscripts, written out of Palestine ; supported only by a doubtful reading of Josephus ; but with no place existing, either now or at the end of the third century, to which this specification can be referred. So far as it regards the New Testament, it is a question between two various readings ; one, now the current one in manuscripts and editions, but with no other valid support ; the other supported in like manner by manuscripts, as also by facts, by the judgment of early scholars, and by early and unbroken tradition.—After long and repeated consideration, I am disposed to acquiesce in the judgment of Eusebius and Jerome.⁴

Leaving 'Amwâs and proceeding along the declivity, which here falls off gradually towards the west, we came in twenty minutes to the Jerusalem road, and to el-Lâtrôn situated close

¹ Luke 24, 28. 29.

² John 20, 19.

³ Mark 16, 14. Luke 24, 41.

⁴ See also Rödiger in Allg. Lit. Zeit. 1. Ritter Erdk. XVI. p. 545 sq.—It may be said, and has been said, that the Mss. which read "one hundred and sixty," were

merely conformed to the prevailing tradition ; Kuinöl Comm. ad Luc. l. c. But in this case, there was and is an Emmaus actually existing at the distance specified ; in the other, at sixty stadia, there has been no trace of an Emmaus since the doubtful reading of Josephus.

upon its southern side. This is a conical Tell, commanding a wide prospect; and crowned with the ruins of a large and strong fortress. We rode to the summit; from which we could see Tell es-Sâfieh in the southwest, and also Yâfa and the Mediterranean.¹ The ruins consist of walls of large stones well hewn; with numerous interior divisions, and many vaults. The remains are chiefly from the middle ages; and pointed arches are everywhere found in the best preserved portions.² But the substructions are older and apparently Roman; especially on the west. Here the lower portion of the wall is built up for some distance with *sloping* work; though the slope is less than at Jerusalem or Kûl'at esh-Shūkif. Towards the south, the Tell looks down into Wady 'Aly; which descending from Sâris here sweeps around the Tell, and passes off on the north of Kubâb. The Jerusalem road ascends the mountain along this Wady.

This place is very obviously the *Castellum Emmaus* of the crusaders and later travellers; which they speak of as identical with Nicopolis.³ The fortress was evidently erected to command the approach to Jerusalem; and, in consequence of its nearness to Emmaus or Nicopolis, it may have served also as a bulwark of that city. In this way the Roman substructions may be accounted for; as also, perhaps, Jerome's rendering, *Castellum Emmaus*, in the Vulgate.⁴ But when the tradition had gradually changed, and Emmaus was transferred to Kubeibeh, we find this ruin, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, known as *Castrum v. Castellum boni Latronis*; this name, as was held, being derived from the legend, which made this the birthplace of the penitent thief.⁵ This seems to have been the probable origin of the present Arabic name.

But in whatever relation this fortress may later have stood to Emmaus, it seems not improbable, that this spot was the site of the ancient Modin, the residence of the Maccabees; at least its position and elevation correspond, better than any other place, with the circumstances narrated of Modin. In that town

¹ Bearings from el-Lâtrôn: Tell es-Sâfieh 227°. Beit Jiz 239°. Khûldeh 264°. Ramleh 320°. Yâfa 323°. Kubâb 336°. 'Amâbeh 343°.—From Tell es-Sâfieh, in 1838, we took the bearing of el-Lâtrôn N. 49 E. The people there gave it the name of 'Amwâs; see in Vol. II. p. 30. [il. 363 sq.]

² Quaresmus and others mention among these remains, in their day, the ruins of a large church; Quaresm. II. p. 12. F. Fabri in Reissb. p. 241. Cotovicus p. 143.

³ Bernard. c. 10. Fulcher Carnot. 18. p. 396 Will Tyr. 7. 24. ib. 8. 1. Jac. de

Vitr. 63. p. 1081. Brocardus c. 9. Tucher in Reissb. p. 658. Breydenbach ib. p. 105.—Some quite recent travellers still speak of this place as Emmaus; e. g. Prökesch p. 39. Barth in Ritter Erdk. XVI. p. 546.

⁴ Luke 24, 13. The earlier *Itala* reads here *municipium*; Bianchini Quat. Evang. II. p. 298. Comp. also Keland Palest. p. 429.

⁵ So Zuallart, Fr. ed. liv. 3. p. 16. Cotovicus p. 148. Quaresmus II. p. 12. This latter writer has a strong array of authority, to show that the thief in question was not born here, but in Egypt.

the Maccabees lived and were buried ; and there Simon erected a lofty monument, with seven pyramids, to their memory.' Modin lay adjacent to the great plain ; and the monument was visible to all who sailed along the sea.¹ Eusebius and Jerome likewise testify, that Modin was not far from Lydda ; and that the sepulchres remained in their day.² The writers of the times of the crusades speak indefinitely of Modin, as somewhere in this vicinity ;³ while Brocardus already seems to fix it at Sôba.⁴ To all the circumstances thus enumerated the elevated and isolated Tell of Lâtrôn well corresponds.⁵

Leaving Lâtrôn at 8.15, we struck down at once by a steep descent to the bed of Wady 'Aly, where a brook was flowing ; and then, ascending again, were at the top of the acclivity at 8.35. We were here on a broad ridge, overlooking a lower tract among hills in the south, and having Sûr'a in sight before us.⁷ This place is situated towards the southwestern extremity of the high ridge, which skirts Wady es-Sûrâr in the north ; from which extremity another ridge or line of hills runs off about N. N. W. in the direction of Khâldeh and Kubâb. Between these two ridges, and that on which we now stood south of Wady 'Aly, is an extensive open tract, comprising the heads or cultivated rocky basins of no less than three Wadys, which run westwards and unite towards the plain ; and then apparently pass down to Nahr Rûbin by an outlet among the western hills. Of these basins, one was next the ridge on which we now were ; another was adjacent to the ridge running northerly from Sûr'a ; and the third, between the other two ; all separated from each other by lower projecting ridges.—On our former journey we had seen Sûr'a from the south, on a high point of the ridge overlooking the fine plain of Beth-slemesh ; we now approached it from the north, on which side the elevation seems not much more than half as great.

Descending and crossing the first Wady we rose upon the ridge beyond ;⁸ and came at 8.55 to Beit Sûsin, a small village, looking old and miserable. Descending again, we came in seven minutes to an ancient well of large diameter and some twenty feet deep, walled up with hewn stones. Passing over the low

¹ 1 Macc. 2, 1. 15. 13, 25-30. Jos. Antt. 13. 6. 5.

² 1 Macc. 16, 4. 5. '3, 29.

³ Onomast. art. *Modin* : "Vicus juxta Diospolim, unde fuerant Machabei, quorum hodieque ibidem sepulchra monstrantur."

⁴ Will. Tyr. 8. 1. Jac. de Vit. 63. p. 1081.

⁵ Brocard. c. 10. p. 186. On the absurdity of connecting Modin with Sôba, see above, in Vol. II. p. 639 [ii. 328 sq.]

—Quaresmius and some earlier travellers speak of the remains of a church, once dedicated to the Maccabees, a stone's throw from Lâtrôn on the north of the road; Quaresm. II. p. 12. Zuallart l. c. p. 16. Cobovic. p. 143. We noticed nothing of the kind; nor do I find it mentioned in later travellers.

⁶ See also Ritter Erdk. XVI. p. 546.

⁷ Bearings at 8.35: Sûr'a 180°. el. Lâtrôn 8'.

⁸ At 8.50, Beit Jiz bore N. 80° W.

end of the second ridge, we struck at 9.15 the bed and brook of the third Wady, coming down from the direction of Sūr'a ; and followed it up through rich fields of grain. After eight minutes we reached the main source of the brook in a noble fountain, walled up square with large hewn stones, and gushing over with fine water. This is the fountain of Zorah, and as we passed on, we overtook no less than twelve females toiling upwards towards the village, each with her jar of water on her head. The village, the fountain, the fields, the mountains, and the females bearing water, all transported us back to ancient times ; when, in all probability, the mother of Samson often in like manner visited the fountain, and toiled homeward with her jar of water.—It is inconceivable, why the people do not generally use donkeys for this service ; as one of these animals will carry four jars of still larger size. We saw this done only in a very few instances.

Another eight minutes brought us to the foot of the sharp point or Tell, on which Sūr'a is situated ; as steep and regular almost as a volcanic cone. We ascended on the northeastern side, and passing through the village, which lies on this side just below the brow, came out upon the open summit at 9.40. It is a miserable village, exposed on this high point to the burning rays of the sun without a trace of shade. This shoulder of the mountain, at the angle of the two ridges, shoots up into four sharp points ; of which Sūr'a occupies the easternmost. There are no traces of antiquity about the village itself ; except that the rocks on the summit have been hewn away in several places. But with the exception of one cistern with steps, we could not make out for what purpose this was done. The Wely just by the village has several large tombs in its court. Sūr'a is in the district of Ramleh ; but belongs feudally to the Lūhhām Sheikhs, who live at Beit 'Atāb, and are Keis.

This place we saw from a distance in our former journey ; and recognised it as the *Zorah* of the Old Testament, the birth-place of Samson. The few historical notices connected with it, are given in a former volume.¹

Our chief object in visiting Zorah, was to obtain a view of the country between it and Jerusalem ; and especially to ascertain, if possible, the general course of the great valleys. The prospect from the summit of Zorah is extensive and fine. It does not reach far into the great plain ; but takes in the district towards Beit Nettif, and especially the plain of Wady Sūrār directly beneath. 'Ain Shems, the ancient Beth-shemesh, was before us, a noble site for a city ; a low plateau at the junction of two fine plains. The plain of the Sūrār extends up east and

¹ Judg. 13, 2. See Vol. II. pp. 12, 17. [ii 337, 340.]

northeast far into the mountains ; where its upper part is almost shut in by lofty precipitous ridges. Just at its extremity is the village of Yeshû'a (here pronounced Eshwa') N. 78° E. A little further east comes in the deep and narrow chasm of Wady Ghûrâb, which, as we afterwards saw, has one branch coming from Sâris, and another from beyond Kuriet el-'Enab. Further south, with a high intervening ridge, was seen the mouth of the great Wady Isma'il, coming from Kûlônîeh, the continuation of Wady Beit Hanina. The large water-courses of these two Wadys unite to form Wady Sûrâr, and the channel thus formed runs down north of 'Ain Shems. The plains thus shut in are beautiful and fertile.

A number of villages were in sight ; some of which we recognised as old acquaintances of our former journey. Yeshû'a and 'Artûf were in the basin below us ; the latter on the low ridge running out between the water-courses of the Wadys Ghûrâb and Isma'il. The large village Deir Abân is on the foot of the mountain, south of Wady Isma'il. Deir el-Hawa is on the summit of the mountain, south of the same valley. We saw also Kesla, on a high point of the lofty ridge between the Ghûrâb and Isma'il.¹ It probably represents the ancient *Chesalon* on the confines of Judah ; where the border passed from Kirath-jearim to descend to Beth-shemesh.²

We wished to proceed to Jerusalem by the shortest route ; and, if possible, by way of Sôba. The easiest routes were said to be quite circuitous ; one on the right by way of Beit 'Atâb, and another on the left along the slope of the mountain to Wady 'Aly and so by Sâris. Between these two, we were told of three others ; one up Wady Isma'il to 'Ain Kârim, which was bad ; another on the ridge between that Wady and Wady Ghûrâb by way of Kesla and Sôba ; and the third for some distance along the slope of the mountain, and then by Mihsir to Sâris. The men of the place said the middle route by Kesla was the best and most direct ; but no one would go with us as guide. We therefore retained our guide from Yâlo, who professed to know the way ; though it turned out that he had never been in that region.

Having decided to go by way of Kesla and Sôba, we left Sûr'a at 10.30 for 'Artûf, the first village in that direction. Descending the Tell in five minutes to the low saddle in the eastern ridge, we then struck down the declivity into the plain of Wady Ghûrâb, and came at 10.45 to its bed and brook.

¹ Bearings from Sûr'a: Yeshû'a 78°. of Wady Ghûrâb 84°. Mouth of Wady 'Artûf 118°. Deir Abân 148°. Deir el-Isma'il 117°. Hawa 121°. 'Ain Shems 199°. Beit ² Josh. 15, 10. See Vol. II p. 80 Netîf 178°. Beit el-Jemûl 193°. Kesla n. 2. [ii. 364.] 88. Râs Kerka 36°. Kubâb 349°. Mouth

Ascending gradually on the other side, we reached 'Artûf at 11 o'clock, a poor hamlet of a few houses. Here we discovered that our guide knew nothing of the road ; and we therefore inquired for another. This brought out, after some parleying, one of the Beit 'Atâb Sheikhs, who happened to be there. He and all the rest declared the road by Kesla to be impassable with horses, as also that up Wady Isma'il ; and advised us to go to Sâris by Mihsir, or better by Wady 'Aly. We chose the former.¹

Turning our course from 'Artûf, at 11.15, in the direction of Yeshû'a, we descended and crossed obliquely the plain of Wady Ghûrâb, until we struck a road passing up the valley to that place. At 11.30 we passed close on the left hand of the village ; which seemed large, with well tilled fields and many fruit trees around it. We kept on up a small open valley, on a course about north ; reaching the head of the valley and then crossing a low swell at 11.50 ; after which we passed around the open basin or head of a Wady running down westwards. This is the road leading along the declivity of the mountain to Wady 'Aly. At 12.5 we left the road ; turning at right angles to ascend the mountain directly to Mihsir. The path lay along a steep, narrow, rocky, and desolate Wady ; up which our animals clambered only with great exertion. At 12.25 we came out on the southern brink of a deeper valley, also running down west ;² and still continued to ascend. The badness and difficulty of the road are not exceeded in the roughest parts of Mount Lebanon.

At length, at 12.40, we reached the large village of Mihsir, situated just below the western brow of the mountain ; and stopped for a time for lunch. We were saluted by a general bark of all the dogs of the village, and a visit from many of the men. The place seemed flourishing ; and, for a wonder, had one or two new houses of good size. It lies at an elevation of at least 1500 feet above the sea ; and commands a most extensive view over the whole plain of Yâfa and Gaza, with the Mediterranean beyond. Although situated on this rocky ridge, there is some tillage, and many olive orchards. Indeed, the hills around, rocky as they are, are planted with olive trees.³

We left Mihsir at 1.10, for Sâris, an hour distant on the same ridge, on a general course E. N. E. We kept along on the southeastern brow of the ridge, looking down into the deep northwestern branch of Wady Ghûrâb, which has its beginning in this quarter. Our path led along the connecting ridges and saddles between the rugged points, which compose the main

¹ Bearings from 'Artûf: 'Ain Shems S. 40° W. Deir Abân S. 10° E. Yeshû'a N. 20° E.

² Bearings from Mihsir: Kubâb 321°. Sû'a 251°. Beit 'Atâb 172°. Kesla S. 50° E. Deir esh-Sheikh ? S.

³ At 12.25, el-Lâtrôn bore 813°.

ridge.¹ The hills around were rocky and desolate. At 2.10 we reached Sâris, a small village still on the ridge, just south of the gap by which Wady 'Aly descends; one of the heads of which lies in the east below the village.²

In the list of the cities of Judah in the book of Joshua, the Septuagint has an interpolated passage, containing the names of eleven cities, between Eltekon and Kirjath-jearim; and the same list is also mentioned by Jerome.³ The village Sâris is probably the *Sores* or *Soris* of this passage; but whether it is also the *Saris* of Josephus, to which, according to that writer, David fled, is from the position very doubtful.⁴ David would appear to have kept himself rather in the south of Judah.

Leaving Sâris, we descended into the head of Wady 'Aly, and fell into the Jerusalem road. This road then winds up and over a ridge on the north to the southern brow of a second Wady; and then along and around its beginning to the head of a third; and then again to a fourth still larger and deeper; all running down on the left towards the western plain; but whether uniting to form Wady 'Aly, or running to the plain separately, we could not learn. The road is bad; and the whole region rocky, desolate, and dreary. The badness of the road arises mainly from the great number of loose stones, which have been suffered to accumulate in the path. Were these removed, the road would be a good one for the country; just as the missionaries residing in summer at 'Abeih and Bhamdûn have caused the stones to be removed every year from the roads between those places and Beirût, and have thus reduced the distance in time by a whole hour. The former American consular agent at Yâfa, the elder Murad, once caused this road to be thus cleared of stones, and made it all the way comparatively good. But such public-spirited individuals are rare; the government does nothing at all; and the road is now again as bad as ever.

Passing up steeply around the head of the valley last mentioned, we came at 2.55 to the brow looking down upon Kuriet el-'Enab; and at 3 o'clock reached that village. It is prettily situated in a basin, on the north side of a spur jutting out from

¹ Bearings at 1.40: Kesla S. 10° E. 2 m.—At 2 o'clock: Küstîl 92°. Sôba 103°. el-'Amûn 92°. The latter is a village on the northern declivity of Wady Ghûrâb.

² Bearings from Sâris: Sôba 109°. Küstîl 91°.

³ Josh. 15, 59 Sept. Θεκά και Ἐφραθά, αὕτη ἐστὶ Βαυδλεείμ, και φαγώρ και Αἰτάν [al. Αἰτὰμ] και Κουλὸν και Τατὰμ και Θωβὴς [al. Σωρὴς] και Καρέμ και Γαλέμ και Θεδὴρ [al. Βαυδὴρ] και Μανοχά· πόλεις ἐνδεκα και αἱ κώμαι αὐτῶν. Hieron. ad Mich. c 5, "Legimus juxta Septuaginta

duntaxat Interpretes in Jesu Naue, ubi tribus Judæ urbes et oppida describuntur, inter cætera etiam hoc scriptum: *Thacco et Ephratha, hæc est Bethleem, et Phagor et Elham et Culon et Tami et Soris et Carrem et Gallim et Bæther et Manochæ, civitates undecim et viculi earum*; quod nec in Hebraico nec apud alium invenitur interpretem, etc." See especially Reland Palæst. pp. 648, 988. Wilson, Lands of the Bible II. p. 266.

⁴ Joa. Antt. 6 12. 4. Reland p. 988

the western hill. There are quite a number of well-built houses belonging to the family of the Sheikhs Abu Ghaush. The only remnant of any antiquity is the fine ruined church, now used as a stable. We rode into it, to get a view of the interior. It presents a singular mixture of architecture; its pointed Gothic portal and aisles contrasting strongly with its rows of windows with round arches. It is obviously of the times of the crusades, and is more perfectly preserved than any other ancient church in Palestine.¹

This village has long been noted as the residence of the family of Sheikhs named Abu Ghaush; who for the last half century, by their exactions and robberies, have been the terror of travellers.² They are quite numerous; amounting now, as we were told, to sixty or seventy males. The tardy vengeance of the Turkish government has at length overtaken the heads of this lawless and rapacious house. Several of them were seized late in 1846, and sent to Constantinople.³ The further fortunes of some of them were related to us by the young member of the family, whom we met at Yálo. One had died in banishment; another was still in exile in Bosnia; and a third, after a banishment of five years spent at Widdin, had returned home the last year.

In a former volume I have stated the grounds for regarding Kuriet el-'Enab as occupying the site of the ancient *Kirjath-jearim*; ⁴ and most subsequent writers have concurred in adopting this view.⁵ Monkish tradition calls this the church of St. Jeremiah; and long regarded the village as Anathoth, the birth-place of that prophet. This latter even Quaresmius calls in question.⁶ In regard to the transfer of the ark from Beth-shemesh to Kirjath-jearim,⁷ we made it a point to ascertain, whether there was any direct road between the two places; and indeed this was one main object of our visit to Zorah. A pretty direct route from Beth-shemesh would pass up on the east of Yeshû'a and along Wady Ghüráb; but no such road now exists, and probably never did; judging from the nature of the country. In all probability, the ark was brought up by way of Saris.

Passing on from Kuriet el-'Enab, we had on our left, at 320, two pieces of columns of rose-coloured limestone, built into the fragment of a wall at the angle of a road leading up to the hamlet Beit Nūkkāba, situated on the left hand decliv-

¹ Bearings from Kuriet el-'Enab: Sôba S. 20° E. Kustûl S. 65° E.—Twenty minutes later, Sôba bore S. 10° W.

² Ritter Erdk. XVI. p. 547 sq.

³ Wilson Lands of the Bible, II. p. 267.

⁴ Vol. II. pp. 11, 12. [ii. 334-336.]

⁵ Ritter Erdk. XVI. pp. 108 sq. 547 sq. Vol. III. -14

Raumer Palest. Ed. 3, p. 179. Wilson Lands of the Bible, II. p. 267.

⁶ Adrichomius p. 14. Cotovicus p. 146. Quaresmius II. p. 15. See Vol. I. p. 437. [ii. 109.]

⁷ 1 Sam. 6, 21. 7, 1, 2.

ity, a quarter of a mile distant. At 3.25, we struck and crossed the bed of the main Wady, which goes to form the Ghūrāb; it comes from some distance further north. Just below, on our right, was an ancient bridge over it, having a round arch; with a road leading from it up the hill south of Kūstūl. We here entered a side valley coming from the east, and followed it up to its top; where, at 3.45, we came out on the brow of the great Wady Kūlōnia, which further down takes the name of Isma'il. We were here in a notch in the ridge; with Kūstūl on a high point just on our right, distant a quarter of a mile. This name would seem to be derived from some *Castellum*, probably of the crusaders; of which no historical trace remains.¹ What is now seen, we were told, is merely the ruins of a tower of the family Abu Ghaush, where formerly they sometimes took refuge. It may very probably have been built on earlier foundations. Sōba stands upon the same lofty ridge between the Wadys Isma'il and Ghūrāb; and Neby Samwil was now in view on the left.²

We began immediately to descend into the great valley, along a side ravine. The descent was steep and long. Two thirds of the way down there was a small fountain by the way side, which had been carefully built up for the traveller; but not for his horse. At 4.15, before quite reaching the bottom of the valley, we were opposite Kūlōnia, lying high up on the northwestern declivity; and here, leaving the great road, we ascended to the village, and encamped for the night. We were much exhausted; for the way had been long and wearisome. I have travelled in my day many dreary roads; but none more uninteresting and desolate than this, the great avenue to the Holy City.

Kūlōnia is not a large village; the houses stand in terraces along the declivity. The people have the name of being great thieves; but we were not troubled by them. The narrow bottom of the valley below was filled with orchards of fruit trees of various kinds, as figs, pomegranates, quinces, pears, etc. The name of the village suggests a former *Colonia* of the Romans; but more probably it comes from the ancient *Koulon* or *Culon* of the Septuagint and Jerome.³

From our tent we could see 'Ain Kārim down the valley, in a recess of the eastern mountain, half way up. We saw it a fortnight later more fully.⁴

Wednesday, April 28th.—We returned to the spot, where we

¹ For the name *Castellum Pisanum* there seems to be no authority whatever. Ritter Erdk. XVI. p. 549.

² Bearings from brow, at 3.45: Kūlōnia E. Neby Samwil N. 20° E.

³ Gr. Κουλόν, see above, p. 156, n. 3. Had there been here a known *Colonia*,

Jerome would probably have given that form in full, rather than *Culon*. The name is found in the time of the crusades; Wilken Gesch der Kreuzz. IV. 509, 510.

⁴ Bearings from Kūlōnia: 'Ain Kārim 186°. Kūstūl 275°. Jerusalem road S 80° E.

last night left the great road ; and set off thence at 6.30. Five minutes further down, and just before reaching the bed of the valley, there was a quadrangular ruin, with bevelled stones at the corners ; the middle portions of the walls being of less careful work.¹ A paved modern bridge, with pointed arches, crosses the water-bed of the valley. The path immediately ascends a side valley, rocky and narrow ; which, at 7.15, brought us out at its head on the border of a tract of table land. Here several points which we had formerly known, came in sight ; as Neby Samwil, Tuleil el-Fûl, Beit Ikse, Beit Sûrik.² We now kept along upon the table land ; and almost immediately a short shallow Wady on our left descended northwest to the great valley ; where, at the junction, on the eastern shoulder, we saw below us the village of Lifteh.

Another shallow Wady now went off south ; and then another, now green with fields of grain, in which at 7.25 we saw the convent of the Cross, distant half a mile directly south. Another low swell being surmounted, the Mount of Olives and the Holy City burst upon our view, S. 75° E. In the south was the plain of Rephaim and its valleys ; while beyond towered the high ridge west of Beit Jâla, between Wady Ahmed and Wady Bittir. Leaving on our right the cemetery and upper pool, we reached the Yâfa gate at 7.55.

The approach to the Holy City on this side affords no view of the interior ; which is hidden both by the slope of the ground eastwards and the high western wall. The view as one approaches from the north is very much to be preferred. As we drew near, some traces of improvement were visible around the city. On the low hill beyond the upper part of the valley of Hinnom, south of the upper pool, a large garden of several acres had been laid off in terraces, and planted with fruit trees ; it was said to belong to the Greek convent. The narrow strip of ground adjacent to the western wall of the city, which formerly was open, was now walled in and sown with grain. Just by the Yâfa gate, also, a long narrow structure had been erected against the wall, in which were coffee-houses.

We entered the city, and took lodgings for the day at one of the hotels. We afterwards engaged private rooms in the German *Brüderhaus*, to which we removed next morning ; and remained there during our sojourn in the city. This arrangement was not only much less expensive than living at a hotel ; but gave us the entire control of our time. We had our own beds ; and our servants provided our meals, as usual. Our

¹ Is this perhaps the "forsaken church" of Kulonia of which Dr Wilson speaks? *Lands of the Bible* II. p. 267.

² Bearing at 7.15 : Küstül 280°. Neby Samwil 348°. Beit Ikse 342°. Beit Sûrik 351°.—At 7.20 : Lifteh N. $\frac{1}{4}$ m.

muleteers went out of the city to find pasture for their beasts ; but soon came back with rueful countenances, saying their mules had been pressed for the service of the government. An application from the American consul, who just then arrived from Beirût, speedily set the matter right ; but the muleteers did not again venture their animals out of our immediate protection.

We thus reached the Holy City on the twenty-fourth day after our departure from Beirût ; a slow rate of travel certainly ; but we had explored with some minuteness the middle portions of Galilee, and parts of Samaria, which as yet were little known. We were greatly struck with the richness and productiveness of the splendid plains especially of Lower Galilee, including that of Esdraelon. In these respects that region surpasses all the rest of Palestine. In the division of the country among the tribes, Judah was the largest, and took the largest territory. But broad tracts of its land were rocky and sterile, and others desert ; while even its great plain along the coast was and is less fertile than those further north. Zebulun and Issachar, apparently the smallest tribes, had the cream of Palestine ; while Asher and Naphtali, further north, possessed the rich uplands and wooded hills of Galilee, still rich and abundant in tillage and pasturage.

Most travellers in passing up from Yâfa and Ramleh to Jerusalem, follow the direct road by Sâris. On this route they see no scriptural places, except the fortress of Emmaus and Kirjath-jearim ; they traverse a dreary and desolate region ; and the approach to the Holy City itself presents no feature of interest. I would venture to recommend, (and I know that my companion agrees with me,) that the traveller should take the camel road from Ramleh to Jerusalem ; or, rather, the road lying still further north by Beth-horon. In this way he will pass near to Lydda, Gimzo, Lower and Upper Beth-horon, and Gibeon ; he will see Ramah and Gibeah near at hand on his left ; and he may pause on Scopus to gaze upon the city from one of the finest points of view. The distance by this route is somewhat greater ; but the traveller will find himself amply repaid, in the better country which he traverses, in the more numerous scriptural associations, and in the far more striking approach to the Holy City.

SECTION IV.

JERUSALEM.

INCIDENTS AND OBSERVATIONS.

As we thus again looked abroad upon the Holy City, after an interval of fourteen years, signs of change and a measure of general improvement were everywhere visible. The city, like the whole country, had long since reverted to the direct sway of the Sultan ; and the various civil and political reforms of the Ottoman empire had here also been nominally introduced. A powerful foreign influence had been brought in, and was still exerted, by the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric and the other enterprises connected with it. The erection of the Protestant cathedral on Mount Zion, as part and parcel of the English consulate ;¹ the opening of the Jewish hospital also on Zion, under the auspices of the English mission ; and likewise of the Prussian hospital under the care of the German "deaconesses" so called ; the establishment of schools, and the introduction of agricultural labour in connection with them ; all had served to increase the circulation of money, and to stimulate the native mind to like efforts. The convents had erected several large buildings, and established schools ; and there was a process going on in Jerusalem, of tearing down old dwellings and replacing them by new ones, which reminded me somewhat of New York. There were at this time more houses undergoing this transformation in the Holy City, than I had seen the year before in six of the principal cities of Holland. As a natural result, there was more activity in the streets ; there were more people in motion, more bustle, and more business.

Along with all this there was a greater influx of Franks, both as residents and travellers. The members of the London

¹ Permission to erect the church was obtained only on condition of its being thus connected with the consulate. Herein the Turkish government imitated the policy

of the Romish see ; which tolerates Protestant worship in Rome itself, only in the house of an ambassador.

mission to the Jews had mostly fixed themselves on Zion, in the vicinity of the Anglican church and near the Jewish quarter. The German residents were chiefly in the same neighbourhood. For the accommodation of travellers there were now two extensive hotels, (a third had been for some time closed,) which furnished plentiful tables and tolerable beds, at about the New-York prices of that date. There were also several private lodging-houses, nearly upon the London plan, in different parts of the city. The number of Frank travellers was said to have greatly increased; and it was a frequent remark, that there were more visitors from the American States than from Great Britain.

The American missionaries, with whom we found a home in 1838, withdrew from the city in 1843; it having been deemed advisable to concentrate the labours of the mission more in Lebanon and northern Syria.¹ The house in which we had lodged was afterwards occupied by Mr Schultz, the Prussian consul; whose lamented decease took place in the autumn of 1851. At this time, Dr Valentiner, the chaplain of the Prussian consulate, was residing in it; the newly appointed consul, Mr Rosen, not having yet arrived. There was now but a single American resident in the city, Dr Barclay of Virginia, with his estimable family; a physician and missionary of the Campbellite persuasion.

Notwithstanding this appearance of change, and in so far of improvement, Jerusalem is still in all its features an oriental city; in its closeness and filth, in its stagnation and moral darkness. It was again difficult to realize, that this indeed had been the splendid capital of David and Solomon, in honour of which Hebrew poets and prophets poured forth their inspired strains; where the God of Israel was said to dwell on earth, and manifested his glory in the temple; where He, who is "Head over all things to the church," lived and taught in the flesh, and also suffered and died as "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." Yet it was even so; and from this now inconsiderable place, thus degraded and trodden down, there has gone forth in former ages upon the nations an influence for weal or wo, for time and for eternity, such as the whole world beside has never exerted.

As our time was limited, it was necessary for us to improve every moment. Our observations were of course in a measure desultory; and consisted more in examining again what we had seen before and what others had since brought into notice, than in searching for new discoveries. These latter can hardly be

¹ Mr Whiting was now stationed at Beirut. The health of Mr Lanneau having failed, he returned home; and is now the pastor of a church in Georgia.

hoped for to any great extent, until there shall be opportunity for extensive excavations. An outline of our proceedings will be in place here ; before entering upon what I may have to say further concerning the ancient topography of the Holy City.

We reached the Holy City, as before related, on the morning of *Wednesday, April 28th*; and after fixing ourselves for the day at the hotel, our first care was to obtain the letters from Europe and America, which had been awaiting our arrival. The perusal of these, with the necessary time for reading and rest, mainly occupied the forenoon.

We sallied forth at last ; and paid our respects first to Mr Finn the British consul, residing under the roof of the Anglican cathedral. To him and his accomplished lady we were indebted for many acts of attention and kindness during our stay in the city. In the afternoon we called also on Dr McGowan, who has charge of the hospital for Jews, and passed a pleasant hour. He occupies a new house situated on the northern brow of Zion ; and his windows afford one of the best views of the interior city. Dr McGowan's kindness and attentions were afterwards unwearied ; and to his exertions and influence among the natives we were indebted for the opportunity of prosecuting some of our most important inquiries. Bishop Gobat was already on his way to England on a visit ; and I had to forego the pleasure of making his acquaintance. Mr Nicolayson, whom we saw here on our former journey, was likewise absent on a visit to England. He is now rector of the Anglican church ; and his place was temporarily supplied by the Rev. Mr Reichardt from London. A nephew of the latter, Mr H. C. Reichardt, who had already been for some time in the Holy City, gave us much valuable information and aid.

In the course of the afternoon we walked out to examine the remains of antiquity around the southwest corner of the Haram area. We came first to the wailing place of the Jews ;¹ and then tried to examine the wall between this spot and the remains of the ancient arch. In this we did not succeed. There is in one place a window through the wall, through which my companion had once been able to look in upon the dark interior ; but it was now closed by a shutter. In respect to the remains of the arch, I have nothing to add to my former description.² But we were both more strongly impressed than ever with the fact, that the architecture of this portion of the wall, and that at the Jews' wailing place, are one and the same

¹ See Vol. I. p. 237. [i 349 sq.]

² See Vol. I. p. 287 sq. [i 424 sq.]—A view of the arch is given by Bartlett in his "Comparative Views of Ancient

and Modern Jerusalem ;" and also by Tipping among his Plates to Traill's Translation of Josephus, Vol. I.

in style and age; and that both belong to the very oldest remains of the ancient substructions of the temple. This is a matter of the senses and of common sense; and no one who visits the place without theory or prejudice, will be likely to have any doubt.¹

The approach to the southwest corner and the wall further east had become still more difficult than formerly, by reason of the growth of the *cactus* by which it is bordered. We passed across the adjacent field to the Bâb el-Mughâribeh, the Dung gate of travellers, in the city wall. Here two men were at work, and the inner door of the gate was open; so that we could look in upon the space or chamber within. Ascending to the walk upon the wall, we passed round upon it to its junction with the building covering the south entrance of the Haram, under el-Aksa. Here I got down; and by a considerable *detour* among the cactus entered the building. The interior however was too dark to distinguish anything accurately.—We measured along the city wall, from a point in a line with the western side of the Haram, eastward, to the angle of the city-wall, two hundred and ninety six feet. This gives proximately the length of the southern Haram wall within the city; but there is probably an element of error in the circumstance, that the southwest angle of the Haram area is not precisely a right angle, but somewhat more; and this would throw our starting-point too far eastward, and make our measurement too short. The thicket of cactus prevents all measurement along the wall itself. Our measurement of the rest of the southern wall will be given further on.

The evening was spent in the society of fellow travellers from the old world and the new. We called also upon the American consul and his family, who had just arrived from Beirût.

Thursday, April 29th. The morning was occupied in removing to our rooms in the *Brüderhaus*, and in various calls; one of them on Mr Van de Velde from Holland, and two friends from London, who had pleasant lodgings not far from the Damascus gate. The former gentleman had been in the country since November, travelling in different parts, and taking bearings for the purpose of constructing a new map.

Our own lodgings were in the same quarter of the city, north of the *Via dolorosa* and west of the main street leading south from the Damascus gate. The place was approached by a lane

¹ "We need hardly point out, that the masonry of this wall [at the wailing place] is the same as that close to the bridge; as will be seen by comparing the two views.

* * * The same masonry still exists in

various places all along this side of the wall of the enclosure, as was discovered by Mr Catherwood on his survey." Bartlett, *Walks*, etc. p. 142. See also Tobler *Topographie*, I. p. 469.

running up very steeply from the latter street, and then bending towards the left till it is joined by another coming north from the *Via dolorosa*.¹ The house is on the northwestern side of this irregular block, in a court; and south of it the interior of the block is an open field extending quite to the *Via dolorosa* and the street of the Damascus gate; except that there is a narrow and in some parts sunken line of houses bordering those streets; the surface of the field at the corner of the two being several feet higher than those streets. In the same corner of this field stands the single column said to have belonged to the legendary *Porta judiciaria*; to which we thus had access from our lodgings.—The *Brüderhaus* was so called, as having been occupied by four missionary *Brethren*, mechanics, sent out in 1846 and 1848 by the exertions of Spittler of Basel.² The general idea was, that, living here together unmarried, and teaching native youths mechanical arts and trades in connection with religious instruction, they might gain the confidence of the people and exert an influence as Christians, both by precept and example. But their hopes had not been fulfilled; and three of the brethren had already left and gone into other employments, where they might labour more effectively, and without the restraint of celibacy. One of them was now connected with the English schools, and another with the English farm. The one who remained, Mr Müller, our host, was from the Schwarzwald; and had the simple piety of southern Germany, as well as the mechanical skill of his native region. He had two or three Arab boys in his workshop below; while the large upper rooms were hired out. He too seemed to have the conviction, that he could probably labour to more purpose in some other sphere.

After completing our arrangements, we went out in the forenoon to examine the antiquities along the street of the bazar. This street extends from about midway of the Yâfa Gate street northwards in a direct line to the Damascus gate. It is crossed at about half way by the *Via dolorosa*; and its northern portion is referred to above, and may be called for shortness the Damascus Gate street.—At the southern end, close upon each side of this street, is a shorter parallel street; that on the west extending north to the southern line of the church of the Holy Sepulchre or thereabouts; while that on the east reaches only about half as far. These three streets, so far as they are thus parallel, are covered by flat roofs, with openings left for light. Along their sides are arched spaces or vaults, which serve as the shops of

¹ These two lanes are not marked in our former plan of Jerusalem, which was copied mainly from that of Mr Catherwood. They are found on our new Plan,

as also on Tobler's, and on that of the English survey.

² Wolff p. 100. Tobler, Topographie I p. 395.

merchants and artisans. The middle one is the principal bazar; and it would seem as if the other two had been constructed later, in order to enlarge the extent and capacity of this market-place.—On the west of these bazars is the higher ground, on which once stood the hospital of St. John with its appurtenances; and on the eastern side, the ground is also higher than the roofs of the bazar; so that one can cross above from one side to the other upon the flat roofs, almost without perceiving that there are streets below. It seems very evident, that all these streets have been, for at least a portion of the way, *excavated* through what was then higher ground, which thus now remains on either side; and that the shops or vaults along them were in like manner excavations. At any rate, the latter were obviously not first built up, and then covered over with earth from elsewhere.

All these streets have the usual character, a deep square channel in the middle, just wide enough for animals to pass each other. In the middle bazar this channel is laid, through most of its length, with large antique stones, forming the covering of a sewer, which is drained towards the south. These stones exhibit no trace of a bevel; if one ever existed, it has been completely worn away.

There seems to be no reason for question, but that these bazars occupy the identical place of the market mentioned by Eusebius in the fourth century; close upon which were the splendid *Propylæa* of the Basilica of Constantine, immediately on the east of the Holy Sepulchre.¹ The monk Bernard, who was at Jerusalem about A. D. 870, and lodged in the hospital of Charlemagne adjacent to the church of St. Mary, remarks, that in front of the same was a *forum* or market; and every one doing business there paid yearly two gold pieces.² This was probably the annual rent of a vault or shop.

Just at the north end of the bazar, a street comes up from the southeast; and another goes off westwards, ascending gradually to the court on the south of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. This latter street affords the only access to that church from this quarter. On the south side of the same, before reaching the said court, there is a beautiful Roman or Byzantine portal, with a round arch, and ornaments of delicate and elaborate sculpture. This leads into an open place on the south of the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre, where once stood the church of St. Mary *de Latina*.³ The eastern end and arched recess of this or of some like building, still remain. Adjacent to these

¹ Euseb. Vit. Const. 8. 39 ἐν αὐτῇς μεσῇς πλατείαις ἀγορᾶς.

² Bernard. 10, "Ante ipsum hospitale est forum, pro quo unusquisque ibi nego-

tians anno solvit duos aureos illi qui illud providet." See Vol. I. p. 392 sq. [ii. 42.]

³ See Vol. I. p. 394. [ii. 44.]

on the south, is the ruin of a structure resembling a Khân, obviously once the Xenodochium, which was connected with the church.¹—Passing in at the said portal, and ascending around the eastern side of these ruins, the cradle of the knights Hospitalers, we looked at the ground further south, now an open field or pasture, and compared its elevation with the streets below on the south and east. Those on the east are the bazars just described; that on the south is the street from the Yâfa gate, and is not less than twelve or fifteen feet lower than the open ground above. Along this latter street, westward from the bazars, is a line of pointed arches or vaults extending nearly to the next corner; they are larger and finer than those along the bazars; and are now, like the latter, occupied as shops by artisans. Just at the corner of the bazars is a short tract of wall built up of bevelled stones. Some of the work here looks ancient at first, the stones being much decayed; but on comparing them with some of those in the pointed arches of the adjacent vaults, they are seen to be of the same character, soft, and easily worn away by the weather. Both the corner and the arches are of the same style of architecture; and both obviously stood in connection with the great palace of the knights of St. John.²

On the elevated plot above mentioned, immediately adjacent to the western bazar, and just south of the middle point of the same, is seen a fragment of masonry, perhaps a pier or the corner of a projection in the eastern wall of the same palace. This has sometimes been referred to a high antiquity. Some of the stones are indeed much decayed; but on examination they are at once seen to be of the same kind with those in the pointed arches along the street on the south; many of which are in like manner decayed. There is indeed here no trace of an antiquity greater than that of the palace; to which the fragment obviously belonged. It may have been one of the piers of a portal; but a strong imagination is needed to make out any trace of an arch. These remarks are the result of repeated examinations.³

From the north end of the bazars to the Damascus gate the street is single, and for most of the way uncovered. But from the corner of the street leading down by Helena's hospital, so called, quite to the *Via dolorosa*, it is again roofed over, with openings for light, as before. The roof here, as elsewhere, is high enough for loaded and mounted camels to pass along with-

¹ See Vol. I. p. 394. [ii. 45.]

² So too Mr Whiting; see in Note IV, end of the volume.

³ Holy City II. p. 57. Schultz p. 61. Kraft p. 29. This latter writer has

wrongly *two* pillars; but properly rejects the antiquity of the fragment. So too Mr Whiting, Note IV, end of the volume. Tobler, Topographie I. p. 101.

out difficulty. This covered way also is used as a bazar for workshops ; though now comparatively deserted.

In the open street or place between the bazar and this covered way, on the west side, under the high bank, are seen three columns of grey granite ; one lying just at the entrance of the covered way, and two still erect further south. These columns are directly on the line of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. A fourth, once perhaps connected with these, lies at the entrance of the middle bazar on the south. Just at the left of the erect columns, a blind path begins and winds up the steep bank behind them ; and so leads up to the court on the north of the present Coptic and Abyssinian convent. This court is east of the church of the Holy Sepulchre ; and is over the subterranean chapel of Helena so called, and that shown as the place where the cross was found ; the convent being on its southern side.¹ From the court one looks up at the eastern end of the Greek portion of the great church. Just on the north is the entrance to the immense underground cistern, sometimes called the Treasury of Helena.

Two other columns, both of limestone, are still standing at the northern end of the western bazar ; one built into the wall on the eastern side ; the other taller, but so surrounded by houses, that only its top is seen. These of course stood in no connection with the granite columns.

Amid the very many objects which called for examination during our former visit to Jerusalem in 1838, our attention was not directed to these granite columns ; which had stood unnoticed for centuries. They were first brought to the notice of the public by Schultz in 1845 ; and made to do duty as remains of the ancient second wall.² In the following year (1846) I ventured to express the opinion, that these columns had originally made part of the splendid *Propylæa* on the east of the great Basilica erected by Constantine.³ According to Eusebius this Basilica was separated from the Holy Sepulchre by an open court ; and beyond it, (on the east,) was another open court towards the entrances, with cloisters (*στοαι*) on each side, and gates in front ; “ after which, in the very midst of the street of the market,⁴ the beautiful *Propylæa* (vestibule) of the whole structure presented to those passing by on the outside the wonderful view of the things seen within.”⁵ At the very point

¹ Prof. Willis in *Holy City*, II. p. 224.

² E. G. Schultz, *Jerusalem*, p. 60.

³ See *Biblioth. Sacra*, Aug. 1846, p. 456 sq.

⁴ Euseb. *μεθ' ἧς ἐστ' αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς*, Vit. Const. 3. 39. I have rendered this by “ street of the market,” in accordance with the version and note of

Valesius ; and because this accords best with the character of the ground. Prof. Willis renders : “ middle of the broad market-place ;” which certainly is justified by the absence of the article before *ἀγορᾶς*, but not by the place itself. This could not well have been *broad* than the street.

⁵ Euseb. Vit. Const. 3. 39. According to

where, according to this description, the *Propylæa* must have been situated, are still seen these granite columns; and I have been gratified to find my own opinion sustained at a later day by the more competent authority of Prof. Willis.¹ At present these columns are much lower than the ground on the west; and it is not improbable, that originally a flight of steps led up from them to the gates of the court above.

Returning to the covered way, the important point to be noted is, that the street is here carried along a *hollow way*, excavated through the ridge running down eastward by the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The rise of ground on the western side to the court of the Coptic convent, has been already mentioned; and the surface a little further north is still higher; so that there is quite a descent from the houses standing over the great cistern of Helena to the roof of the covered street. On the eastern side of the covered way, and on a level with the roof, is the garden of the house in which we formerly lodged, now the residence of the Prussian consul; with cypresses and other large trees growing in it, and at least one immense cistern underneath.² Beyond the house towards the east the ground descends again more steeply.

It matters little here, whether this ridge be of earth or of rock. I suppose it, however, to be mainly the latter; although it is very possible that the passage may be lined with masonry. The chapel of the cross, under the court above mentioned, is understood to be excavated in the rock.³ The cistern of Helena, further north, is certainly thus excavated; and the houses over it still stand upon the crust of rock, which is considerably higher than the said court. On the east of the street are still cisterns in the rock; while below the consulate the rocky ridge comes out, and crosses very obliquely the street leading down by Helena's hospital. Here the path is actually carried down by steps cut in the rock. The house of the Prussian consul is entered from this street by a covered passage, from which there is an ascent by several steps to an open court; under which is a large cistern hewn in the rock. Thence several more steps lead up to the garden and main dwellings.⁴

Arcafuls, the Basilica itself stood over the spot where the cross was found; Adamnan. l. 7.

¹ Holy City, II. p. 250. Lond. 1849.

² See Vol. I. p. 324. [i. 480.]—The largest of the cisterns there mentioned is under this garden.

³ Holy City, II. p. 222. So too the flight of steps leading down to the chapel of Helena, and perhaps also part of that chapel itself; *ibid.* p. 220.

⁴ It is to be regretted, that for want of

an opportunity for personal inspection, Prof. Willis has fallen into an error as to the relative elevation of the site of the church of the Sepulchre and of the bazar street; as also in respect to the nature of the ridge above described. He supposes "that the pavement of the rotunda lies at about the same level as the street of St. Stephen" or bazar street (Holy City, II. p. 238); and, further, that the rise of ground behind the granite columns is "a bank of earth (not of rock)," while the

Towards the north the covered way ends at the point where the street is crossed by the *Via dolorosa*. I have formerly made the remark, that the *Via dolorosa* seems to have been first got up during or after the times of the crusades; and that the earliest allusion to it I had been able to find, is in Marinus Sanutus in the fourteenth century."¹ This writer merely enumerates for the first time the legendary sites along the street; but has not the name. The opinion which I thus ventured to advance, has since been confirmed by a document of the twelfth century, first published in 1843.² From this document it plainly appears, that in the twelfth century no street in Jerusalem bore this name. The one now so called by the monks had at that time two names in different parts. West of the street of the bazar it was called *la rue du Sepulchre*; while east of the same, quite to the gate leading to the valley of Jehoshaphat, it was known as *la rue de Josaphat*.³ In the highest part of the said street of Jehoshaphat, overagainst the temple, there was at that time a gateway, called *Portes doulereuses*.⁴ The ground of this appellation is unknown. The gateway would seem to have been the present *Ecce Homo*;⁵ and the name being gradually transferred to the street, the latter became the *Via dolorosa*.

At the crossing of this latter street and that from the bazar, on the northwest corner, considerably above the street, is seen the single column said to mark the place of the supposed *Porta judiciaria*. It is of limestone; and of course stands in no connection with the granite pillars further south. Only the top of the column is seen from without; the bottom is in the back wall of a coffee-roaster's shop below, where there is no appearance of a pedestal.⁶

It is an obvious remark, that a single column furnishes in itself no evidence of a gate; otherwise we might find many gates all over the city. Nor can the tradition of a former gate upon this spot, be traced back among the Latins further than the end of the crusades; while the Greek church is said to have no such tradition at all.⁷ Brocardus, in 1283, is the first to mention a

covered way too is carried through "raised ground;" *ibid.* pp. 240, 241. This latter statement is corrected in the text above. The pavement of the rotunda cannot well, at the very least, be less than from twenty to thirty feet higher than the street of the bazar.

¹ See Vol. I. pp. 233, 252. [i. 344, 372.] Marin. Sanut. 3. 14. 10. p. 257.

² See 'La Citez de Jherusalem,' a description of Jerusalem in old French, of the twelfth century, first published in Beugnot *Assises de Jerusalem*, fol. Paris 1843,

Tom. II. p. 531 sq. Reprinted in Schultz, App. p. 107 sq. Holy City I. p. 133 sq. Also in Vol. II. of this work, App. II.

³ La Citez de Jherua. § 5-7.

⁴ *Ibid.* § 7.

⁵ So too Schultz, *Jerua*. p. 120.

⁶ Tobler, *Topographie I.* p. 253.

⁷ Tobler, *ibid.* p. 253. According to this writer, the Greeks regard the column as that on which Peter's cock crew; while another Greek authority notes it as the column on which the sentence of Jesus was posted up.

Porta judiciaria; of which he says there were vestiges in the old wall of the city; though in his day the gate of that name was in the northwestern part of the modern wall, leading out to Shiloh (Neby Samwil) and Gibeon.¹ He gives no clue to the position of the supposed ancient gate. F. Fabri in 1483 is somewhat more explicit; passing down from the Holy Sepulchre and along the street of the bazar northwards, he saw the ancient gate, of which half an arch of thick wall remained; and leaving this on the right hand, he came afterwards to the house of Veronica, so called, now shown on the east of the bazar street.² This would bring the gate somewhere into the vicinity of its present site; but would place it at least on, or near, the opposite southeast corner of the crossing. A century later the gate was definitely fixed in its present position, and with the one column.³

So much for this "traditionary gateway;" which, like the granite columns further south, has been referred to as a remnant of the ancient second wall.⁴

The places and objects thus far enumerated were all visited and examined during the forenoon of this day. But in order to avoid repetition, I have also incorporated the results of repeated subsequent examinations.

In the afternoon of the same day, we went out again along the street leading eastward to the present St. Stephen's gate, for the purpose of examining and measuring the eastern wall of the Haram. In this street, on the east of the street which comes down southeast along the low ground from the Damascus gate, there is at first a very considerable rise as far as to the *Serai*, the residence of the Kâim Makâm or military governor, used also as barracks. The same is the legendary house of Pilate. On the north of the street is the line of precipitous rock. Afterwards the ground descends again, until it becomes level along the north side of the great Birket Isrâil.

At the highest part of the street, overagainst the northwest corner of the governor's house, stands what is now known as the arch *Ecce Homo*. This is pointed out in monkish tradition, as the place where Pilate brought forth Jesus to the people, saying, "Behold the man!"⁵ It appears as a lofty gateway, with a narrow gallery or chamber on the top.

The first notice we have of this arch or gateway is in the description of Jerusalem in the twelfth century, referred to

¹ Brocardus c. 8. p. 183. Marinus Samnusus speaks also of a *Porta judiciaria*; meaning evidently that of the outer wall; § 14. 10. He says nothing of any gate along the *Via dolorosa*; although he describes minutely the various other objects.

² F. Fabri in Reissb. p. 251.

³ Zuallart §. p. 117.

⁴ Holy City, II. p. 53. Schultz p. 60. Krafft, p. 31.

⁵ John 19, 5.

above. It is there called *Portes doulereuses*.¹ Marinus Sanutus in 1321 speaks here of a lofty arch, against the stones of which our Lord rested, as he bore his cross.² A century later it had become the place of the *Ecce Homo*;³ and such it remains to this day. About 1620 Quaresmius speaks of it as "nearly fallen down from age."⁴ It seems to have been repaired; and again, in 1821, Berggren mentions it as having been recently repaired and whitewashed.⁵ The account we ourselves heard, was, that the present *arch* (not the piers) was built about thirty years ago, within the recollection of some of Dr McGowan's acquaintances; before which time, according to them, there was no arch. This tallies with the statement of Berggren.

But the gateway itself is evidently older than the tradition. As seen at present, the arch rests on each side on a pier, which has all the appearance of antiquity. There is likewise an ornamented cornice. The masonry of these piers may perhaps be referred to the epoch of Hadrian, or possibly to that of Herod; but there is nothing in the size of the stones or in their character to carry the work back any further.⁶ I may perhaps again recur to this gateway.

Passing on eastward down the street, we stopped to look at what has at first the appearance of an ancient tower on the north side, at some distance beyond the barracks, and nearly opposite the first entrance to the Haram. As a work of antiquity, however, it does not bear examination. The stones indeed are many of them bevelled, and apparently ancient; but they are not large, and there are chinks and interstices filled in with thin pieces and smaller stones; showing that the bevelled stones are not in their original position. Looking in at a window, we perceived that the interior is now a Sæikh's tomb; and could see part of a fluted granite column, and also the stump of another not fluted. I do not remember to have seen another instance of a fluted column in the Holy City. We tried in vain to obtain admission.

We looked also, in passing, at the great reservoir. Its southern wall is covered with cement; and the small stones seen are only attached to the wall as a portion of this covering. The wall and arches at the west end are likewise built of small stones; and although the arches are round, yet the whole work has the appearance of no great antiquity.⁷

¹ See above, p. 170.

² M. Sanut 3. 14. 10

³ Gumpenberg, A. D. 1449, in Reissb. p. 462.

⁴ II. p. 207, "præ vetustate pæne demolitus."

⁵ Berggren, Reise III. p. 35.

⁶ M. De Saulcy seems to consider, not

only the piers, but also the arch itself as Roman; II. p. 327.

⁷ See Vol. I. pp. 294 sq. 330. [I. 434, 489 sq.] "The southern vault extends one hundred and thirty feet; and the other apparently the same. At the extremity of the former was an opening [above] for drawing up water. The vaults are stuc-

We now went out through St. Stephen's gate ; and, passing along southwards among the Muslim tombs, examined the wall of the Haram quite to the southeast corner. Many Muhammedan women were among the tombs ; it being the eve of Friday, their Sabbath, when they are accustomed to visit the sepulchres of their friends. They had left the spot before we returned ; and we were thus able to measure the length of the wall, as we came back, without interruption.

Beginning at the northeast corner of the Haram area, we have first what would seem to have been the wall of a corner tower or bastion, extending $83\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and projecting at the south side $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet beyond the general line of wall. The bevelled stones of this tower are many of them of large dimensions, up to a considerable height in the wall ; and similar large stones are seen also as carried around the corner in the northern wall within the city. I measured one stone at the southeast corner, which forms the projection ; it was 23 feet 9 inches long, 3 feet high, and 5 feet 2 inches wide. This tower is obviously an ancient work ; although the stones are less smooth and the masonry less elaborate, than at the wailing place of the Jews.

Next follows a line of wall or curtain, extending to the north side of the Golden gate, 373 feet. Here are large stones in some parts in the lower courses ; but they are irregular, and it is very doubtful whether any are in their original place. The whole aspect of this part is that of a wall rebuilt out of former materials, irregularly thrown together.

The Golden gate is in a projection 55 feet long, and standing out six feet before the wall. It is a double gateway, having two round arches side by side of fine Roman work and ornamented. The wall forming this projection, on each side of the gateway and above, has been built up anew, 4 feet 8 inches wide on the north side, and 4 feet on the south.

After this all is later wall for 110 feet 8 inches, to another small projection of two feet. I say *later* wall ; because, although some of the stones in the lower courses are large, they are neither hewn smooth nor do they apparently occupy their original places. About midway of this interval is a small passage or postern through the wall, now filled up. It belongs obviously to the later wall.¹

From the small projection a long reach of 839 feet brings us

coed ; and were probably constructed when the fosse was converted into a reservoir ;" S. Wolcott in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1843, p. 83.

¹ Having failed at the time to note the exact place of this postern, I have given it in the text from the statements of Tipping and De Saulcy, so far as I understand

them ; Traill's *Josephus* I. p. xliv. De Saulcy II. p. 109. The latter writer regards this as "the gate of Jehoshaphat," spoken of in *La Cité de Jérusalem*. This is manifestly an error ; see Vol. II. p. 562. Schultz p. 114. *Holy City* I. App. pp. 139, 140.

to a slight break or crevice in the wall, which has been sometimes regarded as another projection. The wall in the northern part of this interval is obviously late. In the more southern part are many large and antique stones; but they have only the edges made smooth, while the middle portions are rough and projecting; thus differing very much from the large stones at the wailing place and elsewhere. They are also laid up very irregularly; and obviously did not belong to the earliest wall.

The supposed projection here seems hardly to admit of that name. At the bottom, indeed, the lower courses of the next reach do indeed project about six inches; but this is not seen higher up in the wall. This point is 68 feet 4 inches north of the southeast corner. It is very possible, that originally there was here a corner tower or bastion of that extent, which projected several feet at this point, like that at the northeast corner; and that, in rebuilding the wall the latter was brought out into a line with the face of the corner tower. At least the perpendicular crevice running up through all the antique courses and above them, can hardly have been a part of the original plan.¹

In the long reach of wall just described, besides the other irregularities, are seen the ends of quite a number of columns, which have been built in horizontally and transversely. On one of these, projecting more than the rest, Muhammedans believe their prophet is to sit to judge the nations gathered in the valley of Jehoshaphat.—At the south end of the line, near the supposed projection, the stones, though large, are very rude; and there is an appearance in two of them of a curve, as if for an arch. But an arch in this spot, similar to that near the southwestern corner, is inconceivable; since the ground falls off at once and very steeply into the valley below.² Besides, on close inspection, the stones underneath the two in question are seen not to be in their original place; they are laid very irregularly, and one of them projects ten or twelve inches. The curved stones, therefore, are either accidental, or were so dressed for some other place and purpose.³

In the interval between the supposed projection and the southeast corner, measuring 68 feet 4 inches, we have evidently a portion of the very earliest and most elaborate masonry of which any fragments remain. There are here fifteen or sixteen courses. The stones are very large, bevelled, and hewn smooth throughout; except that in some of them there has been left on the face, near the middle, a projecting mass eight or ten inches

¹ See Tipping's fine plate, *Haram Wall, Southeast Corner*, in Traill's *Josephus*, Vol. I.

² Ritter *Erdk.* XVI. i. p. 333.

³ In these curved stones and in some

perpendicular ones directly over them, but higher up in the wall, the fancy of M. De Sauley finds a double window and balcony of the time of S'domon. II p. 113.

high and as many in diameter. This may have had something to do with the moving of the stones. Some of the corner stones are twenty feet long; and the like stones and masonry are carried around the corner and along the southern wall.¹

With the exception of the tower or bastion at the northeast corner, and also the probable one at the southeast corner just described, it seemed to us very doubtful, whether any continuous portion of the rest of the wall belongs to the most ancient work. There are indeed many large stones, both towards the south, and also north of the Golden gate; but they are rough and unfinished; and appear as if thrown irregularly together. At one spot north of the said gate, they project out of line more than a foot; as also under the supposed curved stones. This general irregularity of the wall (except near the corners) we afterwards noticed very distinctly, in passing along the bottom of the valley below.

RECAPITULATION.

Beginning at the Southeast Corner.

	Eng. Feet.
From southeast corner to supposed projection, . . .	68½
To small projection of two feet,	839
To the Golden gate, south side,	110½—1018
Golden gate, to north side,	55
To the projection of northeast tower,	373
To northeast corner of Haram,	83½— 511½
	<hr/>
	1529½

The result of our measurement of the same line of walls in 1838, was 1528 feet.²

For the sake of more convenient reference, I insert here likewise our measurement of the southern wall of the Haram, which was not actually taken until the following Tuesday.

The stones of the southern Haram wall adjacent to the southeast corner, are large, finely bevelled and faced, corresponding to and connected with those already described at this point in the eastern wall. There are about the same number of courses still remaining. They are obviously of the same epoch, and part and parcel of the same work. The same order of stones continues much of the way further west, for at least one course, and sometimes two or three courses, at the bottom; all these stones being apparently in their original places. At about 90 feet from the corner is a small gateway with a pointed arch, now walled

¹ "I consider this to be the finest specimen of mural masonry in the world. The joints are close; and the finishing of the bevelling and facing is so clean and fine, that, when fresh from the hands of the

builder, it must have produced the effect of gigantic *rilievo* panelling;" Tipping in Traill's Josephus, I. p. xlv.

² See Vol. I. pp. 268, 284. [i. 395, 419.]

up. After another like interval there are three lofty gateways side by side, with round arches, now likewise walled up. These may not improbably be referred to the age of Justinian; and once formed a broad entrance to the vaults beneath the Haram.¹ The style of their architecture differs entirely from that of the earlier work. The junction of the city wall with the southern wall of the Haram is made by a low square building, or rather two buildings, forming two projections in the external angle.—A comparison of the antique portions of the southern wall with the masonry of the Jews' wailing place, and that at the southwest and southeast corners, left upon our minds the strong impression, that instead of this portion of the substructions being of later date than those further north, these remains of the southern wall and southeast corner present decided evidence of higher antiquity, than almost any other portions.

SOUTHERN WALL.—MEASUREMENT.

Beginning at the Southwest Corner.

	Eng. Feet
From southwest corner to angle of city wall, measured along the city wall; see p. 164,	296
Thickness of city wall,	8
First offset of building in the angle,	81
Second offset " "	27½
To southeast corner,	550
	<hr/> 907½

I have already referred to an element of error in the first of these measurements within the city;² and was therefore not surprised to learn from Dr Barclay, who had measured on a line nearer to the Haram, that he had found the length of the whole wall to be 926 feet.³

Returning through the gate of St. Stephen, we went to the church of St. Anne, which stands on low ground just north of the street within. It is now a deserted mosk. On its eastern side is the southern end of a ridge of higher ground; and here there has been such an accumulation of rubbish against the wall of the church, that there is easy access to its roof and dome. This high ground extends quite to the northeastern angle of the city wall. Indeed, the eastern wall is carried along on this

¹ These were not the openings seen by Maundrell; for the latter were within the city wall; Maundrell Apr. 5th.

² See above, p. 164.

³ My measurement in 1838 was 955 feet; an error certainly, but I know not how it arose. The following are more trustworthy:

	Eng. Feet
1. Mr Catherwood's in 1833, from his notes,	932
2. That of Wolcott and Tipping in 1842; see Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, p. 23,	915
3. Rev. E. Smith in 1844,	906½
The latter was made along the city wall.	

ridge; rising on the inside very little above the ground; while on the outside it is from twenty to thirty feet high, and rests in part on scarped rock.—We met at the church a descendant of the prophet in a green turban, who courteously gave us information on various points.

Friday, April 30th.—We this morning returned a call from Dr Barclay. He had recently removed to a house on the eastern brow of Zion, on the very edge of the precipitous rock, and nearly opposite the fragment of the ancient arch. From his roof one could look over into the Haram, and see the various buildings, as well as portions of the grass-plot and the many trees. Nearly opposite to us, within the Haram area, in a narrow court along its western wall, two cypress trees were growing; these formed a convenient landmark to determine the exact line of the Haram area in this part, when looked at from a distance. It needed but a glance from this spot to perceive, that the whole western wall of that area, from the northwestern to the southwestern corners, runs in a straight line. This, however, we saw still more definitely on the following day. Dr Barclay was also making arrangements, to obtain a plot of ground at the foot of the cliff and directly opposite the arch, as a garden, in order to be able to dig in search of a possible western abutment or termination, corresponding to the arch. Whether any such will ever be found, seems very problematical.

Here too we could look down upon the south side of the causeway leading across the valley below to the gate of the Haram. There are two or three open spots on this side, where it seemed as if there were vaults extending underneath the causeway. Our friend thought he could obtain further information on this point among his Muslim acquaintances; but was not successful so long as we remained in the city. Yet we learned something more the next day. Dr B. was also working at a large plan of the city from actual survey; which latter had been nearly completed.

Returning home, we went out again to the Damascus gate; and there looked once more at the ancient room built up of massive stones on its eastern side. Then, mounting upon the wall, we kept along it quite to the northeast corner of the city; and thence southwards to near the gate of St. Stephen. Our object was to examine the general make of the ground.

Stopping for a time on the highest point of the wall, where it crowns the summit of the hill which I regard as Bezetha, we looked at the isolated hill further north, under which is the grotto of Jeremiah, so called. The opposite fronts of these two hills are precipitous rock; and naturally suggest the idea, that the two hills may once have been united by a ridge, which

having been used as a quarry has since disappeared. It struck me now as more probable, that this break is not artificial; but that this eminence, with Bezetha and Moriah, belonged to a ledge of rock rising up at intervals into these hills.¹

Directly on the east of this northern hill a small valley or depression comes from the north; and, entering the city just east of Herod's gate, so called, passes down in a southeasterly direction near the church of St. Anne, and between the eastern slope of Bezetha and the high ground along the eastern wall described yesterday. It has here a broad level bottom; and traces of it are seen extending through beyond the eastern wall of the city, where it forms a slight depression outside, just south of St. Stephen's gate.

The ridge of higher ground lying along the city wall on the north of St. Stephen's gate, is at the northeast corner cut through by the trench of the city wall. The ground is here not so high as further south; and further north it spreads out into a broad low swell of land, which cannot properly be called a hill. In the depression east of Herod's gate is a reservoir in the city trench, where we saw men drawing water in skins, and transporting it into the city on donkeys. It is filled in the rainy season by the water which flows down the valley. It might seem, from some of the maps, as if the water passed along the trench from this reservoir to the small tank near St. Stephen's gate; but such is not the case. The water from the latter reservoir supplies a bath in the city, just by the street south of the church of St. Anne.²

As we returned home along the street from St. Stephen's gate, we looked again at the supposed ancient tower already described;³ and also sought for traces of an ancient wall coming perhaps from some point near Herod's gate to the Haram at this spot. Nothing however of the kind was to be discovered. The only structure, which might possibly at first admit of such a suggestion, is the mosk el-Mamûniyeh, formerly the church of Mary Magdalen, of the time of the crusades.⁴ Its walls do not indicate antiquity.

In the afternoon we rode out to the new English cemetery, situated on the southwestern flank of Zion, below the brow, and overlooking the valley of Hinnom. Here were formerly terraces

¹ This suggestion of a former junction of the two hills was perhaps first made by myself; see Vol. I. p. 234. [i. 345.] It has been more distinctly assumed by the author of the Holy City, II. p. 428; by Schultz, p. 36; by Gadow in Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges. III. p. 39; and by Tobler, Topogr. I. p. 50. But the corresponding

parallel strata of which Schultz and Gadow speak, the latter (Tobler) could not distinguish.

² Comp. Vol. I. p. 328. [i. 486.]

³ See above, p. 172.

⁴ Quaresmius II. p. 98. Tobler Topogr. I. p. 441.

for cultivation ; and these have been converted into one broad terrace, on which the cemetery is laid out. In doing this, the slope beneath the brow was dug away ; and thus there has been uncovered a large tract of scarped rock, which served as the foundation of the ancient city wall in this part. Some fragments of the wall itself were still to be seen upon the rock. Quite a number of bevelled stones had been dug out, and were lying scattered about. Some arches and several cisterns had likewise been uncovered. In one place a flight of thirty-six steps, cut in the scarped rock, led down to what was apparently the surface of the ground outside. The cemetery was not yet completed, and there were not many graves. That of the late bishop Alexander had as yet no monument.

We now rode to the American cemetery.¹ It is a small plot on the summit of Zion, about the middle of the tract outside of the city wall, and south of the Latin and Armenian cemeteries. It is now surrounded by a high and substantial wall ; with a door under lock and key. The surface has been levelled, and was now covered with green grass ; which, however, was already beginning to show signs of withering under the rays of an oriental sun. There are here but three graves of Americans ; those of Dr Dodge and Mrs Thomson, missionaries ; and that of Prof. Fiske of Amherst College, who died here in May, 1847. One Englishman, Mr Waite of London, also lies buried here.

Prof. Fiske was an old and cherished friend of mine, of five and twenty years' standing. He had long suffered from feeble health ; and when he was wavering as to his journey to the east, my persuasions had not been wanting to encourage him. He accompanied the Rev. Dr Smith and his wife on their voyage to Beirut, and could have had no better introduction to the Holy Land. Mr Whiting travelled with him to Jerusalem. Here he became affected by an acute disease ; but they started for Beirut, and had already advanced a day's journey, when the progress of the disease compelled them to return to Jerusalem. After lingering for nearly a fortnight in the house of Dr McGowan, he died peacefully, May 27th.² His body lies here upon Mount Zion ; but his spirit lives in the celestial Zion. A neat monument, erected by his friends in Amherst College, with an appropriate Latin inscription, marks the spot.

We sought, and with some difficulty found again, the grave of Bradford ; in the Latin cemetery.³

Passing around the city on the west, we examined the traces of the ancient third wall on the northwest and north of the city.⁴

¹ See Vol. I. p. 230. [i. 340.]

² See Vol. I. p. 229. [i. 338.]

³ See "Memoir of Rev. N. W. Fiske, by H. Humphrey, D. D." Amherst 1850.

⁴ Vol. I. pp. 314, 315. [i. 465-467.]

For a considerable distance they are very distinct ; and he must be committed to some preconceived theory, who would deny them. Especially is this the case with the southern portion, the towers, and the massive stones among the olive trees towards the northeast. They quite correspond to the description by Josephus, of the general course of the third wall.

At a later hour we went to the church of the Holy Sepulchre ; mainly in order to look at the tomb of Joseph and Nicodemus, so called. This is on the western side of the rotunda ; not the exact western door, but the one next north, which is usually open. I had taken the precaution to bring along a candle ; and it was well ; for the lamps afforded only the least possible light. The entrance from the door leads through the chapel on the left, that of the Syrians ; and thence into the crypt, which is beyond it. This crypt is very small.¹ The front is built up with masonry, apparently a portion of the circular wall behind the galleries, on which the dome rests. The back wall, which is curved and irregular, the roof, and the floor, are solid rock. This small crypt has evidently been excavated in and under the rock ; but without any regularity of form. Towards the southwest are two low open niches for bodies cut in lengthwise ; and towards the northwest is the appearance of two others now closed up, as if bodies were in them. In the floor, and occupying almost the whole floor, is excavated the upper portion (towards the head) of a small sarcophagus ; which then is further excavated (towards the feet) under the floor. A lid once covered this upper part. The length of the whole sarcophagus is only four feet. At right angles to this, on the east, a similar and still smaller sarcophagus is sunk in the floor, and extends under the wall in front.

That here is a rock-hewn sepulchre, there can be no doubt ; but, how far its date is to be carried back, is a very different question. It has been quietly assumed, that this tomb existed here before our Lord's crucifixion ; and that therefore the spot was outside of the second wall of the ancient city.² But even granting that the tomb existed before the erection of Constantine's church, we are by no means warranted to infer, that it goes back beyond the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Rock-tombs continued to be excavated around the city apparently after that event. The monolithic tombs in the valley of Jehoshaphat are hardly earlier than the Christian era ; and the sepulchres with Greek inscriptions and crosses and with paintings,

¹ Schultz rightly says, that a man can hardly stand upright in it ; and that it cannot hold more than three persons at once ; p. 96. So too Quaresmius, II. p. 568.

² Schultz, Jerusalem p. 96. Ritter Erdk. XVI. i. p. 434. Williams Holy City, II pp 194, 195.

south of the valley of Hinnom, testify to their Christian origin, or at least to their use by Christians.¹ It certainly is no impossible supposition, that, during the two and a half centuries which intervened before Constantine's undertaking, this tract lay desolate, and thus sepulchres might have been excavated in it. Indeed, there would seem to be a probability, that it was thus desolate; for had it been covered with dwellings, we can hardly suppose it would have been at once received as the place of the crucifixion; which according to express Scripture was without the city.²

But there is no need of any such hypothesis; for there is apparently no good reason for referring this tomb even to so early an age as that of Constantine. This is obviously true in respect to the sarcophagi sunk in the floor. No other instance will be found, I think, of like excavations in the floor of a crypt. They are also smaller than usual, and differ in form from all other sarcophagi. It may however be said, and it has been said, that these two excavations are a later work; while the crypt itself and the niches perpendicular to the side are ancient.³ But here too a like difficulty meets us. In all other tombs, where such niches or *loculi* are found, they are either in the sides of regular apartments, as in the tombs of the Kings so called, and of the Judges, and elsewhere; or in the side of a long passage, as in the tombs of the Prophets on the Mount of Olives. They exist nowhere else in a crypt so low and small, so irregular in form, and in which too every thing is so crowded together. Further, the numerous sepulchral chambers around Jerusalem are all excavated horizontally in the natural or artificial face of the rock; with the exception of the tombs of the Prophets, which differ from this, as well as from all others. The entrance is always at the side, and never from above. But the crypt in question is nearly or quite on a level with the pavement of the rotunda; and while, therefore, it could readily be excavated in the rock adjacent to the church; yet it is at least eighteen or twenty feet lower than the ground in the street outside; where too there has been little or no accumulation.⁴ If therefore the crypt existed here before the church of Constantine, it was a deep subterranean excavation, made apparently from above; and quite unlike all the sepulchral chambers which are still so numerous around the city.

¹ See Vol. I. pp. 351 sq. 354, 355. [i. 521, 524, 526.]

² Heb. 13, 12. John 19, 20.

³ So Schultz, who admits, that these sarcophagi in the floor may be later, perhaps of the age of the crusades; p. 97. Ritter. XVI. l. p. 434 sq.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 352. [i. 522.]

⁵ This estimate accords with the judgment of several gentlemen long resident in the city. Prof. Willis says "from twenty to twenty-five feet;" Holy City II. p. 238.

I have thus brought forward the circumstances, which go to show a probability strong enough at least to counterbalance the mere assumption in behalf of this crypt, that it is of high antiquity. To these may be added the destruction of the church by order of the Khalif el-Hâkim in the eleventh century; when it was razed to the very foundations. That an earlier sepulchre like this would be left unharmed, is hardly probable.

To what period then may this crypt be referred? The practice of interring the dead in churches reaches back beyond the age of the crusades. The two brothers, Godfrey and Baldwin, the first Frank kings of Jerusalem, were both buried in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.¹ It was not unnatural in the crusaders and holy men of that period, to desire that their own bodies might repose within those sacred precincts.² It is easy to conceive, that out of such a feeling in individuals or a family, a crypt like this should have been constructed in that or an earlier age. To do this in the least space possible, in order not to encroach upon the church, what better device than to imitate the ancient sepulchral chambers by which they were surrounded? The facility of the work from within the church, the irregular form and contracted space, and the crowding together of the *loculi*; all favour this supposition. In this aspect, the tomb, even if we suppose it unaffected by the desecrations of el-Hâkim, cannot have been constructed earlier than the seventh or eighth century; for before the labours of Modestus no church existed over the Holy Sepulchre itself.—There may have been other like tombs within or connected with the church, which have disappeared in the revolutions to which the edifice has been subjected. Even the present crypt has been encroached upon by the wall in front.

Thus far I have discussed the question of this sepulchre upon its own merits, independently of all topographical and historical considerations. Hereafter I hope to show, upon the ground of these latter, that its existence can have no weight in determining the course of the ancient second wall.

The evening of this day was spent by invitation at a meeting of the Literary Society of Jerusalem, held at the rooms of Mr Finn, the British consul, its founder and chief supporter. The paper of the evening was read by Mr Finn, on the Ramah of Samuel. An Arabic letter was also read from the priest of the Samaritans at Nâbulus to Mr Finn, inviting him and his family to be present at their sacrifice of the Passover on the following Monday. It was a singular document; not so much

¹ Holy City I. pp. 897, 404.

Heiligen Grabes beisetzen liessen;" Schultz, Jerusalem p. 97.

² "Es ist allerdings wahr, dass die Kreuzfahrer sich gern in der Kirche des

however for the style, as on account of the person and the occasion.

Mr Finn also communicated to the Society the following as the most recent statement of the latitude and longitude of the Holy City, obtained by him through the Foreign Office from the Admiralty in London :

LAT. N. $31^{\circ} 46' 35''$

LONG. E. $35^{\circ} 18' 30''$ from Greenwich.¹

Saturday, May 1st. This was to us a busy day. It was likewise to some extent a rainy day. The weather throughout yesterday had been hazy and lowering. The same continued this morning ; and at about 10 o'clock it began to rain, which is very unusual at this season. It held up after 3 o'clock ; but during the ensuing night there was heavy rain.

Dr McGowan had kindly made arrangements to accompany us to several points of interest and importance. Indeed, for admittance to one or two of these we were indebted to the respect and confidence with which, as a physician, he is regarded by the native population.

Soon after 9 o'clock Dr McGowan called, accompanied by Mr Calman and bringing with him his dragoman, a native Greek Christian. We first went to a place near our lodgings, on the west of the street leading to the Damascus gate, where a house had been torn away, and excavations were made for the purpose of laying new foundations. They had dug a hole like a well nearly fifty feet deep ; and at this depth had found substructions and an arch. These had been seen by our friends a few days before ; but we were now unfortunately too late, as the hole had been partly filled up.

We went next to the *Serai* or barracks at the northwest corner of the Haram area ; which we also visited on our former journey.² We were at once admitted, and went upon the roof. Besides the general view which I have formerly described, our attention was specially directed to the following three particulars, viz.

That the scarped rock, at the northwest corner, extends for some distance along both the western and northern sides, being

¹ The authority on which this statement rests, is unknown to me. The latitude is six minutes less than the mean latitude assumed in Vol. I. p. 259. [i. 381.] It is also one minute greater than that found by Niebuhr ; *ibid.*—The following extract of a letter from Sir F. Beaufort to the author, dated Dec. 13, 1855, gives another authority for the longitude : " It appears from the account given by Capt.

Graves, in his letter to me from Malta of Dec. 1842, that he had carried to Jerusalem three excellent chronometers ; but that accidents had happened to two of them ; so that he could only send me the result of the remaining one. And that, corrected as carefully as he could, gave the longitude of the Casa Nuova of the Latin convent, at $35^{\circ} 18'$ east of Greenwich.

² Vol. I. 244 sq. [i. 360 sq.]

on the west side six or eight feet high ; and, further, that the whole area at the northwest corner and in the northern part presents a surface of rock, which has evidently been cut away to its present level.¹ The scarped rock along the northern side near the corner is apparently higher ; indeed it is reported as being from twenty-five to thirty feet high.²

That the western wall of the Haram area runs in a straight line from its northern to its southern extremity. This was obvious ; we now stood at the northern end, and looked along it unobstructedly for two thirds of its length ; while beyond that distance, and directly on the same line, were seen the two cypress trees adjacent to its southern end, which we noticed yesterday from the house of Dr Barclay.

That between Zion and the ridge on which the church of the Holy Sepulchre stands, there is a visible and very considerable depression.

In passing down again from the roof, we paid our respects to the Kâim Makâm in his public room. He was an elderly mild looking Turk, with courteous manners ; and he improved the opportunity to elicit a little medical advice in behalf of a daughter. We sat a few minutes, and took our leave.

We stopped a short time at the church of the Flagellation, so called, in the same street ; and then ascended to the mosk el-Mulawiyeh, which crowns the very summit of Bezetha, and commands a noble view of the whole city. Here we were freely admitted, both to the mosk below, and to the rooms which have been added above. These latter are occupied as a dwelling. The original structure below was once a small church, known to the crusaders as that of St. John.³

We now turned along the street of the bazars ; examining the various columns on the way, and also the corner wall and arches of the palace of the knights along the street from the Yâfa gate. These have been already described.⁴ West of this, on the lower corner of the next street, which runs north along the west side of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, is the Greek convent of St. John the Baptist. It occupies a square plot at the angle of the two streets ; in the centre of which is the church. This had been rebuilt within the last few years.⁵ On digging to lay new foundations, a vaulted room or chapel was

¹ See Vol. I. p. 244. [i. 361.] Catherwood in Bartlett's Walks, p. 162. Krafft p. 12. Tobler Topogr. I. p. 460 sq.

² Krafft p. 12. There is here not improbably some exaggeration.—The author of the "Holy City" says 20 feet, and refers to Bartlett's Walks ; where, however, I find no such specification.

³ La Citez de Jherus. 7. Tobler Topogr. I. p. 607 sq.

⁴ See above, p. 167.

⁵ According to Tobler the rebuilding of this church belonging to the convent of St. John, was begun in 1840 ; Topogr. I. pp. 284–286.

discovered underneath, entirely filled up with rubbish, and forgotten. On clearing away the rubbish, it was found to be an earlier Greek chapel ; measuring from north to south along the cross forty feet or more ; and regularly furnished with doors and windows, showing that it once stood wholly above ground. From the bottom to the ceiling is at least twenty feet ; and this is about the level of the court of the convent. This court again is four or five feet lower than the street outside. This subterranean chapel still remains open ; and we descended into it and examined it.¹

The entrance to the convent is on the west, from the street running north by the church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the southern part of this street there has been of course a great accumulation of rubbish. Near the entrance of the convent is an elevated spot, from which the street descends towards the south into that from the Yâfa gate ; and towards the north as far as to the lane leading down east to the court of the Holy Sepulchre. In this part there is little or no accumulation ; as is shown by the pool of Hezekiah close at hand, which is cut in the rock. Down this lane flows all the water from this portion of the street, as well as from further north, where the street rises again towards the *Via dolorosa* eight or ten feet. Just opposite the church it is nearly level.

We now repaired to the house of the Prussian "Diakonissen" on Zion, where we were courteously received, and were struck with the neatness and order which prevailed. Our next visit was to the English school ; and we afterwards went through the Jewish hospital. This belongs to the mission of the London Jews' Society ; and is under the medical care of Dr McGowan. Every thing was neat, and appeared comfortable. It was the day on which the friends of the patients were admitted ; and there were quite a number of Jewish females in the rooms.

In the afternoon we went first to the house of Abu Sa'ud, which joins upon the Haram area on the west, and indeed extends within the wall, between the Jews' wailing place and the remains of the ancient arch. This house we desired to inspect, as forming one of the supposed angles said to be made in this part by the western wall. While yesterday hesitating how he might best apply for admission, Dr McGowan had been sent for by the family to visit a sick child ; and thus the way was opened to us, not only without difficulty, but by a courteous invitation. We were received with great friendliness by a young man, one of the family of brothers who now occupied the house, and were led into the upper part and within the Haram. Here

¹ This is the chapel referred to in Mr Whiting's letter ; see Note IV, end of the volume.

the house has a narrow court of its own on the south, along the inside of the western wall of the Haram area ; and separated on the east from the Haram proper by a thin wall of its own. In this narrow court are the two cypress trees already mentioned.

Towards the south this court has connection with the buildings which fill up the whole southwestern corner of the Haram area. Here is the mosk of the Mughâribeh or Western Africans, into which we were conducted.¹ In one of the rooms the first Kibla erected by 'Omar was pointed out to us, bearing still a Cufic inscription. The large room which occupies the southwest corner has windows on its eastern side, through which we looked along the double row of vaulted cloisters leading along the southern wall to the mosk el-Aksa.

Returning to the house, we were led to an upper corner room, with windows towards the east and north. Here we looked directly out upon the Haram. Through the middle of the room, from north to south, there was a depression of a few inches, immediately over the Haram wall, and serving as a dividing line between what was within the Haram and what was without. The family live and sleep outside of this line ; but repeat their prayers on the inside ; because one prayer or genuflexion within the Haram is of more avail than five hundred outside. Here too we could see that the western wall of the Haram area is straight throughout. We were now at the cypress trees, and could see the minarets upon or next the wall further north, all in a line with the spot where we stood. The very intelligent heads of the family, one of whom was a Secretary of the government, gave also their testimony, that the western wall is straight ; and has no projections or angles like the eastern.

Another brother came in ; and the two had much conversation with my companions. They had visited the vaults existing beneath el-Aksa and further east ; but had no knowledge of any vaults west of el-Aksa. After coffee we went to the room of the second brother, outside of the Haram ; where sherbet was served. In descending the second flight of stairs from the top of the house, we passed through the Haram wall not less than three times ; first *out*, then *in*, and then *out* again. This is of course the upper portion of the wall ; and is wholly of modern construction.

We took our leave, much pleased with our visit, and grateful to Dr McGowan for having procured for us the opportunity. This was the first time the house had been entered by Franks ; and our visit aided to settle the question in respect to the course of the western wall. We had thus seen it from the house of Dr

¹ See Mejr ed-Dîn in *Fundgr. des Orients*, II. p. 86 sq.

Barclay on the eastern brow of Zion; we had looked along it from its northern extremity, and now again from near its southern end; and in each case with the like result, viz. that it is straight throughout its whole course.¹

In returning towards the Yafa gate, we examined the ground near the northeast corner of Zion and the west end of the causeway. There *seems* to be no direct connection between the two. The causeway and the street upon it pass along on the north of Zion, and do not now touch its northeast corner; although the aqueduct from Solomon's pools is understood to bend around from Zion so as to be carried along the causeway. If the latter ever formed a junction with Zion in this part, it could have reached only to the foot; never to the brow. Just within the street leading down from the causeway northwards, is a stone in the wall of a house, with a Greek inscription inverted. It seems to be merely ecclesiastical. A Greek cross is on one side; and the name *ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ* occurs twice.²

Turning up the first steep lane on this corner of Zion, we called upon an intelligent Mussulman, an acquaintance of our friends, living in a house on the very northeast brow of Zion. He was a man of some learning; and had a manuscript of the work of Mejr ed-Din, from which he read to us. We asked him respecting the causeway; in which, he said, he had seen excavations made. According to him, the great sewer, which drains the whole city north of Zion, begins on the east side of the valley not far above the causeway;³ and is continued along ~~under~~ the causeway and making part of it, *westwards*, till it turns south and is carried out under the city wall. It is very large; so that he thought a man could enter it on horseback. Another smaller sewer, he said, coming from the west, is carried along under a portion of the causeway, and enters the larger sewer. The aqueduct from Solomon's pools, which passes under his own house, is carried (he thought) along the south side of the causeway; but of this he seemed less certain. These statements probably have some foundation in fact; but the true state

¹ So too Schultz in Holy City II. p. 323. Tobler Topogr. I. p. xvi, and in Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft VII. p. 226 sq.—This question as to the course of the western wall of the Haram is in itself of little importance; but has been made prominent from the fact, that on the Plan of the English engineers (Aldrich and Symonds), it is laid down with two offsets or retiring angles in its southern part; and this error again has been assumed as furnishing evidence of the later date of the

southern portion of the substructions of the Haram area; Holy City II. pp. 322, 338, 400.—Dr McGowan had received a letter from Prof. Willis, asking information on this very point; which our observations of to-day enabled him to communicate. Mr Bartlett came to the same result the next year, 1853; Jerusalem Revisited pp. 74–76.

² This inscription was copied by Knauff, No. 7.

³ Comp. Tobler Topogr. I. p. 20.

of the case will hardly be known, till there shall be opportunity for extensive excavations.¹

We dined at 6 o'clock with Dr Mc Gowan and his lady; and spent the evening at their house in a party of friends and travellers from various parts of the world.

Sunday, May 2nd.—The day was cloudy, with one or two showers of rain. There was service in the English church at 10 o'clock; after which the Lord's Supper was administered. In the afternoon the service is regularly in German; the Rev. Mr Reichardt and Dr Valentiner at that time officiating alternately. Many strangers were present.

Monday, May 3rd.—The clouds and showers of the preceding days were over; the sky was serene, and the weather delightful.

About 10 o'clock we rode out through the Damascus gate, and looked at the fragments of a former wall half way between that gate and the northwest corner of the city. At this spot there are several traces of old wall, indicating a tower or angle, with tolerably large bevelled stones and a trench. They seemed to me to have once belonged to the wall that was superseded by the present wall; which latter here stands within the other. Nevertheless, this former wall may very probably have been itself a portion of the ancient second wall, or built upon its foundations.

We now rode off northwards among the olive trees, seeking for further traces of the ancient *third* wall, which had been mentioned to us by resident friends as existing among the trees in a line with those formerly seen by us.² We found these latter; but did not fall in with any others. We then rode along the brow of the valley of Jehoshaphat to St. Stephen's gate; but saw no traces of ancient foundations. Descending and crossing the bridge in the valley, we passed along by Gethsemane, now enclosed by the Latins with a high and strong wall, and converted into a pleasant garden, which is kept locked. The three monuments in the valley, viz. those of Absalom, James, and Zacharias, so called,³ have each of them in front two corner pillars attached, and two others in the middle. These, with their capitals, in the northern and southern monu-

¹ A passage in Mejr ed-Din refers perhaps to these sewers; and very possibly the testimony in the text rests mainly on his authority. He is speaking of the street of David, i. e. the street leading down from the Yafa gate; and says it was so named "from a subterranean gallery which David caused to be made from the gate of the Chain [in the Haram] to the castle, called

the Mihrab of David. It still exists; and parts of it are sometimes uncovered. It is a gallery solidly vaulted." *Fundgr. de Or.* II. p. 126.—For a later remark of D Barclay, see Sect. V. below, under "Water of Jerusalem, the *Aqueduct*."

² See Vol. I. p. 315. [i. 465 sq.]

³ See Vol. I. p. 349 sq. [i. 517 sq.]

ments, are nearly of the Ionic type ; in the intervening tomb they are nearest Doric.

As we passed down the valley in this part, and looked up at the Haram wall above us, the irregularity of its construction was seen very distinctly. Except at the southeast corner the large stones are carelessly laid up. At the upper fountain there seemed to be no change. We drank again of the water ; and recognised the same peculiar taste as formerly.¹ Here and further south we had above us, on the left, the village of Selwân ; the houses of which are mostly built each in front of a sepulchral excavation.

At the fountain of Siloam, likewise, we remarked no change. Women were washing their clothes below the fountain, and spreading them upon the rocks to dry. The rill from the fountain is brought along by a deep cut into and under the point of rock, which forms the southern end of Ophel ; and just here is the washing place and a watering place for animals. A broad wall or causeway, with a path upon it, is carried, near by, across the Siloam valley to the tree of Elijah so called. It may once have been a dam to collect the waters from above ; but there are now no traces of any side walls or of an upper wall, as of a reservoir.

In formerly passing through the subterranean channel, which connects the upper and lower fountains, we had measured its length, 1750 feet ; while above ground the distance from the upper fountain to the point of rock near Siloam was only 1100 feet.² We now measured this external distance again, and made it 1200 feet ; but the variation probably arose from some change in fixing the two ends of the line. At any rate, the difference between the internal and external measurements is still too great ; so that I am compelled to suppose some error in the former, made as it was under circumstances of inconvenience and difficulty.

From Siloam we ascended the valley above, the lower Tyropœon, to the city wall near the small gate Bâb el-Mughâ ribeh. As we rode along I noticed on the left, just above Siloam and also further up, tracts of scarped rock along the hill-side, as if once belonging to an ancient wall. In the upper part, likewise, similar scarped rocks are seen on the east side. All these would seem to be traces of an ancient wall along the eastern side and brow of Zion ; and not improbably also of one on the western brow of Ophel.³

In the afternoon, taking with me our servant Rashid, I went out to examine the tract of the city lying east of the bazars.

¹ See Vol. I. p. 340 sq. [i. 504 sq.]

² See Vol. I. p. 312. [i. 461.]

³ See Vol. I. p. 339. [i. 502, 503.]

My chief object was to ascertain, how far there are in this part any traces of the ridge of ground running down eastward from the church of the Holy Sepulchre. I first passed down the street leading by the Tekiyeh, or Helena's hospital so called. It descends along the crest of the said ridge; and in the lower part crosses it very obliquely, and is carried down steeply along its northern side by steps cut in the rock. I then turned to the right along the street at the bottom of the depression or valley; and proceeded in this street to the causeway. Here, for several rods from the causeway, the street *descends* northwards; and the water is apparently drained off by the great sewer spoken of yesterday, which begins just here.¹

Turning back I now entered the street on the left, between the causeway and that by which I first came down. Its course at first is west, ascending for a short distance very steeply; then, after the first corner, and for a longer distance, north, *ascending about as steeply*; and afterwards again westerly, still ascending gradually. Here another street, below the bazars, comes up and joins it from the south, which also has here a rather steep ascent. From these facts it follows, that there still exists in this part a broad termination of the said ridge, lying about on a line drawn between the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the great mosk.

Afterwards I went with Rashid to the Damascus gate; and mounting the wall on the east, passed on as far as to the highest point of Bezetha. My object was to look for the probable course of the ancient second wall, between the said gate and the fortress Antonia. That gate we had formerly recognised as ancient, and as in all probability belonging to the second wall. The problem has been, so to draw the line of that wall, as to leave the hill Bezetha outside, and yet provide for the security of the city. The wall must obviously have run to the northwestern part of Antonia, equivalent to the western end of the present barracks; but whether it was probably carried along the foot or the brow of Bezetha, there were no data to determine.

The western declivity of Bezetha is comparatively short, but very steep. The northern wall rises steeply from the Damascus gate; and is carried over the top of the hill upon the rock, which is here precipitous towards the north; the hill having either been cut away or exhibiting a natural break. Where the highest part of the wall, the highest tower, is now found, there the precipice of rock also is highest. This spot is upon the very crown of the ridge of Bezetha; and just here also the ridge drops off on the east by a perpendicular ledge of rock eight or ten feet high, and then slopes down gradually eastward. If now we may suppose an ancient corner tower or bastion on the wall at this high point;

¹ See above, p. 187.

then the wall might readily be carried from it in a southeasterly direction along the crest of the ridge of Bezetha, quite to the northwest corner of the Haram or near it; leaving the slightly mosk el-Mulawiyeh just on the west. Such a course would bring the steep and short western slope within the city; while the great body of the hill itself, the more level, extended, and habitable part, would remain on the outside.

Something of the like kind, though on a much larger scale, is still seen in the ancient fortifications of the city of Smyrna. On the hill bordering the city on the southeast are the remains of the immense fortress; from which the city wall was carried, for a long distance toward the southwest, along the very crest of the thin and level ridge.

It is likewise worthy of remark, that such a course of the wall being supposed, the present arch *Ecce Homo*, the piers of which we have seen to be probably ancient, would fall directly upon its line.¹ Was this structure, perhaps, originally erected in some connection with such a wall?

Tuesday, May 4th. We rode out after 9 o'clock by the Damascus gate, and looked at the outside of the wall on the east of that gate, as also at the nature of the ground. A few rods out of the gate, at the left, is a well, stoned up only in part. Just east of the gate, in the former trench of the city, is a deep cistern or reservoir, now broken and dry.² The trench was here cut in the rock; and beginning from the west, now extends to the point where the precipitous rock with the wall upon it is highest; the broken reservoir occupying its eastern end. There are at present no traces of its having been cut through the rock further eastward. If a fosse ever existed beyond this point, it is now completely filled up. None certainly was needed; for the rock above is sufficiently elevated for the security of the wall without a trench.—This circumstance, that the trench thus apparently ends underneath the highest part of the rock, seems to confirm the view I took yesterday, viz. that here was probably a high corner tower or bastion of the second wall; which then ran from this point along the crest of Bezetha to the northwest corner of Antonia.

A few steps beyond the broken tank, but still under the high part of the rock, is seen the mouth of a cavern now walled up. From it a long subterranean passage leads under the city to an unknown distance. This is obviously the *Grotte de Coton* of Mejr ed-Din; which he briefly mentions as a cave under the

¹ See above, pp. 171, 172.

² This reservoir has sometimes been confounded with another just at the entrance of the grotto of Jeremiah, described by Schultz, pp. 36, 37, comp. p. 35. Ritter

Erdk. XVI. i. pp. 385, 392. Singularly enough both Schultz and Krafft confound it with the *Grotte de Coton* mentioned further on; Schultz p. 36. Krafft p. 131. Ritter *ibid.* p. 392 sq.

northern wall of the city, extending, as some supposed, as far as under the great mosk.¹ The following was related to us in Jerusalem, respecting this grotto. It was said to have been open for a short time in the days of Ibrahim Pasha; and rumour affirmed that his soldiers entered and found water within. A year or two since it was again open; and Mr Weber, Prussian consul at Beirût, with the Mussulman whom we visited on Zion, and another, went in and followed the passage a long way; but as they had neither lights nor compass they could not be sure of the direction nor of the distance. A few days afterwards, when they attempted to repeat the visit with lights, they found the entrance walled up. The Mutsellim had learned that Franks had entered the grotto. This account was afterwards confirmed to me at Beirût by Mr Weber himself.²

Passing down by the Birket el-Hejjeh, where men were drawing water to carry into the city, we came to the northeast corner of the city wall. The fosse begins again at or near the Birkeh; and, as it approaches the corner, is cut through the narrow ridge along the eastern wall north of St. Stephen's gate; the ground here outside being about half the height of the wall. In the eastern wall, next to the corner, there is nothing special to remark; except the fosse still dug in the rock; some reaches of scarped rock on which the wall is built; and some rather large stones.

We now repaired to the southern end of the Haram; looked at the southern wall; and took the measurements already given above.³ We also examined that portion of the ancient southern gateway, which is visible from the outside, just at the junction of the modern city wall. Uppermost is seen the eastern end of what appears as a very flat arch, resting upon a large bevelled stone now broken. Just east of the arch is a stone with an inverted inscription, which has been several times copied. The following is the copy and translation of De Saulcy:

TITO AEL HADRIANO
ANTONINO AVG PIO
PP PONTIF AVGV
D D

"To Titus Ælius Hadrianus Augustus Pius, Father of his country, High Priest, Augur, erected by the Decurions."

¹ In *Fundgr. des Orients*, II. p. 134. Holy City I. App. p. 163.

² Early in 1854, an entrance to this cavern was accidentally discovered by Dr Barclay, who explored it with lights; and wrote a brief notice of it for Mr W. H. Bartlett, under date of March 1st, 1854; see Bartlett's *Jerusalem Revisited* pp. 161,

162. The cavern, Dr Barclay says, "varies in width from twenty to one or two hundred yards, and extends about two hundred and twenty yards in the direction of the Serai [barracks], terminating in a deep pit."

³ See above, pp. 175, 176.

The inscription refers without doubt to the emperor Antoninus Pius, the successor of Hadrian, whose name he also bore. De Saulcy supposes, that it was originally affixed to the base of a statue, erected in honour of that emperor on the temple area above; and was inserted in its present place when the foundation walls of Justinian's church were built up. This seems not an improbable hypothesis.¹

Below all this, and apparently attached to the outside of the wall, is a portion of the round arch of a gateway, covered with florid ornament. This gateway is now walled up, with a grated window near the top. By clambering up with difficulty and sitting in the window, one can look through the wooden lattice; and after a while, when the eyes have become accustomed to the darkness, he can discern two or three like arches further back, and can see the light streaming in from a crevice beyond, apparently at the entrance in front of el-Aksa.—For the whole interior of this gateway, however, we must for the present rest satisfied with the description of Mr Wolcott, and the fine drawings of Mr Tipping; who together gained access to these vaulted recesses in January, 1842.²

We visited Siloam; and, returning, I took Beshârah and rode alone by way of Gethsemane to the summit of the mount of Olives. The view of the Dead Sea and valley of the Jordan, as seen from the Wely beyond the village, impressed me anew with its dreariness and loneliness. That of the city also, as seen from the village, struck me more favourably than formerly. The depression between Zion and the ridge at the Holy Sepulchre was very perceptible. The north side of the Golden gate, as here seen, appeared about in a line with the north side of the platform of the great mosk.

After returning home I walked out with Beshârah to the interior northwest corner of the city; and there looked again at the remains of the old tower, called Kûl'at el-Jâld, which we had seen on our former visit.³ It is very large; and must have been the corner bastion of the city in the days of the crusaders. But the remarkable point is that which I have formerly mentioned, viz. that this bastion was erected upon an earlier wall (or corner) of large bevelled stones; three courses of which are still seen at its southwest angle running into the mass diagonally. Whether these stones are a fragment of the ancient *third* or

¹ De Saulcy II. p. 117.—This inscription was copied by Dr E. Smith, and published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, p. 562. Also by Kraft in 1845, p. 73. De Saulcy in 1851, as above.

² Wolcott in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, p. 17 sq. Tipping's many drawings, with notes by Isaac Taylor, are found in *Trail's Josephus*, mostly in Vol. I.

³ Vol. I. p. 318 [i. 471.]

second wall, it may be difficult to determine ; that they belonged to one of them can hardly admit of question.¹

A young friend from Ramleh, Murkus, a son of the former American consular agent at that place, had several times called ; and had made himself useful to us in various ways. Being a member of the Greek communion, he invited us to visit with him the large Greek convent, situated west of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, across the street, and connected with that church. He made arrangements accordingly at the convent ; and in the afternoon we accompanied him to the place. We were ushered into the reception room, fitted up with much elegance for this country, and having divans around the whole, except a lower space by the door. Here we were soon joined by the preacher of the convent, a well looking and very intelligent man ; then by the scribe ; and afterwards by the Wakil (deputy) of the patriarch, the acting head of the convent. A good deal of conversation took place between them and my companion. They complained of the incoming of the English ; and said that now whole villages, unless they could have their own way, were prone to threaten, that they would leave the Greek church and turn Protestants. When reminded that the Greeks had long had the like difficulty with the Latins, they said the Latins gave them much less trouble ; they were a small fiddle and made little noise ; but now a big bass-drum had come, with its unceasing *bum, bum, bum* !—Their schools were also spoken of, which Dr Smith afterwards visited and found to be large and well conducted. The head teacher had been educated at one of the German universities.

We had some curiosity to ascertain the opinion of learned ecclesiastics of the Greek church, as to the position of the ancient Eleutheropolis. In our former journey, we had identified it on topographical grounds with *Betogabra*, the present Beit Jibrin ; but at that time no data had been found, by which to connect the two names historically.² The link thus wanting had since been discovered by Prof. Roediger. In the *Acta Sanctorum* of Assemani, published in Syriac, Greek, and Latin, the martyr Peter Abselama is said in the Syriac to have been born at Anea, which lies “in the district of *Beth Gubrin* ;” while the Greek and Latin accounts both read, “in the district of *Eleutheropolis*.”³ We had a desire to learn whether this iden-

¹ Besides the layers of large stones spoken of in the text, Messrs Wolcott and Tipping found “a doorway in the north-west corner, leading into a small room, in which are four similar layers ;” *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1848, p. 30.

² See Vol. II. p. 58 sq. [il. 405 sq.]

³ Assemani *Acta Sanctor. Martyr. Oriental.* II. p. 209, coll. p. 207. *Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* 1842, No. 72. *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1844, p. 217 sq.

tity was known and received by the Greek church in Palestine at the present day.¹

Indeed, we had already requested Murkus, a day or two before, to make inquiries on the subject; and had given him simply the name "Eleutheropolis," desiring him to find out at the convent where it was situated. He reported to us, that he had applied to the scribe of the convent; he took down an old book and searched, and then said it was the metropolis of a bishop, and was situated between Gaza and el-'Arish. The young man told him, that we supposed it was between Gaza and Jerusalem. No, he said, it was south of Gaza. The present Arabic name he did not then know; but promised to look further. We now recurred to this topic; and the scribe repeated what he had before told Murkus. But neither of the three knew any thing more of Eleutheropolis; nothing at all. Yet they were the chief authorities of the Greek church in Palestine. So much for the "continued tradition" of that church, on this point, "written and unwritten."

We were treated with great courtesy. During the interview, which lasted for nearly an hour, sweetmeats were first presented; of which each person took a teaspoonful and then a drink of water. Next followed 'Arak sweetened with jelly; and, later, coffee was served with sugar. We afterwards walked out upon the buildings, and through the gallery over the street, which connects the convent with the church of the Holy Sepulchre opposite. This gallery is so constructed and shut in, that we did not perceive when and where we crossed the street. They took us first to the Greek chapel of Constantine and Helena, as distinguished from that of the Latins. It is on an upper floor, on the southwest of the large dome, between it and the street. From it we looked down through a grated window, directly upon the sepulchre itself. Here are several paintings in a better style than that of ordinary Greek pictures. One especially glittered with gold and jewels; while, by a contrast not unusual, before it stood a taper in a common tin candlestick. Afterwards we passed out eastward upon the roof of the Greek church and beyond its dome, in order to enjoy the noble view of the city there presented. The great dome over the sepulchre was covered only with boards, and these again with sheet lead. The lead was now in great part stripped off, and the boards rotten; so

¹ This is asserted by the author of the Holy City, II. p. 6: "Meanwhile I had discovered from a very intelligent Greek priest in the convent at Jerusalem, that the continued tradition of his church, written and unwritten, had delivered that

Beit Jibrin does represent the Betogabra of Ptolemy, and the Eleutheropolis of ecclesiastical history, and that they had no doubt of the fact. This placed the matter beyond all question in our minds."

that in winter the rains fell thick and heavily within the rotunda below.

Wednesday, May 5th.—This day was chiefly occupied by an excursion to Wady el-Werd and Bittir; for an account of which the reader is referred to Sect. VI. We reached the city again at 3 o'clock.

Later in the afternoon I walked out alone to look at Hippicus and the ground around the Yâfa gate. The tower of Hippicus stands out alone, gray with antiquity, among its younger companions. We had formerly been admitted to examine it, and would now gladly have visited it again. But when Dr McGowan made application in behalf of several other travellers as well as ourselves, the answer of the Kâim Makâm was, that he had no orders from the Sultan to admit foreigners into the citadel. So we desisted. The Yâfa gate is situated in a depression between the citadel on the south and the hill on the north, as if in the head of a valley; which indeed is actually the case. The ground on the south rises to Zion; that on the north rises also steeply, so long as one goes in a northerly direction. Wherever the direction of a street verges towards the east, there of course the ground begins to descend.

Thursday, May 6th.—The younger Mr Reichardt having kindly offered to accompany us to day to several places of interest which we had not yet examined, we went out with him first to the Damascus gate.

In recent discussions respecting Jerusalem, it has been a prominent endeavour to show, that the lower portion of the city and the Haram were supplied with water by means of a subterranean channel passing in under or near this gate.¹ A large cistern has been spoken of just outside of the Damascus gate towards the east, said to be never exhausted, although used by the many soldiers who guard the gate; and therefore probably fed with living water.² Another like "abundant well of water" has been said to exist in the church of the Flagellation.³ Much stress has likewise been laid upon the supposed fact, that the water of both these cisterns has the peculiar taste which marks the water of Siloam; and the inference has been drawn, that the supposed living water which feeds these cisterns, flows through the city to the Haram, and thence descends to the fountain of the Virgin so called.⁴

We looked first for the "large cistern" just outside of the Damascus gate towards the east. There is no cistern here,

¹ Kraft p. 131 sq. Holy City II. p. 469 sq. Ritter XVI. i. p. 392 sq.

² Kraft, *ibid.* Ritter, *ibid.*

³ Holy City II. p. 461 sq.

⁴ Kraft, *ib.* Holy City II. p. 469 sq. Ritter, *ib.* p. 395.

except the broken reservoir in the city fosse already mentioned ;¹ and this is always empty and can hold no water. But just by the very doors of the gateway, and almost overshadowed by the projecting portal, is an ordinary cistern on each side. Each of these has two openings ; one for drawing up water ; and the other further north for receiving the rain water as it flows along the ground. The furrows or channels which had served to conduct the water to these openings from the road and the fields further north, still remained ; and these we saw. The officer of the guard, who was present, had himself caused them to be made. In each cistern the water was now about six feet deep. How large they were in circumference, the officer could not tell. We tasted the water of both. That on the east was not unlike in taste to that of Siloam ; but was less marked. That on the west was offensive, and nearly putrid ; thus proving that the two cisterns are not connected together. The officer said the soldiers stationed at the gate did not commonly use this water ; but were supplied from the cisterns of the Haram ; meaning, perhaps, those of the barracks adjacent to the Haram. But the water of these cisterns is kept for the soldiers, in case the other should fail.

During our former visit to the Holy City, it was spoken of as a common report among the inhabitants, that at a certain spot near the Damascus gate, in a still time, by putting the ear to the ground, one can hear a trickling or murmur as of a subterranean water-course. So little stress did we lay upon this story, that I did not even record it in my former work.² Four years later Mr Wolcott met with the same report with the addition, that the sound could be heard only at night.³ The descendant of the prophet, whom we had met a few days previously at the church of St. Anne, repeated to us the same story ;⁴ but said the trickling could be heard only at noon on Friday, the Muslim Sabbath. At that time, he said, if one put his ear to the ground at the gate, he would hear the water ; and the same also at the Haram. But we never found a person, who professed that he himself had heard this trickling ; neither a native, nor much less a Frank. Yet there may well be occasionally some foundation for such a report ; seeing, there are the two large cisterns just described close by the gate. All this however furnishes a very narrow and legendary basis, on which to rest the hypothesis of an underground channel of living water in this quarter.⁵

¹ See above, p. 191.

² *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1848, p. 28.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See above, p. 177.

⁵ Krafft p. 180. *Holy City II.* p. 470.

Ritter XVI, i. p. 386.—A similar rumour (if it be mere rumour) was current in the sixth century as to the sound of water at Golgotha. Antoninus of Placentia, speaking of that spot, says: "*Juxta ipsum*

We went now to the church of the Flagellation so called, on the *Via dolorosa* nearly opposite the eastern end of the barracks. It took us long to gain an entrance. After knocking a long time, a boy came out from the street next west, and went for the key. He brought a wrong one; but a man followed with the right key, and we went in. In the outer court is a large cistern, which receives the water from the adjacent roofs and court. It was now full of rain water, sweet and good; as we ascertained by tasting. In the smaller inner court is another reservoir. This the attendant said, was a well of living water which was never exhausted, and in which the water was never higher nor lower than we now saw it. On being questioned, however, as to whence the water came, he pointed to the adjacent roofs and the channels by which the rain water is conducted into the cistern. A bucket of the water was drawn up; we tasted it, and found again the Siloam flavour. But upon inspecting the water in the bucket, we perceived that it was full of the minute wriggling worms and other animalculæ usually found in impure rain water. Here then was another ordinary cistern, and the peculiar taste was accounted for.

This taste, in both the instances above described, is simply that of impure rain water. It is not, however, improbable, that the water of the wells in this region, which is always spoken of as bad, may be found to exhibit something of the like taste, derived from the limestone soil and rock. Indeed, it is very possible that the flavour of Siloam itself may have a like origin.

Passing into the street of the bazar, we turned up the path back of the columns of the *Propylæa*, and came again to the court adjacent to the Coptic and Abyssinian convent, Deir es-Sultân, already mentioned.¹ The Copts have a smaller convent of St. George on the west of the pool of Hezekiah; adjacent to which, during the Egyptian rule, they began to build a larger convent or rather Khân, which was abandoned by them when Ibrahim Pasha withdrew from the country, and has since been used as barracks by the government.²—The Deir es-Sultân is now a partial ruin; its arches are round, but without distinctive features. It is not referred to an earlier date than the first part of the sixteenth century.³

altare est crypta, ubi ponis aurem et audis flumina aquarum; et jactis pomum aut aliud quod natare potest, et vadis ad Siloa fontem, ubi illud recipies;" see in Acta Sanctor. Maii, T. II. p. x, etc. Ugolini Thesaur. Tom. VII. p. mcccxvi.—Jewish writers also relate, in the sixteenth century, that near Hippicus there was heard "a strong subterraneous rushing of running water;" Schwarz p. 267.

¹ See above, p. 168.

² Holy City II. p. 567. Ritter ib. p. 498 sq.—For the antiquities discovered in digging for the foundations of this convent, see Vol. I. p. 329 sq. [i. 488.]

³ Holy City, II. p. 566. Ritter ib. p. 499. Tobler separates the Copts and Abyssinians; Denkschriften aus Jerusalem p. 337.

Mr Reichardt was acquainted with the Abyssinian priest, a young man of pleasing address and some learning. On sending in for leave to visit the great cistern of Helena, he came out to us ; very kindly granted our request ; and himself sent for the key and tapers. The entrance is beyond the lane on the north side of this court ; and is of course considerably distant from the convent itself. A descent of thirty-six steps below the surface, first towards the north, then east, then south, and then north again, brought us to the water, which appears almost like a subterranean lake. It was rain water, sweet and pure, collected from the adjacent roofs and courts. The whole cistern seems hewn out of the solid rock, with some portions filled in with masonry ; and the sides are covered with cement. The excavation seems to be of great extent ; but how far it reaches no one knows. The light of our tapers did not penetrate to the extremity. It lies of course somewhat north of a line drawn east from the church of the Holy Sepulchre.—The surface of the ground directly over the cistern is covered with houses, which stand high, as on a ridge ; and have openings, like wells, to draw up water from the cistern below.¹

Following now the street of the western bazar southwards, and crossing the street coming from the Yafa gate at the break or angle which it here makes, we kept on a few steps further up the ascent of Zion. Here, on the left hand, just at the corner where the street turns westerly, is seen the crown of a small round arch, apparently ancient, fronting towards the west, and now rising only just above the ground. We endeavoured to gain access to it from the rear ; but without success. The stones of the arch are small, rudely cut, and without any trace of bevelling. It may have belonged to a small gateway, perhaps in the wall of a dwelling or a court. It more resembles the rude entrance of an aqueduct or sewer. A glance only is needed at its appearance and position, to show that it could never have had connection with any city wall. So trivial, indeed, is the whole fragment, that not a legend even of monkish tradition has attached itself to it.²

Another fragment, though without an arch, is the *Porta ferrea*, so called by the monks ; which we now visited. Until recently, it is said to have been marked by two columns.³ One

¹ The Itin. Hieros. speaks of *excepturia* at the side of Constantine's church ; but the form of expression would hardly seem to include this immense cistern : " Ibidem modo jussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est, id est Dominicum, miræ pulchritudinis, habens ad latus excepturia unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lavantur "

² Yet it has been held to be possibly the gate Gemath of Josephus ! Schultz p. 61 sq. Lord Nugent, Lands Class. and Sacr. II. p. 54 sq.—This idea is justly made light of by Tobler, who describes the arch ; Topogr. I. p. 106 sq.

³ Holy City II. p. 56. According to Quaresmius, it was marked in his day only by the base or fragment of a marble co-

of these has since disappeared ; and the other, which formerly stood in the street by Dr McGowan's house, is now built into the wall of the hospital opposite ; where it may still be seen, bearing certainly no trace of ever having belonged to a city gate. It is sixty paces, or more than ten rods, distant from the arch above described, in a west-southwesterly direction. This *porta* too has been of late regarded by some as the veritable gate of Gennath in the first wall of Josephus ; from which the second wall had its beginning, and ran northwards (as they suppose) along the street of the bazars.¹ Not to urge here the trivial character of the fragment itself, there are two considerations arising from its position, which may be urged, at least against the consistency of the advocates of this view. *First*, it is so far distant from the brow of Zion, that it must have fallen within (on the south of) the first wall, in any probable course which may be assigned to the latter ; while *secondly*, it stands ten rods or more west of the point of beginning ascribed by them to the second wall. This last circumstance is of course fatal to the whole hypothesis.²

In the afternoon we had a pleasant call from two German travellers just arrived from Egypt, Count Schlieffen and Baron Münchhausen, both of Silesia. They were endeavouring to make arrangements to visit Jerash ; but were ultimately compelled to give up their purpose, because of the extravagant demands made for an escort. This was understood to arise, partly from the circumstance, that the Sheikhs with whom they treated had themselves neither authority nor power to take them to Jerash ; and partly from the high prices paid two years before by M. de Saulcy in his journey around the south end of the Dead Sea. Indeed, at this time, the country east of the Jordan seemed inaccessible from Jerusalem, except at enormous rates.³

We afterwards made various calls ; and passed the evening with several friends at the house of the Rev. Mr Reichardt.

Friday, May 7th, and *Saturday, May 8th*, were occupied by an excursion to the vicinity of Hebron ; which is described in Sect. VI.

lumn ; II. p. 95.—Whoever desires to study the wanderings of this traditional gate, may consult Tobler, Topogr. I. p. 413 sq.

¹ Holy City, impliedly, II. p. 56. Schultz p. 61 sq. Krafft p. 27 sq.

² See the beginning and course of the second wall as indicated in the Plan of Aldrich and Symonds ; Holy City Vol. I.—The course of the first wall is there carried too far south, in order to meet the *porta ferrea*, so called.

³ In this connection I insert an extract

from the letter of a New York friend, who also visited Syria in 1852 : " M. de Saulcy, I am afraid, has seen what no one else has seen or can see. He certainly has not benefited science in establishing the precedent of high prices ; where he ought, with his armed company, to have enforced moderate terms, for the good of those who should follow him. In your forthcoming work, do allude to this subject ; that more may have the opportunity of seeing those countries, so interesting from their associations."

Monday, May 10th.—This was the day fixed for our final departure from the Holy City. The morning was passed in preparation; and we afterwards called on various friends to bid farewell, whose kind attentions had made our visit pleasant, and secured to us opportunities for investigation. We regretted to find Dr Barclay and several of his family ill with fever and ague. The day was hot and sultry; the wind from the southwest bordered on a Sirocco; and the thermometer stood at about 90° Far.

We left the Damascus gate at 12 o'clock, accompanied by Mr Calman, who desired with us to look at the large mounds of ashes on the north of the city. In order to reach them, we took a path branching off on the left of the direct northern road; and were struck, as often before, with the great number of ancient cisterns still seen in this quarter, indicating beyond all question that this whole tract was once covered by the streets and dwellings of the city. Just by our path were seen in one place the massive foundations of a thick wall, on a line with the traces of the third wall, which we had formerly found. We were told also of other similar foundations on the swell of ground south or southeasterly from the Tomb of Helena, or Tombs of the Kings, so called; but these we were unable to visit.

The mound of ashes to which we first came, extends from north to south, and is quite high and long. We turned eastward to a second mound, still larger, higher, and longer, extending east and west. There is still a third, lying north of the one first mentioned. These mounds have usually been regarded as formed by the deposits of ashes formerly made from the soapworks of the city. At the present day, it is said, those ashes are all employed in the preparation of cement for roofs, and other like uses.

Quite recently the idea has been started, that this is the place to which the ashes from the altar of the ancient Jewish temple were carried forth;¹ and that the spot is therefore necessarily without the former limits of the city, and beyond the third wall. These mounds are said to be mentioned by R. Parchi, as far back as A. D. 1322.² On examination, we saw nothing to change our former impression, that they are merely accumulations of ashes from the soapworks, deposited here during several cen-

¹ Lev 6, 10, 11; comp. Lev. 4, 12.

² The original work of Parchi I saw in the possession of the younger Mr Reichardt in Jerusalem; and to his testimony and that of Mr Calman I am indebted for the statement in the text. Not having access to the work at present, I cannot say whether the passage referred to by them is the same with the following; though it seems

probable. It is quoted and translated by Zunz in Asher's Benj. of Tüd. II. p. 398: "Outside of the gate of Jerusalem called the gate of the Tribes, and which lies in a northeast direction from the mount of the temple, the ground is of an *ashy nature*; perhaps this is the 'valley of ashes,' mentioned Jer. 31, 40."

turies. A subsequent inspection of the like mounds at Nábulus, where the ashes from the soapworks are still daily thrown out, only served to confirm the same view.

Indeed, a single historical circumstance would seem to put the matter at rest. From the time of Solomon to the Christian era, the city was bounded on the north by the second wall; and it is quite improbable, that the ashes of the altar would have been daily carried forth so far beyond that wall, as the distance of the present mounds from the Damascus gate. The third wall was not built until after A. D. 41; and the destruction of the city and temple, when the sacrifices finally ceased, occurred in A. D. 70. Hence these vast mounds, if composed of ashes from the altar, must have been accumulated within a period of about thirty years. This, probably, few would be disposed to maintain.¹

We now turned further eastward; and looked for a few moments at the tomb of Helena. Mr Calman returned to the city; and at 12.25 we proceeded on our journey.

Such is the record of a brief but busy sojourn of twelve days in the Holy City. Two of these days were the Christian Sabbath, and three others were mainly devoted to more distant excursions; so that there remained to us only seven days for inquiry and observation in and around the city. But we did not come as strangers; and were therefore able to lay our plans and execute them without delay or hindrance. The preceding pages will show, I trust, that we at least endeavoured to make good use of our time and opportunities.

¹ See Vol. I. p. 314. [i. 465.]

² Since the above was written, a letter from Mr Finn has appeared in the London Athenæum (April 21, 1855, p. 464), giving the information, that two specimens of these ashes, taken from near the top and bottom of the largest mound, have been analyzed in the laboratory of Prof. Liebig, and found to be chiefly of animal and not of vegetable origin. There is also a small percentage of *silicic* acid, which is never

found in the ashes of flesh or bones. Small particles of bone were detected; and Mr W. Dickson found larger pieces (Ath. May 5, 1855, p. 521).—Yet two small specimens would seem hardly sufficient to determine the character of the whole mass of these immense mounds; and the presence of bones of animals might very easily be accidental.—See also Journal of Sacred Literature for July, 1855, p. 477-479.

SECTION V.

JERUSALEM.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES.

IN entering once more upon the consideration of the topography and antiquities of the Holy City, I desire it to be understood, that I am about to take up only those topics, in respect to which there has been more or less discussion since the publication of my former volumes. Such discussion has arisen, mainly, in regard to the views supported in that work; and this is a sufficient reason, if there were no other, why I have preferred to let the statements and considerations there presented remain in their integrity, rather than subject them to any important change. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of that work in itself, it has at least been the occasion of calling public attention to the subject of Biblical Geography in general, and the ancient topography of the Holy City in particular, to an extent far beyond what could have been anticipated; and has given rise to an amount of literature upon the latter topic within the last ten or twelve years, probably much greater than has appeared during any other whole century since the Christian era. For all this I can only be thankful.

I entered upon my researches, not in order to support a favourite theory, for I had none; and I have continued them, I trust, without prejudice or prepossession. My object throughout has been, and still is, "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth;" the truth, I mean, as it has come down to us, and is still confirmed to us, through the evidence of recorded history and topography. If, in the course of prolonged investigations, I came to lay less weight, than some may desire, upon mere ecclesiastical or other tradition unsupported by any further evidence, this was a result forced upon my conviction by the

nature and circumstances of the case ; and my judgment in the matter has been approved by the highest names in science. In this particular, and indeed in all the general principles which lie at the basis of my former work, I as yet see nothing to alter or retract. Here, as elsewhere, "the truth is great, and will prevail ;" and so long as truth is established, and the interests of science and religion promoted, it matters little by whose instrumentality the work has been accomplished. As I have no interests to subserve but those of scientific and religious truth, so I have no fears as to the result.

In the discussions that have taken place, the chief diversities of opinion have arisen in endeavouring to apply the descriptions of Josephus to the present physical features of the Holy City. Thus it is the valley of the Tyropœon, the hills Akra and Bezetha, the course of the second wall, the place of the ancient bridge, the extent of the temple area, and the relation to it of the fortress Antonia,—it is these which have formed the chief topics of inquiry, and the themes of disquisition sometimes anything but tranquil. Nor is it wonderful that the subject should be environed with difficulties. Ever since Jerusalem became the capital of the chosen people, she has been subjected to calamities, to revolutions, to overthrows, almost without number. Even of old, in the time of the exile, it was predicted, that "the city should be builded upon her own heap ;"¹ and how often has she since been thus rebuilt ? Her walls and dwellings, her fortresses, palaces, and temple, have been laid in ruins and have crumbled into dust. The ruins and rubbish of nearly thirty centuries are strewn over her surface ; and no wonder that her hollows and ravines are filled up, and her hills made low. It is therefore only by a careful consideration of *all* the particulars specified by Josephus, and by a cautious comparison of each with the features of the surface as still seen or as known from history, that we can hope to arrive at legitimate and trustworthy conclusions. By no law of language or of logic can it be justified, that one part of the historian's description should be followed, and another part left out of view.

My own investigations in respect to the Tyropœon and the hills Akra and Bezetha led me to adopt the view, which has been the prevailing one among travellers and scholars ever since the time of the crusades ; if not earlier. It regards the Tyropœon as beginning near the present Yâfa gate, and running down along the northern side of Zion ; after which it turns south and extends down to Siloam. Akra, on the north of Zion, was the ridge on which now stands the church of the Holy Sepulchre ;

¹ Jer. 30, 18.

while Bezetha was the hill on the north or rather north-north-west of the present Haram area.

The earliest writer on Jerusalem, so far as I have been able to discover, who makes any allusion to the descriptions of Josephus, is the monk Brocardus, about A. D. 1283; to whom we are indebted for the topography of the Holy Land and Holy City, according to the views current in the time of the crusades. He describes a valley descending from the tower of David [Hippicus] along the northern side of Zion quite to Moriah, where it turned and separated Moriah from Zion, and was extended quite down to the Kidron. This valley in its upper part was already filled up; yet there remained vestiges of its former concavity. On the north of this valley was the rock called by Josephus *Arra*, i. e. Akra.¹

The next writers who refer to Josephus, are Adrichomius and the Jesuit Villalpandus, near the close of the sixteenth century; both of whom adopt the like view in respect to the Tyropœon and Akra.² From them probably the same passed over to the traveller Sandys, who was at Jerusalem in A. D. 1611.³ About the middle of the seventeenth century, Lightfoot, by a wrong interpretation of a passage in the Psalms, and by his reliance on the Rabbins, was led into the error of placing Zion on the north of the Holy City, and Akra on the south; in which he was followed by Cellarius.⁴ This hypothesis was rejected by Dapper as early as A. D. 1677; but it was left for Reland in the following century to furnish a terse and conclusive refutation.⁵ Reland in the same connection gives his own views in full, on the authority of Josephus; assigning to Akra its place on the north of Zion and west of Moriah, and to Bezetha a position on the north of the temple.⁶ Next came the geographer D'Anville, who, commenting upon Josephus, adopts very decisively the same conclusions as Reland.⁷ The like view is

¹ Brocardus c. 8: "Proinde vallis quæ a turri David descendebat contra latus Aquilonare montis Sion usque ad montem Moria, et reflectitur in Orientem [Austrum], separabat montem Moria * * a monte Sion, et totam inferiorem civitatem, extendebaturque usque ad torrentem Cedron, per locum ubi nunc est porta aquarum inter montem Sion et palatium Salomonis, quod ædificatum fuit in parte Australi montis Moria. * * Verum nunc vorago ipsa tota repleta est; *relictis tamen sestigiis prioris concavitate.* * * Rupes eminens, quam Josephus *Arram* appellat." The reading *Orientem* for *Austrum* is obviously an error, probably by a transcriber.—Brocardus does not mention Bezetha.

² Adrichom. Theatr. pp. 151, 152; also

his Plan of Jerusalem, on which Bezetha is marked on the north-northwest of the temple; p. 145.—Villalpandus, Apparatus Urbis etc. in Pradi et Villalp. in Ezech. Explanaciones, Rom. 1604, fol. Tom. III. p. 22. B, "Mons igitur hic [Akra] ad Aquilonem situs Sioni, ad Occidentem Moria, describitur a Josephi his verbis, etc."

³ Sandys Travailes, p. 122.

⁴ Lightfoot, Cent Chorogr. Matthæo præm. 22, 23. His error was founded on Ps. 48, 2.—Cellarius, Notit. Orbis, II. p. 457 sq.

⁵ O. Dapper, Palestyn p. 327.—Reland Palest. p. 846 sq.

⁶ Palest. pp. 850–853.

⁷ Dissertat. sur l'étendue de l'ancienne

presented also by the leading sacred geographers of the present century, as Rosenmueller and Raumer.¹

The preceding evidence, derived from witnesses scattered over no less than seven centuries, I have adduced in order to demonstrate, that the views which I have formerly maintained as to the course of the Tyropœon and the position of Akra and Bezetha, were not novel, and did not rest merely upon my own authority. The writers, who during so many centuries have given the same interpretation of Josephus, were among the ablest scholars of their times; nor have they perhaps been surpassed in discernment, learning, and good sense, by those who have become their successors at the present day.

Amid the many diversities of opinion which have of late been advanced, it is gratifying to find a few points yet unassailed, and which in general are still admitted by most writers. Such especially are the four following:

1. That Zion was the southwestern hill of the city; and still terminates towards the north, as of old, in a steep declivity adjacent to the street leading down from the Yâfa gate.²

2. That Moriah, the site of the Jewish temple, was the place now occupied by the Haram or grand mosk, on the east and northeast of Zion.³

3. That the ancient tower just south of the Yâfa gate is the Hippicus of Josephus; from which the first ancient wall ran eastward along the northern brow of Zion to the temple enclosure.⁴

4. That the ancient remains connected with the present Damascus gate, are those of an ancient gate upon that spot, belonging to the second wall of Josephus.⁵

The importance of the points thus generally admitted, will be seen as we advance.

In now turning to the consideration of particular localities, I may be permitted to express the hope, that the reader will not expect me to examine every view which may differ from my own, nor even to notice every objection which foregone hypothesis or controversial skill may see fit to propose. It is an old maxim, that "the best way to preach down error, is to preach the truth."

Jérusalem, Paris 1747; reprinted in the Appendix to Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*; see p. 331: "La seconde colline [Akra] s'élevait au nord de Sion, faisant face par son côté oriental au mont Moria."—See also the Plan of Jerusalem on D'Anville's Map of Palestine; in which Akra and Bezetha are rightly laid down.

¹ Rosenm. *Bibl. Geogr.* II. ii. p. 210 sq.—See also Raumer's *Palästina*, Ed. 3. p. 312 sq.

² Holy City, I. Suppl. p. 21; also p.

268, Ed. 1.—Schultz p. 29, comp. p. 28.—Krafft pp. 3, 4.

³ Holy City I. p. 14.—Schultz p. 29.—Krafft pp. 4, 5.

⁴ Holy City II. p. 14 sq. The author prefers another tower within the citadel.—Schultz p. 57. Krafft pp. 13, 14.—Mr Ferguson finds Hippicus in the *Kûr el-Jâ-lûd*; pp. 36, 37.

⁵ Holy City II. p. 35. Schultz p. 60.—Krafft refers the gate rather to the third wall; p. 42 sq.

If, therefore, I shall be able to present, with clearness and brevity, the main arguments in support of the views adopted by the scholars of former centuries as well as by myself, I venture to hope that these will commend themselves to the judgment of the reader ; and that I may be excused from drawing other matters into discussion.

I. THE TYROPŒON AND AKRA.

As we are dependent on Josephus for all our knowledge respecting these two features of the ancient city, I insert here his description.¹

"The city was fortified by three walls, wherever it was not encircled by impassable valleys ; for in that part there was but one wall. It was built, one part facing another, upon two hills, separated by a valley between ; at which, one upon another, the houses ended. Of these hills, the one having the Upper City was much the higher, and was straighter in its extent. * * * The other hill, called Akra, and sustaining the Lower City, was gibbous. Overagainst this was a third hill, by nature lower than Akra, and formerly separated by another broad valley. But afterwards, in the times when the Maccabees ruled, they threw earth into this valley, desiring to connect the city with the temple ; and working down the height of Akra, they made it lower, so that the temple might appear above it. The valley called the Tyropœon, which we have said separated the hill of the upper city and the lower hill, extends down quite to Siloam. * * * But from without, the two hills of the city were encompassed by deep valleys ; and because of the steep declivities on both sides, there was nowhere any approach."

From this passage of the Jewish historian the following inferences are definite and necessary :

First. That a valley or ravine (φάραγξ), and only one, the Tyropœon, separated the hill Akra, with the lower city, from Zion.

Second. That Akra was gibbous in form ; and was situated between the Tyropœon and another broad valley.

When the traveller first enters Jerusalem, with the description of Josephus before his mind ; and sees the most marked valley of the city to be that extending southwards from the Damascus

¹ Jos. B. J. 5. 4. 1 : Τρισὶ δὲ ὠχυρωμένην ταίεσσιν ἢ πέλις, καθὰ μὴ ταῖς ἀβάτοις φάραγγιν ἐκυκλούτο· ταύτη γὰρ εἰς ἣν περιβόλοι. Αὕτη μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωτος ἔκτιστο, μέσῃ φάραγγι διερρημένῃ, εἰς ἣν ἐτάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι. τῶν δὲ λόφων ὁ μὲν, τὴν ἑνὴν πόλιν ἔχων, ὑψηλότερος πολλὰ καὶ τὸ μήκος ἰσότερος ἦν. * * ἕτερος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Ἀκρά, καὶ τὴν ἐκτὴν πόλιν ὀφειστάς, ἀμφικυρτός. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀντικρὺ τρίτος ἦν λόφος, ταπεινότερος τε φύσει τῆς Ἀκρας, καὶ πλατεῖα φάραγγι διεγρομένης ἄλλῃ πρότερον· αὐδὺς

γε μὴν καθ' οὗς οἱ Ἀσσυριανοὶ χρόνους ἐβασίλευον, τὴν τε φάραγγα ἔχουσιν, συνῆψαι βουλόμενοι τῇ ἱερῇ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῆς Ἀκρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος ἐποίησαν χθαρμυλότερον, ὥς ὑπερφαίνοντο καὶ ταύτης τὸ ἱερόν. ἡ δὲ τῶν Τυροποιῶν προσεγενομένη φάραγξ, ἣν ἔφαμεν τὸν τε τῆς ἑνὴς πόλεως καὶ τὸν κάτω λόφον διαστέλλειν, καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωάμ. * * ἔξωθεν δὲ οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφοι βαθείαις φάραγγι περιέχοντο, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν κρημνοὺς προσιτὸν οὐδαμῶδες ἦν.

gate to Siloam ; he is naturally led, at the first glance, to inquire, whether this valley is not the Tyropœon. Such was my own experience ; and has doubtless been that of very many others. But when one comes to look for the hills on each side of the Tyropœon ; and finds the northern side of Zion terminating at the street leading down from the Yâfa gate ; and perceives further, that the position thus assumed for the Tyropœon would require Akra to be on the north of the temple, and would separate it from Zion, not by a single valley only, but by two large depressions with a rocky ridge between ; he is at once driven to the conclusion, that all this is irreconcilable with the description of Josephus, and that the beginning of the Tyropœon must be sought near the Yâfa gate ; in which case the rocky ridge between the two depressions becomes Akra. And this is just the view, which has been current for centuries, and has been controverted in favour of the other, for the first time, I believe, within these last few years.

The Yâfa gate, as we have already seen,¹ stands in a depressed spot between the citadel and the hill on the north. The street leading down from it occupies, along the foot of Zion, the lowest line of depression between Zion and the ridge of the Sepulchre. Judging from the nature of the ground, there was probably here, at first, a narrow ravine immediately under the steep northern side of Zion ; serving as a drain for the waters falling on the adjacent part of Zion, and also for those on the southern declivity of the ridge in the north. In process of time this ravine has become gradually and almost wholly filled up. It was so already in the days of Brocardus, as we have seen above ; though there remained traces of its former concavity.² That the ground here was once much lower, is demonstrated by the recovered chapel of St. John already described ; the floor of which is some twenty-five feet below the level of the adjacent street ;³ as also by the excavations for laying the foundations of the large new building overagainst Hippicus on the north, which were made to a depth of thirty or forty feet through rubbish.⁴ There is therefore certainly nothing impossible nor improbable to be encountered, in assuming this as the general line of the Tyropœon ; while this, and this alone, accords with the description of Josephus.⁵

So soon as the place of the Tyropœon is determined, that of Akra is also fixed. It is the end of the broad swell of ground

¹ See above, p. 196.

² See above, p. 205.

³ See above, pp. 184, 185.

⁴ See Mr Whiting's letter in Note IV, end of the volume. Gadown in *Zeitschr. der morg. Ges.* III. p. 48.

⁵ Those who make the Tyropœon begin at the Damascus gate, deny of course the existence of any valley here ; a denial which no man ever thought of until within the last fifteen years ; see *Holy City* II. p. 29 sq. Schultz pp. 28, 54. Kraft p. 4.

on the northwest of the city, which extends down into the city as a rocky ridge, terminating in a rather broad point overagainst the place of the ancient temple. It is accurately described as "curved on both sides, or *gibbous*," like the end of the gibbous moon ;¹ falling off steeply towards the north into the valley and basin around the Damascus gate ; and on the south, more gradually towards Zion.² It is situated therefore between two valleys, the Tyropœon which divides it from Zion, and the deeper one coming from the Damascus gate, which separates it from Moriah. Here then, in like manner, and here alone, we find an Akra corresponding to the description of Josephus.

It follows, therefore, that so long as the northern side of Zion remains undisturbed, the place of the Tyropœon and of Akra can only be adjacent to it on the north.

When the historian speaks of the Maccabees, as "throwing earth into the [lower] valley, desiring to connect the city with the temple," this may signify one of two things, viz. either that by filling in earth they raised the general level of the valley ; or that they built a mound or causeway across it. The former, as we shall see, is the more probable meaning.³

The same general result follows also from another passage of Josephus, where he is describing the gates on the different sides of the temple enclosure. It is as follows :⁴

"In the western parts of the enclosure stood four gates ; one leading over to the royal palace, the valley between being intercepted to form a passage ; two leading to the suburb ; and the remaining one into the other city, being distinguished by many steps down into the valley, and from this up again upon the ascent ; for the city lay over against the temple in the manner of a theatre, being encompassed by a deep valley on all its southern quarter."

The mention here of 'steps' down into the valley, shows conclusively that this gate was the one next north of that leading to Zion ; for here if any where the valley was still deep, as it is at the present day. Further north it was less deep by nature, and had moreover been filled in by the Maccabees.⁵ The two more northern gates needed therefore no descent by steps, just as there is none at the present day. They led, probably, by a street along

¹ Gr. ἀμφικύρτος. See in Vol. I. p. 278. [i. 410.] Reland Pal. p. 852.

² For the general descent of the streets in this part towards the south, see above, pp. 166, 190, 196. For the ridge of Akra, see p. 169.

³ The historian nowhere intimates, even by a word, that the valley was so filled up as to be obliterated, and the two hills made one ; see Holy City II. p. 27.

⁴ Jos. Ant. 15. 11. 5: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰσπερίοις μέρει τοῦ περιβάλλοντος πύλαι τέσσαρες ἐφύστανον· ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασιλεία τείνουσα,

τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος εἰς διόδον ἀπειλημένης· αἱ δὲ δύο εἰς τὸ πρόσπειον· ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑλλην πόλιν, βαδμίσι πολλαῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν φάραγγα διελημμένη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασι, ἀντικρὺ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο τοῦ ἱεροῦ, θεωτροειδὲς οὖσα, περιεχομένη βαθείᾳ φάραγγι κατὰ πᾶν τὸ νότιον κλίμα.

⁵ See just above. It would seem, from this descent and ascent by steps, that at this time, long after the Maccabees, there was no mound leading from the temple to the lower city.

or near the valley, to the ancient gate now known as that of Damascus ; and so conducted to the suburb beyond, or also to Bezetha on the right. The gate with many steps led to "the other city ;" which, as thus mentioned after the royal palace on Zion, can only be the lower city or Akra. Here then we have direct testimony by the Jewish historian, that Akra formed part of the general acclivity on the west of Moriah ; and the whole city, upper and lower, Zion and Akra, rose like an amphitheatre overagainst the temple ; and was terminated on the south by the deep valley of the sons of Hinnom. It is easy to see, that this description is in no way applicable to any part of the city, except to Zion and the adjacent tract and ridge on the north.

The main objection, and perhaps the only one, which can be taken to the preceding interpretation and application of the language of Josephus, arises from an expression at the close of the passage first above quoted, viz. that "from without, the *two* hills of the city were encompassed by deep valleys." This expression I have formerly referred to, in the following manner :¹ "If the historian here means the two particular hills of Zion and Akra, (as the insertion of the Greek article might seem to imply,) the language is not literally exact ; but if, as is more probable, this is a mere form of expression intended to embrace the whole city, then it presents no difficulty." That this is the true view, and that "the two hills" are here put by synecdoche for the whole city, I am the more persuaded ; because in the very beginning of the same passage, the *one* hill, Zion, stands in like manner for the whole city, which is there said to be "fortified by three walls, wherever it was not encircled by impassable valleys." But Zion only was ever thus fortified ; the lower city had but two walls. So too at the end of the same passage the historian adds, that "because of the steep declivities on both sides, there was nowhere any approach." Here again it is the city as a whole, to which there is no approach ; not the two particular hills. To the same effect is still another passage, where Josephus relates, that "a broad and deep valley encompasses the city, comprehending within it the temple, which was very strongly fortified with a wall of stone."² The city as a whole is here said to be thus encompassed ; although, in point of fact, there is no valley on the whole northern and northwestern quarter.—The historian was probably led to speak in this way of "the two hills," because he had just before described them, and had expressly said, that **THE CITY** was built upon two hills.

¹ See Vol. I. p. 281. [i. 414.]

² Jos. Antt. 14. 4. 1: περιέρχεται γὰρ αὐτὴν φάραγξ εὐρεῖα τε καὶ βαθεῖα, ἐντὸς

ἀπολαμβάνουσα τὸ ἱερὸν, λιθίνῃ περιβάλλει καρτερῶς πᾶν τετειχισμένον.

But the difficulty, if there be one, is not removed, by assigning to Akra any other possible position. If the hill east of the Damascus gate be taken, that hill too does not extend to the valley of Jehoshaphat; but there intervenes the rocky ridge upon and along which the eastern wall is built; while on the northern quarter there is no valley at all. In this and every other possible case, therefore, the same synecdoche has to be resorted to. Hence it is better, and more in accordance with all right principles of interpretation, to let the clear and explicit declarations of the historian have their full force, rather than to seek to modify them by what is in itself doubtful, or at any rate includes a like figure of speech.¹

II. BEZETHA.

The position of the hill Bezetha is described in two passages of Josephus. The first and longest is as follows: *

"This [third wall] Agrippa put around the new-built city, which was quite naked. For the city, overflowing with the multitude, had by little and little crept beyond the walls; and uniting with itself the parts on the north of the temple at the hill, had advanced not a little; so that a fourth hill, called Bezetha, was now dwelt around, lying overagainst Antonia, and separated from it by a deep fosse. For a trench had here been cut through on purpose; lest the foundations of Antonia, being joined to this hill, should be easily accessible and less lofty. And thus the depth of the trench added very much to the height of the towers. This new-built part is called in our language *Bezetha*; which being interpreted in the Greek tongue would be *Caenopolis*, New City."

The second passage makes reference to the first, and is as follows: *

"The hill Bezetha was separated, as I said, from Antonia; and, being the highest of all, it was built up adjoining to a part of the new city, and alone overshadowed the temple on the north."

From these two passages the following seem to be necessary inferences, viz.

¹ I have dwelt the longer on this point, because Ritter has made it prominent; taking up only the beginning and end of the passage first above quoted, and omitting all notice of the intervening definite specifications. Erdk. XVI. i. p. 407.

² Joa. B. J. 5. 4. 2: τοῦτο τῇ προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει περιέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ἥπερ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνή· πληθεῖ γὰρ ὑπερχεομένη, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξέειπε τῶν περιβόλων, καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσόρτια πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ συμπολίζοντες, ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον προήλδον, καὶ τεγάρτων περιουκισθῆναι λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθά, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνί-

ας, ἀποτεμνόμενος δὲ ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ· διαταφρεῦδῃ γὰρ ἐπίτηδες, ὥς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συνάπτοντες οἱ δεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας, εὐπρόσσιτοί τε εἴεν, καὶ ἤττον ὑψηλοί. διὸ δὴ καὶ πλείστον ὕψος τοῖς πύργοις προσεβίβου τὸ βάθος τῆς τάφρου. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἐπιχωρίως Βεζεθά τὸ νεόκτιστον μέρος, ὃ με-
 δερμηνευόμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ καιρῇ λέγεται ἂν πόλις.

³ Joa. B. J. 5. 5. 8: ἡ Βεζεθά δὲ λόφος δυσήρητο μὲν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας· πάντων δὲ ὑψηλότεατος ὦν μέρει τῆς καινῆς πόλεως προσέκτιστο, καὶ μόνος τῷ ἱερῷ κατ' ἔκρον ἐπισκότει.

First. That Bezetha was a high hill on the northern quarter of Antonia and the temple. It alone overshadowed the temple on the north.

Second. That being separated from Antonia by a deep artificial trench, it could only have been a hill immediately adjacent.

These characteristics are found, and found only, in connection with the elevated hill lying east of the Damascus gate, and northerly from the northwest corner of the Haram area; where of old stood the main fortress of Antonia.¹ Hence this hill has always been regarded as the Bezetha of Josephus, from the first notice we have of it down to the present time; with the exception of one or two quite recent writers.²

The historian describes the hill Bezetha as "the highest of all." But he cannot here mean all the four hills of the city; for of the four, Zion is the highest. He had just spoken of the temple as the fortress of the city (exclusive of Zion), and of Antonia as the fortress of the temple; and he then goes on to speak of Bezetha as being the highest of all *these*, viz. the lower city, Moriah, and perhaps the rock of Antonia. Even with this restriction, this mention of Bezetha as the highest hill limits it conclusively to the hill above described.³

III. THE GATE GENNATH.

Josephus mentions the gate Gennath only once by this name; and this, where he is describing the beginning and course of the three walls, which encompassed the city on the north.⁴ The first or innermost of these walls began at the tower Hippicus and ran eastward along the northern brow of Zion to the Xystus, and so to the western side of the temple enclosure. "The second wall had its beginning from the gate called Gennath, belonging to the first wall; and encircling only the tract on the north, it extended quite to Antonia."⁵ The third wall began also at Hippicus; and running north to the tower Psephi-

¹ Jos. B. J. 5. 5. 8.

² Holy City II. p. 52.—It is singular, that Ritter, in his account of the topography of Jerusalem, nowhere makes the slightest reference to Bezetha or to its position; Erdk. XVI. i. pp. 406–416.

³ In the first passage cited above, Josephus calls this fourth hill *Bezetha*, and explains the word as meaning the *New City*. In the second passage he distinguishes between the two, and speaks of the *hill Bezetha* as joined to a part of the *New City*. He elsewhere twice uses the name *Bezetha* apparently as including both the hill and

the new city, or at least the latter as connected with the former; B. J. 2. 15. 5. ib. 2. 19. 4. But more commonly he gives to the new city its distinctive appellation; as *ἡ καινὴ πόλις*, B. J. 5. 5. 8. ib. 5. 8. 1; or *Καινόπολις*, ib. 2. 19. 4. Also *ἡ κατωτέρω Καινόπολις*, ib. 5. 12. 2.

⁴ Jos. B. J. 5. 4. 2.

⁵ Ibid. Τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πύλης εἶχεν, ἣν Γεννάθ ἐκάλουν, τοῦ πρώτου τείχους ὁδοῦ, κυκλοῦμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτηον κλίμα μόνον ἀνέγει μέχρι τῆς Ἀρτωνίας.

nos, thence swept around overagainst the tomb of Helena, and so to the brow of the Kidron valley.

The name *Gennath* signifies a garden ;¹ and implies here a gate leading out to a garden or gardens ; equivalent to *Garden gate*.² Not improbably there were gardens of old in the upper portion of the valley of Hinnom, towards the Birket el-Mamilla ; where to this day the shady olive trees afford a place of recreation for the females of Jerusalem.³ At any rate, the gate Gennath led out of Zion to the country ; and not into the lower city.⁴

The position of this gate and the beginning of the second wall, have for centuries been regarded as near to Hippicus ; and this view I have followed in my former volumes. "It must have been on the east of Hippicus, for the *third* wall began at that tower. It could not however have been far distant ; because that part of Zion was then high and steep."⁵ But by the hypothesis of recent years, the gate Gennath has been removed indefinitely towards the east ; and the second wall made to begin overagainst the southern end of the western bazar, more than forty rods east of Hippicus. I have already referred to the very legendary and trivial character of the fragments of a supposed gateway, which it is thus sought to identify with the gate Gennath ; and also to the inconsistency involved in the very hypothesis.⁶

That the earlier view, which fixes the position of Gennath near to Hippicus, is the only correct one, will appear, I think, from the following considerations.

I. The natural place for a gate in the first wall leading out from Zion into the country, is near to Hippicus, not far south or southeast from the present Yâfa gate. Here the descent from Zion is, and must always have been, comparatively small and gradual. Further east, the steepness and apparent elevation of this northern declivity of Zion increase at every step ; and in this part, in ancient times, stood the towers of Phasaëlis and Mariamne, built in the first wall and connected with the royal palace. Josephus speaks of Zion in this part as high ; and

¹ Gr. Γεννάθ, Heb. גִּנְאָת, אֲרָמ. גִּנְאָת. —An instance of the frequent inaccuracy of Krafft occurs here. He cites (p. 28), as from "distinguished" manuscripts, the readings גִּנְאָת and גִּנְאָתִי, which he then connects etymologically with *Goth* and *Golgotha* ; and refers to Havercamp's Josephus, Tom. II, Varise lectt. ad librum de B. J. p. 39. But on turning to the place, the readings are found to be גִּנְאָתִי and גִּנְאָתִי, the syllable גִּנְ being written with the usual contraction.

² Such a garden cannot well have been within the walls, either of Zion or the lower city. The population was too crowded ; and the analogy of the king's gardens below Siloam is against it.

³ Comp. Gadow in Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges. III. p. 44.

⁴ So too Holy City II. p. 17. Schultz p. 62.

⁵ See Vol. I. p. 312 and u. 7. [i. 461. 462. n.]

⁶ See above, pp. 199, 200.

mentions the old or first wall along its brow, to say nothing of the towers and palace, as rising still thirty cubits above the hill.¹ To assume therefore a gateway, leading out of Zion into the country, at any point not near to Hippicus, would be against probability.

II. Josephus relates, that "the city was fortified by three walls, wherever it was not encircled by impassable valleys;"² that is to say, upon its whole northern quarter. But if the gate Gennath, at which the second wall began, was not near to Hippicus; and, especially, if it was so far distant as to be opposite the western bazar; then all that tract of the upper city from Hippicus to the said gate, was fortified only by a single wall before the time of Agrippa; and by only two walls (instead of three) at the time of which Josephus was writing. The tract thus unprotected extended for more than seven hundred feet, or nearly forty-five rods; amounting to more than one half of the entire northern side of Zion, and to nearly one half of the whole length of the first wall.

That all this, however, was not so, and that Zion was actually protected on the north by three walls, appears further from the fact, that in every siege of Jerusalem reported by Josephus, (the approaches being always and necessarily made on the north or northwest,) no attack or approach is ever described as made against the *upper* city of Zion, until after the besiegers had already broken through the second wall, and had thus got possession of the *lower* city. But if the second wall began near the bazars, then more than one half of the northern brow of Zion was not protected by it at all; and the possession of the lower city was not necessary in order to make approaches against the upper; and that, too, at the most accessible point,—the very point, indeed, near to Hippicus, where Titus actually made his assault *after* he had taken the second wall.³ The historian narrates three such sieges of Jerusalem, viz. by Herod, Cestius, and Titus.⁴

Herod reduced the city about the year 37 B. C., nearly eighty years before the third or Agrippa's wall was built.⁵ The outer (afterwards the middle) wall was taken by him with great difficulty after forty days; the next, or exterior wall of the temple area, after fifteen days more. In the words of Josephus, "the exterior temple and the lower city being thus captured, the Jews fled together into the inner temple and the upper city."⁶ These were afterwards taken by assault.

¹ Jos. B. J. 5. 4. 4: ἐφ' ὁψηλῶ λόφῳ.

² B. J. 5. 4. 1. See above, p. 207.

³ Jos. B. J. 5. 8. 1. ib. 5. 11. 4. ib. 6. 8. 1.

⁴ Pompey laid siege only to the temple, the rest of the city having been opened to him; B. J. 1. 7. 2. Ant. 14. 4. 2.

⁵ Jos. Ant. 14. 16. 2; comp. B. J. 1. 18. 2.

⁶ Ibid. ἡρημέρου δὲ τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως, εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἔνω πόλιν Ἰουδαίῳι συνέφυγον.

Cestius marched against Jerusalem about A. D. 46, some years after the completion of Agrippa's wall.¹ He entered the gates of the new city with his army, and apparently those of the lower city also, without opposition; the insurgents yielding the external parts of the city, and withdrawing themselves into the inner city and the temple.² Cestius set fire to Bezetha and the new city, as also to the timber market; and then, "coming to the upper city, he took a position overagainst the royal palace; and had he been willing in that very hour to have forced his way within the walls, he might have taken the [upper] city at once, and have put an end to the war." Instead of this he hesitated; and, after an unsuccessful attack, turned aside to assault the northern quarter of the temple. Here the soldiers formed with their shields a *testudo*; under cover of which they undermined the wall, and came near to set fire to one of the temple gates. This circumstance likewise shows, that the Romans were in full possession of the lower city.³

In regard to the siege by Titus, the details are more full and decisive.⁴ He first took the outer wall; then broke through the second wall into the lower city; was driven back, but speedily regained his footing; and then, and not till then, "he laid his plans to assault the third wall;"⁵ that is to say, the third in the order of attack, being the inner or old wall on Zion. Having now possession of the lower city, he divided his forces against Antonia on the one hand, and the northwestern part of Zion on the other, overagainst the royal palace.⁶ This was obviously the most feasible point of attack in respect to the ground, notwithstanding the great strength of the three towers Hippicus, Phasaëlis, and Mariamne, by which it was defended; and here it was that the Romans, in consequence of a panic among the Jewish leaders, finally made their way by a breach into the upper city.⁷

These historical facts furnish strong and almost conclusive evidence, that the second wall protected the whole northern side of Zion; and consequently the gate Gennath, at which it began, must have been near to Hippicus.

III. The same result is brought out still more conclusively, by comparing together the notices of the monument of the high priest John, which Josephus mentions several times, in his nar-

¹ Joa. B. J. 2. 19. 4-7.

² Ib. § 4: *eis δὲ τὴν ἐνδοτέραν καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνεχώρουν*. The places of refuge here specified seem to be the same as in the siege by Herod, as above.

³ That the northern wall of the temple cannot be here intended appears from the fact, that there were no gates in it; and because, if not wholly covered by the for-

tress Antonia, it was at any rate made inaccessible by the deep fosse, now the *Birket Isráil*.

⁴ Joa. B. J. 5. 7. 2. ib. 5. 8. 1, 2.

⁵ Ib. 5. 8. 2 ult. *τῇ τρίτῃ προσβάλλειν ἐπενόει*.

⁶ Ib. 6. 8. 1: *κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δόσαν κλίμα τῆς πόλεως ἄντικρυς τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς*.

⁷ B. J. 6. 8. 1, 4.

ration of the assaults made by Titus upon the three walls successively.

The Roman general decided to make his attack upon the outer wall *at the monument of the high priest John*; ¹ “because in this part the first [outer] fortification was lower, and the second did not join on,² they having neglected to build up the wall in those parts, where the new city was not thickly inhabited; but rather there was an easy approach to the third [inner] wall, through which he thought to take the upper city.”

After Titus had taken the outer wall, and thus got possession of the new city; and was now about to assault the second wall; Simon and his party, who held Zion and Akra, “took for their share the point of attack *at the monument of John*, and strengthened the fortifications quite to the gate by which water was brought into the tower Hippicus.”³ This passage seems to imply, that a portion of the second line of fortification, lying between the monument of John and the tower Hippicus, was in a state of neglect or dilapidation; and it thus throws light upon the passage quoted in the preceding paragraph.

Titus took the second wall, and was driven back from it. Again he got possession of it; destroyed the northern portion; stationed guards in the towers of the part towards the south; and afterwards planned his attack upon the third or inner wall.⁴ For this end he raised embankments *at the monument of John*, “intending here to get possession of the upper city.”⁵ In speaking elsewhere of these embankments, Josephus describes one of them as at the pool Amygdalon, now the pool of Hezekiah so called; and another as being thirty cubits distant at the monument of the high priest.⁶ And again he testifies, that these works were in the western quarter of the upper city, overagainst the royal palace; where stood also the three towers Hippicus, Phasaëlis, and Mariamne, connected with the palace.⁷

A comparison of these three different notices of the monument of John, brings out clearly the following inferences:

First. The monument itself was situated between the outer and second wall, in the new city, so called. It was near enough to the two walls, to mark the point of attack on each. It was near enough to the old wall on Zion, to mark the position of an embankment raised against that wall. Another like embank-

¹ Jos. B. J. 5. 6. 2.

² Ib. καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνήπτεν.

³ Jos. B. J. 5. 7. 2, 3: τὴν παρὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου μνημεῖον ἐμβολὴν διαλαβόντες, ἐφράξαντο μέχρι πύλης καθ' ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πύργον εἰσῆκτο.—As to Simon and the position of his followers, see ib. 5. 6. 1.

⁴ Jos. B. J. 5. 8. 1, 2.

⁵ Ib. 5. 9. 2, ταύτη μὲν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν αἰρήσειν ἐπινοῶν. Comp. ib. 5. 11. 4. ib. 6. 2. 10.

⁶ Ib. 5. 11. 4.

⁷ Ib. 6. 8. 1, 4; comp. 5. 4. 4.

ment was thirty cubits distant at the pool Amygdalon. Hence, the interval between the outer and second wall could not have been great ; and the monument was not more distant from Zion, than was the pool. It was therefore on the west of the pool, between the two walls.

Second. As the place of assault against Zion was on the west of the pool Amygdalon, and included the three towers Hippius, Phasaëlis, and Mariamne ; it follows, that these towers and the royal palace were all on the western part of the wall of Zion, and above the point opposite the said pool.

Third. In respect to the second wall, we have a twofold description, referring to its course in opposite directions ; once, as beginning at the gate Gennath and running northwards by the monument of John ; and again, as running southwards from the monument of John to "the gate by which water was brought into the tower Hippius."¹ This gate was of course near Hippius ; and the inference is conclusive, that the gate Gennath and the gate by Hippius were identical.²

IV. COURSE OF THE SECOND WALL.

The only description given by Josephus of the course of the second wall, is brief and general. It has been already quoted above, as follows :³ "The second wall had its beginning from the gate called Gennath belonging to the first wall ; and, encircling only the tract on the north, it extended quite to Antonia." The gate Gennath, as we have seen, was near to the tower Hippius.

In the absence of all definite data, it has been the usual view of former centuries, that the second wall ran in a straight course, or nearly so, from near Hippius to the fortress Antonia, at the northwest corner of the temple area. To this view I felt myself compelled, in my former volumes, to object, for the four following reasons,⁴ viz. that according to the language of Josephus the said wall had a circuitous course ; that, otherwise, the pool of Hezekiah, which lay within the ancient city, must have been excluded ; that the whole space included in the lower city would by a straight course be reduced to a small triangle, of about 600 yards on the south side and some 400 yards on the east side ; and, lastly, that this wall, built for the defence of the

¹ See above, pp. 212, 216.

² Should any one hesitate as to the probability of a public gate being thus near, or perhaps leading through, the royal palace, it is only necessary to refer to the *Burg* or imperial residence in Vienna ; through which is carried, by archways, one

of the most frequented entrances of the city.

³ Jos. B. J. 5. 4. 2. See above, p. 212, where the original Greek is quoted in full.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 312. [i. 462.]

lower city, would thus have passed obliquely across the lower part of the ridge Akra, and have been overlooked and commanded on the west by every other part of the same hill.

Another circumstance, however, which was brought to light at the same time, has served to change the whole aspect of the question. The discovery of the ancient remains at the gate of Damascus, which have been generally recognised as belonging to an ancient gate upon the same spot, and this *a gate of the second wall*, has set aside the former hypothesis of a direct course to Antonia; and this latter view is no longer urged. The question at present may be divided into two parts, viz. first, the course of the second wall from its beginning to the Damascus gate; and, then, its course from the Damascus gate to Antonia.

I. In regard to the first portion of the wall, as far as to the Damascus gate, the view recently brought forward is, that beginning at a point in the old wall on Zion south of the western bazar, it ran along that bazar northwards, and so on a direct course to the Damascus gate.¹ But to say nothing here of the gate Gennath, this new hypothetical course of the second wall is liable in a still stronger degree to all the objections urged against the earlier view.² It proposes a direct line, while the language of Josephus requires a circuitous course. It leaves the pool of Hezekiah outside of the lower city. It reduces the whole space included here within the second wall to a narrow strip or parallelogram of less than three hundred and fifty yards in width; being only a few yards broader than the present Haram area. Such a space would be far too confined to accord either with probability or with any of the historical representations of ancient Jerusalem; and would also present a form most singular and unaccountable in any city. And, still further, this wall built for defence, would thus be carried along midway upon a declivity, so as to be overlooked and commanded on the west by higher ground in every part.

We have seen too above,³ that the monument of John stood between the second and outer wall, so near to each as to mark the point of attack on both; a circumstance incompatible with a course of the second wall along the bazars.—To all this we may add, that the true position of the gate Gennath, as above determined, is of itself fatal to the whole hypothesis.⁴

¹ Holy City II. pp. 54–58; also the Plan. Schultz p. 59 sq. Krafft p. 24 sq.

² See Vol. I. p. 312. [i. 462.] See also on p. 215.

³ See above, p. 216.

⁴ The supposed ancient remains, which have been referred to this hypothetical course of the second wall, have already

been considered and shown to be without any weight; e. g. the legendary iron gate, and the old arch on Zion, see above, pp. 199, 200; the remains of a pier or corner of the palace of St. John, p. 167; the columns of the *Propylæa*, pp. 168, 169; and the legendary *Porta judiciaria*, pp. 170, 171.

But we are not left to mere hypothesis. We have some definite data; though comparatively few. We have already seen, that the second wall, beginning from the gate near Hippicus, ran northwards near to the monument of John, and of course on the west of the pool.—Again, in an angle of the present wall near the Latin convent, are “the remains of a wall, built of large hewn and bevelled stones; and near by are blocks so large, that we at first took them to be the natural rock; but which on closer examination appear to have been bevelled, though now dislocated. An unusual proportion of the stones in the present wall between the northwest corner of the city and the Damascus gate, as also of those in the adjacent buildings, are ancient and bevelled; and we could hardly resist the impression, that this had been nearly the course of some ancient wall.”² Further down towards the Damascus gate, we ourselves examined the remains of what appears to have been an ancient wall, connected perhaps with the wall of the middle ages.³ Still nearer towards the gate, and for about three hundred feet west of it, Dr Wilson remarks, “that the wall for some extent above its foundation, bears in the magnitude and peculiarity of its stones the evidence of great antiquity;” and he refers this portion to the ancient second wall.⁴

We thus find the second wall running from near Hippicus northwards to the monument of John; and again, we find traces of an ancient wall running from the Damascus gate, which was in the second wall, to a point near the Latin convent. There can be little question but that these traces are those of the second wall. To fill up the interval between the monument of John and the Latin convent requires but a comparatively short reach of wall; and there is little room for theory or imagination.—According to this general view, the course of the second wall followed nearly the street which leads northwards from the citadel to the Latin convent; deflecting perhaps a little on the east or on the west of that street; while from the convent to the Damascus gate, it lay along or near the course of the present city wall.⁵

The course thus proposed for the second wall answers to the description of Josephus, that it “encircled only the tract on the north;”⁶ meaning perhaps the tract adjacent to Zion, in distinction from the much wider tract encompassed by the third

¹ See above, pp. 216, 217.

² So Wolcott and Tipping; see Wolcott in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1843, p. 29.

³ See above, p. 188.

⁴ *Lands of the Bible*, I. p. 421.

⁵ On submitting this course of the second wall to a distinguished military engi-

neer, who himself has been in Jerusalem, he gave it as his opinion, that this would be a good line of wall in a military point of view; though not so good as that of the third wall. A line along the street of the bazar would never be selected for defence.

⁶ See above, p. 217.

wall. We thus have also the required circuitous course.—In this way, too, the language of Josephus becomes appropriate, when narrating the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Pius (Sidetes) about B. C. 130, long before the building of Agrippa's wall. He there speaks of the tract on the northern part of the wall as a *plain*; and here Antiochus erected a hundred towers against the city.¹

II. The course of the second wall from the Damascus gate to Antonia, has attracted much less attention.² It was not brought into discussion in my former volumes; nor was the problem at that time fully solved in my own mind. For this reason the subject received a more careful examination during the present visit. Our first search was unsuccessful.³ On a subsequent visit alone to the wall along Bezetha, I was able to arrive at a more definite conclusion. According to my present view, the wall probably ran from the Damascus gate, as now, to the highest point of Bezetha; and thence southerly along the crown of the ridge to Antonia. Such a course is elucidated by a reference to the ancient wall and castle of Smyrna. The piers of the arch *Ecce Homo*, if regarded as ancient, may once have had some connection with such a wall. For the fuller details, the reader is referred to the preceding section.⁴

V. SOUTHERN PORTION OF THE HARAM AREA.

On beholding the immense stones and the elaborate masonry of some of the lower portions of the exterior wall around the present Haram enclosure, the traveller receives at once the conviction, that they are of earlier date than the rest of the wall, and that he has before him the massive substructions of the ancient Jewish temple. This is true especially of the Jewish wailing place and the southwest corner; of large portions of the southern wall, as also the southeast corner on its two sides. Such has been the impression received by travellers for centuries; and such it will probably continue to be, so long as these remains endure.

Indeed, it is only in respect to the southern portion of the Haram area, that a question has ever been raised, as to its early date and connection of some kind with the ancient temple; and this only by a single writer.⁵ Even he acknowledges the massive

¹ Jos Antt. 13. 8, 2, κατὰ δὲ τὸ βόρειον μέρος τοῦ τείχους, καθ' ὃ συνέβαιεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπικρατεῖν εἶναι, πύργους ἀναστήσας ἐκ τὸν κτλ.

² It is spoken of only in general terms, Holy City II. p. 55. Schultz p. 62.—In a note (II. p. 429), the author of the Holy

City assigns to it a more definite course, nearly coincident with that proposed in the text.

³ See above, p. 178.

⁴ See above, pp. 190, 191; comp. pp. 171, 172.

⁵ Holy City II. p. 360 sq.

wall at the wailing place as pertaining to the temple.¹ Now it is worthy of remark, that all those portions above mentioned, which afford the most striking indications of high antiquity, lie further south than the wailing place itself; and thus afford conclusive evidence, that if the latter belonged to the temple, just so much and even more did the whole southern part of the present area form part and parcel of the ancient temple enclosure. I have already had occasion to refer to our strong impression on this point, derived from a careful examination; nor do I fear the result of a like examination upon all unprejudiced minds.²

Were there need of multiplying proofs, I might also refer to the testimony of Josephus, that the southern face of the temple precincts "had also gates about the middle."³ An easy and natural explanation of this language is, that there existed a *double* gateway in the middle part of the southern wall, in the manner of the Golden gate now seen in the eastern wall. Accordingly, the grand subterranean entrance still existing beneath the mosk el-Aksa, first explored by Catherwood, and since visited and described by Wolcott and Tipping, is a double gateway, having two arches and a middle row of columns extending up through the whole passage.⁴ This coincidence with the notice of Josephus is quite too striking, to be the result of accidental circumstances in the erections of Justinian five centuries later.

More massive, however, and more imposing than all the rest, when once its true character is understood, is the immense fragment of an ancient arch in the western wall of the Haram enclosure, near the southwest corner. The circumstances under which I first became acquainted with this fragment, during my former visit to the Holy City, and the discovery of its historical importance as a remnant of the ancient BRIDGE, which, according to Josephus, connected the temple with Zion, are fully narrated in a former volume; where also a description of the remains is given.⁵ The existence of this fragment of the ancient bridge settles the question as to the antiquity of the whole southern portion of the Haram area. The proof indeed is so overwhelming, that it can neither be gainsayed nor evaded; except by denying the connection of this arch with the bridge mentioned by Josephus. It becomes important, therefore, to look at the testimony of that historian.

¹ Holy City, II. p. 398.

² See above, p. 176. For the remains at the southwest corner, see p. 163; for the southeast corner, see p. 174; and for the southern wall in general, see p. 175 sq.

³ Jos. Antt. 15. 11. 5, τὸ μέγαρον τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν εἶχε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ πύλας κατὰ μέσον. The phrase κατὰ μέσον need

not be pressed as meaning the exact middle.

⁴ Catherwood above, in Vol. I. p. 304. [i. 450.] Wolcott in Biblioth. Sacra. 1843. pp. 19, 20. See especially Tipping's fine plates of this entrance, with the accompanying notes, in Traill's Josephus, mostly in Vol. I.

⁵ Vol. I. p. 287 sq. [i. 424 sq.]

The mention which Josephus makes of the bridge, is everywhere incidental ; but occurs directly in five different passages ; besides two others in which a bridge is implied. Of these passages, five are found in his history of the Jewish Wars, and two in the later Antiquities.¹

The earliest mention of the bridge is in the account of Pompey's siege of the city, about B. C. 63 ; which is narrated in both works. In the Wars it is said : "The vanquished party of Aristobulus withdrew into the temple ; and, having cut off the bridge joining it to the city, they prepared to hold out to the last."² The same is thus related in the Antiquities : "These pre-occupied the temple ; and cut off the bridge extending from it to the city ;" and in the same paragraph it is further said : "The parts [of the temple] towards the city were also abrupt ; the bridge being broken down at the quarter occupied by Pompey."³ Expressions like "cutting off" and "breaking down" or subverting, can of course apply only to a bridge in the usual acceptation of that word.

The next passage is connected with the speech of Agrippa, dissuading the Jews, who were excited against Florus, from entering upon a war with the Romans : "Having called the multitude together into the Xystus, and having placed his sister Bernice in a conspicuous position upon the palace of the Macca-bees,—for this was above the Xystus at the further part of the upper city, and a bridge joined the temple to the Xystus,—he spoke thus."⁴ The Xystus was apparently an open place, perhaps with a colonnade, extending along the eastern brow of Zion from the old or first wall to the bridge.⁵ It must have included a considerable area, in order to serve as the place of meeting for a popular assembly.⁶

The third occasion on which the bridge is mentioned, is after Titus had got full possession of the temple and its precincts. Desiring to hold a parley with the Jews on Zion, he "placed

¹ B. J. 1. 7. 2. ib. 2. 16. 3. ib. 6. 6. 2. ib. 6. 8. 1. Antt. 14. 4. 2. Also indirectly B. J. 6. 8. 2. Antt. 15. 11. 5.

² B. J. 1. 7. 2, *ἡττώμενον δὲ τὸ Ἀριστοβούλου μέρος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρει, καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει γέφυραν ἀποκόψαντες ἀντισχεῖν εἰς ἑσχατον παρεσκεύαζοντο.*

³ Antt. 14. 4. 2, *φθάσαντες δὲ οὗτοι τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔκοψαν.*—Ibid. *ἀπερρώγει καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῆς γεφύρας ἀνατετραμμένης ἐφ' οὗ διῆγε Πομπήιος.*

⁴ B. J. 2. 16. 3, *προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ εἰς τὸν ἑσπρὸν τὸν πλῆθος, καὶ παραστησάμενος*

ἐν περιόπτῳ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βερνίκην ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσαμωναίων οἰκίας, αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ ἑσπρῶ πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἑνὸς πόλεως, καὶ γέφυρα τῷ ἑσπρῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν, ἔλεξε τοιούδε.

⁵ B. J. 5. 4. 2.

⁶ The name *Xystus* was strictly applied to a court or area with a colonnade in a gymnasium ; or to a terrace in a garden. See Smith's Dict. of Antt. arts. *Gymnasium* p. 580, and *Hortus*.—In 1 Macc. 1, 14, we read that certain men built a *gymnasium* in Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen. But this can hardly have been the Xystus of Josephus.

himself on the west side of the outer temple ; for in this part there were gates [leading] over to the Xystus, and a bridge joining the upper city to the temple ; this then was interposed between the tyrants and Cæsar."¹

In a fourth notice the historian is describing the position of the Roman forces during the siege. Four legions had charge of the works on the northwestern part of Zion, overagainst the royal palace. "The auxiliaries and the rest of the troops [were] towards the Xystus, and thence towards the bridge and the tower of Simon, which he, warring against John, had built as a guard-post for himself."² This tower was at the western end of the bridge ; inasmuch as it was raised against John, who at the time of its erection held the temple.³ Titus now had possession, not only of the temple, but also of Akra and Ophel, which he had burned the next day after his parley.⁴ Of course the tract between the two, the valley between the temple and Zion, was also in his power ; and here he stationed his troops against the Xystus, extending from the old wall to the bridge.

Two other passages refer evidently to the bridge ; although it is not directly named in them.

One of these is in the Wars, where mention is made of "the tower of John, which he built in the war against Simon, above the gates leading out over the Xystus."⁵ These were gates of the temple ; as appears from another passage, where John, having possession of the temple, is said to have erected four towers for its defence ; one of which "overlooked the Xystus."⁶ This tower of John at the temple gates corresponded to the tower of Simon (above mentioned) at the Xystus ; and between them was the bridge.

The remaining notice, and the latest of all, is found in the Antiquities, and is likewise indirect. It occurs where Josephus is describing the four gates on the western side of the temple enclosure, "one of them leading to the royal palace, the intervening valley being intercepted for a thoroughfare."⁷

The preceding are all the passages yet known in the writings of Josephus, which have a bearing upon the bridge in question. They would seem to leave no room for doubt as to the nature of

¹ B. J. 6. 6. 2, *ἰσταται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ· ταύτη γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, καὶ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν· αὕτη τότε μέση τῶν τυράννων καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος.*

² B. J. 6. 8. 1, *τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν πλῆθος καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ὄχλος κατὰ τὸν ξυστόν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὸν Σίμωνος πύργον, ὃν ἀκοδόμησε πρὸς Ἰωάννην πολεμῶν ἐαυτοῦ φρούριον.*

³ B. J. 4. 9. 12.

⁴ B. J. 6. 6. 3.

⁵ B. J. 6. 8. 2, *μέχρι τοῦ Ἰωάννου πύργου, ὃν ἐκείνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σίμωνα πολέμῳ κατέσχευασεν, ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξαγούσας ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυστόν πύλας.*

⁶ B. J. 4. 9. 12, *τὸν δὲ τοῦ ξυστοῦ καθ' ὅσον περδεν.*

⁷ Antt. 15. 11. 5, *ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασιλεῖα τείνουσα, τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος εἰς διόδοα ἀπειλημμένης.*

the structure referred to; a *bridge*, which could be cut off or cut away, broken down or subverted, leading from the temple to the Xystus, not at or along the old wall from Zion to the temple, but further south.¹ And so strongly does the massive fragment of an arch yet remaining suggest of itself such a bridge; and so thoroughly does it correspond in character and position with the notices of Josephus; that all those travellers who may be regarded as the best judges on such a subject, artists, architects, and engineers, and who have as yet made public their views, have with one voice united in identifying this arch with the bridge of Josephus.

Thus Mr Bartlett, who perhaps has sketched more of oriental structures and ruins than any other artist, remarks: "Nothing can square more exactly with this [narrative] than the position of the arch; which is precisely in that place, and in no other, where we should have looked for it, viz. on the west side of the temple area, *at the nearest point to the steep cliffs of Zion*. Had no account of it existed in Josephus, we should still have inferred its obvious purport from the nature of the ground. What, in fact, could it have been, if not a viaduct?"² In like manner Mr Catherwood, a practical architect, though unacquainted at the time with the testimony of Josephus, writes to the same effect: "I had no doubt, from the moment I saw it [the arch], that it had formed part of a viaduct and aqueduct; but I was totally ignorant of its historical importance."³ Equally explicit is the testimony of De Saulcy, whose judgment as a military engineer is certainly of weight: "I have no hesitation in saying, that though the dimensions are sufficiently imposing, and denote architectural knowledge of a very advanced kind, they have absolutely nothing in them to call into doubt the existence of a bridge, which consisted probably of two arches, and joined at this spot the platform of the Moriah upon which the temple stood, to the hill of Zion."—"These citations express the judgment of intelligent and impartial observers, men of practical experience, who wrote after personal inspection upon the spot; and they took ample time for reflection before publishing their views to the world."⁴

¹ See the preceding page.

² Walks etc. Ed. 2. pp. 139, 140, note. Mr Bartlett adds: "It seems surprising, that any dispute should arise as to the import of this fragment."—Mr Tipping has given a conjectural view of the viaduct; see Traill's Josephus, Vol. II.

³ See Mr Catherwood's letter in Note XXVII, end of Vol. I. Biblioth. Sacra, 1844, p. 797.—The like view is expressed by Mr Fergusson, also a practical architect; Essay, etc. p. 10 sq.

⁴ De Saulcy, Narrative, II. p. 127.—To the same effect, I am permitted to add the oral testimony of Capt. Cullum, Prof. of Engineering in the U. S. Military Academy at West Point; who was in Jerusalem in 1851.

⁵ The like view appears to have been held by Schultz; p. 92, and Plan. So too Wilson, Lands of the Bible I. p. 468 sq. See also Raumer, Palästina p. 393, Third edition.

Others have taken a different view. Leaving this immense fragment of an arch, the most imposing of all the ancient remains within the Holy City, to stand here alone, unexplained and unaccounted for,¹ they have chosen everywhere to refer the language of Josephus respecting the bridge, to the *mound* or causeway further north, on which both the aqueduct from Solomon's pools and the street from the Yafa gate are now carried from the northern base of Zion across the low ground to the Haram area.²—To such a view the following considerations seem to present insuperable objections.

First. The Greek word for bridge (*γέφυρα*), although in Homeric and early poetic usage it is sometimes employed in speaking of a causeway, signifies nevertheless in the Attic and later usage of prose writers always and only *a bridge*. It is elsewhere so used by Josephus himself, as also the corresponding verb, in speaking of the passage of Israel over the Jordan.³

Second. In order to prevent the approach of Pompey to the temple, the insurgents "cut off" the bridge; or also "overturned" or subverted it.⁴ This language is applicable only to a bridge, and not to a causeway. A breach in the latter would only compel the enemy to pass around it along the bottom of the valley.

Third. At the east end of the bridge, the tyrant John, who held the temple, built a tower for defence against Simon, who had possession of Zion. In like manner, at the west end, Simon erected a tower against John.⁵ Such a proceeding with reference to the present causeway, would have been utterly without motive or fruit. The towers guarded a bridge or place of transit between the two, which was accessible only at each end.

Fourth. The present causeway is the continuation of the street leading down from the Yafa gate along the northern base of Zion; and seems to have no direct junction with the north-east corner of Zion.⁶ At any rate, whatever connection there may be, is and was with the base of Zion; never with the brow. The distance of this point, too, from the Haram gate is nearly

¹ I speak here advisedly; for although there have been two suggestions to account for the arch, they are inconsistent with each other, and both have too much of hap-hazard to deserve the name of explanation. One writer referring to the vaults within the walls of the Haram, goes on to say: "To these vaults, whatever was their original design or present use, I would propose to add another arcade at the western extremity, in order to bring in this arch;" that is to say, a huge arcade outside of the Haram wall and above ground; Holy City II. p. 390. Another

regards the arch as the foundation "on which the many steps led down into the Tyropæon;" Krafft p. 60.

² Holy City II. p. 392 sq. Krafft pp. 16, 18, 59, 61 Tobler Topogr. I. pp. 477, 478.

³ Jos. Antt. 5. 1. 3. See the Greek Lexicons.

⁴ Gr. ἀποκόψαντες, ἔκονσαν, γεφύρας ἀνατετραμμένους. See above, p. 222. n. 2. 3.

⁵ Jos. B. J. 6. 3. 2. ib. 6. 8. 1. See above, p. 223.

⁶ See above, p. 187.

twice as great as that between the fragment of the arch and the opposite cliff of Zion. So that, at this point, where the aqueduct enters upon the mound, the elevation of Zion is much greater than just opposite the arch, where the aqueduct is now carried along midway of the cliff.¹

Fifth. The old wall along the northern brow of Zion must have crossed the Tyropœon valley to the temple, either on the present mound or on the south of it; and, in either case, the mound cannot have been the bridge of Josephus.

It has been held by several, that the first wall of Josephus probably did thus cross the valley upon the mound.² In such case, it is supposed by some, that a part of the mound not occupied by the wall, and of course on the south side of the wall, served also as the bridge or passage. But, granting for the moment, that the wall did thus cross upon the mound, there would seem to be a strong probability, that with its great thickness and its massive towers it must have occupied the whole breadth of the present causeway, and thus have left no room for a thoroughfare along its base. Nor, further, would it be according to analogy, to find the opposite gates in the temple wall and the Xystus directly adjoining upon the old wall from Zion. At any rate, in such a case, it is hard to account for the fact, that John and Simon erected towers of offence and defence at these gates; which would naturally have been protected by the towers of the old wall.³

There would seem to be, however, a greater probability, that the wall did not thus cross upon the mound. In the first place, there is no analogy for such a basis of the wall in other parts of the circumference of the city; where in like manner the wall must have crossed a valley; as, for example, near Siloam at the mouth of the same Tyropœon. Further, the causeway does not lie in the natural course of the wall; but is further north. The wall, as we know, ran along the northern brow of Zion quite to the Xystus and the northeast corner; and was then

¹ The attempt has been made to connect this causeway with what the English Bible translates as Solomon's "ascent by which he went up to the house of the Lord," (Heb. עֲלִיָּה, עִלְיָה.) 1 K. 10, 5. 2 Chr. 9, 4; and also with "the causeway of the going up," (Heb. עֲלִיָּה עֲלִיָּה.) 1 Chr. 26, 16, 18. So Holy City II. pp. 42, 396, 601. Kraft p. 109 sq. But the plural עֲלִיָּה in 2 Chr. 9, 11, is rendered in the same version by *terraces*, with the marginal reading "or *stairs*." This last is doubtless right; for these עֲלִיָּה "to the house of the Lord and to the king's

palace," as also "harps and psalteries for singers," were made of the precious "algum trees," which Solomon imported from Ophir.—Besides, these passages all speak only of an "ascent" to the house of the Lord; while this causeway presents nowhere any *ascent*, but only a continued *descent*.

² Holy City II. p. 397. Kraft, perhaps, p. 15. Fergusson Jerus. p. 37. Wilson, Lands of the Bible, I. p. 476. Tobler, Topogr. I. 83, 479.

³ Of these massive towers the old or first wall had sixty in its whole extent; Jos. B. J. 5. 4. 3.

carried through the valley to the council-house, and was completed at the western portico of the temple.¹ This council-house must have been situated in the valley, perhaps not far from the present *Mekemeh* or court-house of the Kâdy, just south of the gate at the end of the causeway. But the mound comes from the foot of the street leading along the north base of Zion, and is the prolongation of that street. The wall therefore would seem to have crossed on a line south of the present causeway; and probably ran along the bottom of the valley, with a gate for passage up and down the latter. Of this gate and the whole low tract, as we have seen, Titus had possession at the time of his parley across the bridge; he set fire to the same the next day, and afterwards posted there his troops against the Xystus and the tower of Simon.*

The wall therefore would seem to have crossed the valley, not on the mound, but further south. The Xystus began at the wall, and extended south along the brow of the cliff. Titus posted his troops "towards the Xystus, and *from thence* towards the bridge and the tower of Simon."²

All the preceding considerations go to show very clearly, that *the bridge* described by Josephus could have had no connection with the causeway.

Indeed, in the absence of all historical notices, it is difficult to assign to the causeway so high an antiquity as the time of Josephus. So long as the old wall remained along the brow of Zion, it is not probable that a street ran, as now, along the foot of the declivity; nor that the steps which of old led down from a gate of the temple on this side, and again up the ascent westwards, were in a line with the present street and causeway; but, rather, further north.⁴ At a later period, however, when Jerusalem was rebuilt, and both the upper and the lower city became united in one, a street would very naturally come to be built along the present course; and then too, it would be natural to extend it across the low ground to the temple area. The aqueduct, likewise, which, if ancient, was not improbably at first carried along the bridge, would now, after the destruction of the latter, be likely to be brought round by the causeway. But when all this may have taken place,—whether under Adrian, or Constantine, or Justinian, or 'Omar, or even later under the Egyptian Khalif who caused the aqueduct to be rebuilt,⁵—can probably never

¹ Jos. B. J. 5. 4. 2, καὶ διατείνον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέρην λεγόμενον, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάγοντες, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀγερτίζετα. This βουλῆ is probably the same with the βουλευτήριον, which Titus caused to be burned; B. J. 6. 6. 3.

² B. J. 6. 1, 3. ib. 6. 8. 1. See above, p. 223.

³ Jos. B. J. 6. 8, 1, κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέρην, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὸν Σίμωνος πύργον. See above, p. 223.

⁴ See above, p. 209.

⁵ An Arabic inscription upon the aqueduct in the valley of Hinnom, refers it to the Sultan Muhammed Ibn Kalāwūn, one of the Baharite dynasty in Egypt, who as-

be determined, because of the entire silence of all earlier history.¹

It may not be out of place here, to dwell for a moment upon the probable antiquity of the immense exterior substructions, which we have been considering, as well as of those interior massive vaults, first brought to light by Mr Catherwood, and presented to the eye in the fine drawings of Mr Tipping.² I have elsewhere remarked,³ that these external remains are probably to be referred to a period long antecedent to the days of Herod; inasmuch as the magnitude of the stones, and the workmanship, as compared with other remaining monuments of Herod, seem to point to an earlier origin. There is, therefore, little room for hesitation, in referring them back, if not to the time of Solomon himself, yet perhaps to *the days of his successors*; who, according to Josephus, built up here immense walls “immovable for all time;” in which works “long ages were consumed.”⁴ The language of the historian strongly implies, that the substructions of the temple, of which he was thus speaking; those existing in his day and which he himself beheld with so much admiration; were the same that had been built up during those long ages after Solomon. The feeble band of exiles, who returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon, could hardly have accomplished works like these; and the glory of the temple which they erected, was as nothing in the eyes of those who had seen the former house.⁵ And as to Herod, there is no intimation in the various accounts of Josephus, that this monarch had anything to do with the vast substructions of the outer enclosure, laid during the “long ages” after Solomon. Indeed, the language of the historian, expressing his own admiration of those immense ancient works, implies the contrary.⁶

Still, should it turn out to be a fact, that the use of the *arch* cannot be traced back to so high an antiquity as the days of the successors of Solomon; a position, which, though often asserted, has not yet (I believe) been proved, except as to Greek and Roman, and perhaps Egyptian architecture; then it might certainly be conceded, that Herod may at least have rebuilt these

cended the throne A. D. 1294; Deguignes Hist. I. p. 322, Germ. D’Herbelot, p. 616, fol. Schultz p. 92. Holy City II. p. 498.

¹ For a tank and vaults under the causeway, and their bearing upon its antiquity, see below, under “Waters of Jerusalem, the *Aqueduct*.”

² Catherwood in Vol. I. p. 302 sq. [i. 447 sq.] also in Bartlett’s Walks, etc. p. 156 sq. Tipping in the Plates and Notes to Traill’s Josephus, mostly in Vol. I. See also Wolcott in Bibliotheca Sacra 1843, p. 17 sq.

³ See Vol. I. p. 289. [i. 427.]

⁴ Jos. Antt. 15. 11. 3, ἀκινήτους τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ. B. J. 5. 5. 1, εἰς δὲ μακροὶ μὲν ἐξαηλώθησαν αἰῶνες αὐτοῖς.

⁵ Hag. 2, 3.

⁶ Josephus does indeed speak in one place of Herod as “removing the old foundations and laying down new;” but here it is expressly said, that these were the foundations of the *vads* or *fane* itself; Antt. 15. 11. 3, ἀνελάν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους, καταβαλόμενος ἑτέρους, ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τὸν ναὸν ἔγειρε.

vaults and substructions *upon more ancient foundations*. In this way, if necessary, most of the present appearances might doubtless be satisfactorily accounted for. Yet the bridge, at least, between the temple and Zion, is first mentioned during the siege by Pompey, twenty years or more before Herod was made king.

The discoveries at Nineveh have also thrown new light upon the history of the arch. That city was destroyed B. C. 606 ; less than a century and a half after Rome was founded ; and only about three years after the decease of Josiah king of Judah. Yet the arch is found in various parts of the ruins. There exist a vaulted chamber and several vaulted passages ; and "arched gateways are continually represented in the bas-reliefs."¹ It is also related by Diodorus Siculus, that the tunnel from the Euphrates at Babylon, ascribed to Semiramis, was vaulted.² It follows, that the arch was well known in the east long before the period of the Jewish exile ; and at least seven or eight centuries before the time of Herod. And although, among the ruins of Nineveh, it is less frequent and less massive and elaborate than at Jerusalem ; yet this may perhaps be sufficiently accounted for, by the absence of like appropriate materials, and by the very different character of the Assyrian architecture in general.

In respect to the huge *bevelled* stones, which are seen in the most antique portions of these temple substructions, as also in the massive ancient chambers adjacent to the Damascus gate, I have elsewhere ventured to ascribe to them a Jewish origin, and to regard them as exhibiting a peculiar style of Jewish architecture.³ The same feature is very strikingly displayed in the walls of the great Haram at Hebron.⁴ Bevelled stones of the like character have since been brought to light in the vast ancient ruins of Ba'albek and other temples of Lebanon ;⁵ in the earliest substructions and walls of the great fortresses of esh-Shūkif, Hūnin, and Bāniās ;⁶ in the old wall of Tyre ;⁷ and in the antique remains at Jebeil and on the island Ruwād, the

¹ Layard's Nineveh, II. pp. 41, 260 and note. Discoveries at Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 163, 164. So too De Saulcy's Narrative etc. H. p. 131 ; where it is related, that a vault twelve yards high under the key-stone had been discovered at Nineveh a few months before by M. V. Place.

² Diod. Sic. Hist. 2. 9.

³ See Vol. I. p. 287. [i. 424.]

⁴ See Vol. II. p. 75. [ii. 434.]

⁵ For Ba'albek, see below, under June 9th. For the temple at Mejdal, see below, under June 8th.

⁶ For esh-Shūkif, see above, p. 52. For Hūnin and Bāniās, see below, under May 20th and 27th. See also W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1846, pp. 193, 202, 207.

⁷ Not long before my visit to Palestine, excavations had been going on along the eastern side of the peninsula of Tyre. I was informed by the Rev W. M. Thomson, who had visited the works, that the ancient wall of the city in that part had thus been brought to light ; and that it was built with bevelled stones, like the wall at Jerusalem.

ancient Aradus.¹ All these circumstances go to show, that this was a feature of architecture common in those ages throughout Palestine and Phenicia; but which, so far as appears, has never been found in any country west of Palestine, nor elsewhere in any connection with the early architecture of Egypt, Greece, or Rome.² It may have been Phenician in its origin, and introduced among the Jews by Hiram or other architects from Tyre; but that it was a *peculiarity* in the architecture of the country, there would seem to be little reason to doubt. It therefore may have its appropriate place, in estimating the age and character of ancient remains.

VI. THE FORTRESS ANTONIA.

In respect to Antonia, the problem is, to find for it a place on the northern part of the present Haram area, where the tolerably full description of Josephus shall be in accordance with the actual physical and archæological features of the ground.

The earliest notice of a fortress on this quarter of the ancient temple enclosure, is in the book of Nehemiah; where “the *Birah* pertaining to the house” or temple is incidentally mentioned.³ In this word we have apparently the origin of the later Greek name *Baris* (*Βάρις*), applied to the fortress erected (or rather rebuilt) before the time of Herod on the north of the temple enclosure. It is thus described by Josephus: “On the northern side, a quadrangular acropolis had been built up; well fortified, and distinguished for its strength. This the kings and high priests of the Asmonean race, who preceded Herod, had erected and named it *Baris*; in order that there the priestly robes might be laid up, which the high priest wore only when he offered sacrifice.” By which of the Maccabees this fortress had been built up, we are not informed. We have only the incidental notice, that Judas “built walls around the city, and

¹ For Jebel, see Wolcott in Biblioth. Sac. 1843, p. 85. For Ruwâd, see W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1848, p. 251.

² The rustic architecture under the later Roman emperors, is different. It is in some respects an exaggeration of the bevelled style; and may possibly have been borrowed from the east.—It would be a matter of some interest to ascertain, whether any traces of the bevelled style exist among the remains of Carthage, the daughter of Tyre.

³ Neh 2, 8 *בִּירָה אֲשֶׁר לְבֵית יְהוָה*. In the address of David, 1 Chr. 29, 1, 19, comp. 22, 5, the word *בִּירָה* refers to the

whole temple. The primary idea is probably a fortified temple, or “temple fortress.” See Gesen. Heb. Lex. sub voc.

⁴ Jos. Antt. 15. 11. 4, *κατὰ δὲ τὴν Βάριον πλευρὰν, ἀνρόπουλος ἐγγώνιος εὐερκής ἐτε- τεύχιστο, διάφορος ὑψηρότητι. ταύτην αἱ πρὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀσασμοναίου γένους βασι- λεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς φιλοδόμησαν, καὶ Βάριον ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τὴν ἱερατικὴν αὐτοῖς ἀπο- κείσθαι στολήν, ἣν ὅταν δέξιν, τότε μόνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀμφιέννυται.*—The name *Báris* is found also Antt. 13. 11. 2. ib. 14. 16. 2. ib. 18. 4. 3. B. J. 1. 3. 8. ib. 1 5. 4. ib. 1. 18. 2.

lofty towers, against the incursions of the enemy ;”¹ and also that Simon “strengthened still more the hill of the temple, that was near by the *Akra*.”² His son Hyrcanus likewise added still further to its construction.³ This Baris then, this strong fortress, existed upon the north of the temple, when Pompey afterwards besieged the latter ;⁴ and when too Herod broke into the lower city and outer temple, and took the rest by storm.⁵

When Herod undertook the rebuilding of the temple, he rebuilt also the fortress Baris ; and called it henceforth *Antonia*, after one of his friends.⁶ It stood upon the north side of the temple enclosure ;⁷ was quadrangular, with towers at the four corners ;⁸ and was built up at great expense and in a manner not inferior to a royal palace.⁹ *Antonia* was the fortress of the temple ; as the temple was that of the city.¹⁰

A more specific description of *Antonia* places it, or rather its main citadel (*ἀκρόπολις*),¹¹ upon a rock at the northwest corner of the temple enclosure, fifty cubits high.¹² The interior of the fortress had all the extent and arrangements of a palace ; being divided up into apartments of every kind, and courts surrounded with porticos, and baths, and also broad open places for encampments ;¹³ so that, as having everything necessary within itself, it seemed a city, while in its magnificence it was a palace. Where the fortress joined upon the northern and western porticos of the temple, it had flights of stairs descending to both. We have seen above,¹⁴ that *Antonia* was separated from *Bezetha* on the north by a deep artificial trench, lest it should be approachable from that hill ; and the depth of the trench added greatly to the elevation of the towers.

The *Antonia* on the rock at the northwest corner of the temple area, was apparently a main acropolis or citadel, within a larger walled fortress bearing the same general name. Indeed, it is expressly called an *acropolis* (*ἀκρόπολις*), situated at this very point.¹⁵ At this point, too, it is once mentioned as *a tower*.¹⁶ On the other hand, *Antonia* as a whole is never called a tower ; but is spoken of only as *a fortress*,¹⁷ presenting, as is once said, a

¹ Jos. Antt. 12. 7. 7.

² 1 Mac. 13. 52 καὶ προσεχύρωσε τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ παρὰ τὴν Ἀκράν.

³ Antt. 18. 4. 3, πλησίον τῆς ἱερῆς Βάρις κατασκευασάμενος.

⁴ Jos. Antt. 14. 4. 1-3. Comp. B. J. 1. 7. 2-4.

⁵ Antt. 14. 15. 14. ib. 14. 16. 1. B. J. 1. 18. 2.

⁶ B. J. 1. 21. 1. ib. 1. 5. 4. Antt. 15. 11. 4, fin.

⁷ B. J. 1. 5. 4, φρούριον δ' ἦν τῷ Βορείῳ κλίματι τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσκείμενον.

⁸ Ibid. 5. 5. 8, πυργοειδὴς δὲ οὖσα τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα, κατὰ γωνίας τέσσαρσιν ἑτέροις διεκλιττο πύργους.

⁹ B. J. 1. 21. 1.

¹⁰ Ibid. 5. 5. 8.

¹¹ Antt. 15. 11. 4.

¹² B. J. 5. 5. 8.

¹³ Ib. καὶ στρατοπέδων αὐτὰς πλατείας. If any one prefers here to render *στρατοπέδων* by *hosts*, *armies*, or even by *troops*, I do not object. The word is a general one.

¹⁴ B. J. 5. 4. 2. See above, p. 211.

¹⁵ Antt. 15. 11. 5. B. J. 5. 5. 8.

¹⁶ B. J. 5. 5. 8, πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πύργου δομῆσεως.

¹⁷ Gr. φρούριον B. J. 1. 5. 4. ib. 1. 21. 1. Antt. 18. 4. 3.

“tower-like” appearance.¹ The rock on which the acropolis stood is described as fifty cubits high; a statement which can only be regarded as a loose estimate of the historian after years of absence; and which, judging from the high ground now on the north, must be taken with considerable allowance.² This rock could not have had a very great lateral extent; for it was covered over from the base to the top with hewn stones, both for ornament and to render the ascent more difficult to assailants.³ Upon this rock thus encased was situated the acropolis, which would in this way itself be “tower-like;” but could hardly be expected to have other towers at the four corners, still fifty and seventy cubits high; nor to comprise within itself “broad open places for encampments.”

The same distinction between the acropolis and the fortress in general, is implied by several other circumstances narrated by the Jewish historian. When Titus, in the course of his assault upon Antonia, had by the power of his engines made a breach in the wall, the ardour of his troops was dampened by the sight of another wall which the Jews had built up within.⁴ And when the Romans had surprised the acropolis by night, and Titus himself had been among the first to ascend into it, many of the Jews, in fleeing away to the temple, fell into a mine that had been dug by the tyrant John. The Romans also rushed forward, and strove to enter the temple area with the Jews; but were repulsed after many hours of hard fighting. This combat Titus looked down upon from the acropolis.⁵ Still further, when the Roman army, after seven days of labour, had by order of Titus razed the very foundations of the acropolis, and so formed a broad approach against the temple, Titus is still represented as taking his station in Antonia, in order to overlook the assault and direct the further efforts of his troops.⁶

From all these circumstances it seems evident, that the acropolis, standing at the northwest corner and encased with a facing of hewn stone on every side, probably of sloping work, was nevertheless separated from the temple area by a considerable interval. This interval was a part of the outer fortress, enclosed by the wall which on the south divided Antonia from the temple; so that the acropolis rose “tower-like” within this outer fortress in its northwestern part, and was enclosed by it. Nor is such an arrangement of a fortress without analogy, even at the present day. The great castle el-Husn, at the north end of

¹ Gr. *πυργαειδής* B. J. 5. 5. 8.

² Josephus was naturally tempted to exaggerate in all that related to his own countrymen; and also in respect to the strength of fortifications, which Roman valour had overcome.

³ B. J. 5. 5. 8.

⁴ B. J. 6. 1. 3, 4.

⁵ Ib. 6. 1. 7, 8.

⁶ B. J. 6. 2. 1, 5, 7. Also B. J. 6. 4. 4, 5.

Lebanon, stands upon a high ridge, commanding a view both of the lake of Hums and of the Mediterranean. It is nearly square, and of great extent, surrounded with lofty walls. In the middle of it, another interior citadel, more than a hundred paces in length by seventy in breadth, and surrounded by a moat with water, rises to the height of sixty or seventy feet. This acropolis is built up with sloping work of hewn stones, as if encasing a mound or rock within ; not merely, as is now seen at Jerusalem and elsewhere, so as to form the foundations of the towers, but carried up between the towers and nearly to the same height.¹ This castle, with its interior citadel, all bearing the name el-Husn, seems to me to illustrate, in some degree, the plan of the fortress Antonia with its acropolis.

Along with the preceding description of Antonia, it is likewise to be borne in mind, that the area of Solomon's temple was originally a square, measuring a stadium on each side or *four stadia* in circuit ; which circuit was enlarged by Herod to *six stadia*, including Antonia ; thus enclosing double the former area, or two square stadia instead of one.² From this account it would strictly follow, that the area of Antonia also was a square measuring a stadium on each side. But as Josephus was writing at Rome, without actual measurements and after an absence of many years from Jerusalem, the statement can be regarded only as a general estimate expressed in a popular form. It may also be remembered, that, according to the measurements already given,³ the present Haram area is 1529 feet in length from south to north, by about 925 feet in breadth ; thus leaving on the north an extension of about *six hundred* feet more than a square. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that the temple enclosure formed an exact mathematical square ; for in an area of such extent, even if the length were much greater than the breadth, it would still in popular language be called a square.

From all the various considerations thus far presented, it is at least not a hasty conclusion to infer, as was done conjecturally in a former volume,⁴ that the fortress Antonia occupied perhaps the whole northern part of the present Haram area. That is to say, it occupied the tract on the north of the proper temple square, whatever it might be, extending from south to north

¹ See below, under June 14th. Burckhardt's Trav. in Syr. p. 158.—A like interior citadel within an outer fortress, is seen in the great castle es-Subeibeh near Baniás ; see under May 27th.

² Joa. Antt. 15. 11. 3, τούτο δὲ ἦν τὸ πᾶν περίβολος, τεττάρων σταδίων τὸν κύκλον ἔχων, ἑκάστης γωνίας στάδιον μῆκος ἀπολαμβανούσης. B. J. 5. 5. 2, ὁ δὲ πᾶς κύκλος αὐτῶν εἰς ἑξ σταδίων συνεμετρεῖτο, περι-

λαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας. Ib. 1. 21. 1, καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν [τὸν ναὸν] ἀντεῖχ(ι)σας χώραν, τῆς οὐσίας διπλασίαν.—The Talmud in like manner speaks of the temple enclosure as a square, measuring five hundred cubits on each side ; Lightfoot. Descr Templi, c. 2. Opp. ed. Leusd. I. p. 554.

³ See above, pp. 175, 176.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 292 sq. [i. 432 sq.]

some five hundred or six hundred feet, and from west to east about nine hundred and twenty-five feet. And, further, it may be inferred, that the inner citadel or acropolis was in the north-western part, upon a projection of rock extending from Bezetha into the said area, and separated from the said hill by a deep trench. Very possibly also, while such a projecting rock formed the foundation of the acropolis, there may yet have been built up thereon a mound of earth, enclosed and supported by the facing of sloping work of hewn stone; as is apparently the case in the present fortress el-Husn. Indeed, such a mode of construction would account for the apparent facility, with which the troops of Titus were able, in seven days, to overturn the very foundations of the acropolis, and form a broad approach against the temple.¹

The site thus proposed for Antonia in its full extent, accords well with the description and various notices of Josephus; and enables us to understand and apply all his specifications in a natural manner and without any violence. It affords ample space for all the "apartments of every kind, and courts surrounded with porticos, and baths, and broad open places for encampments."² It leaves room for the square form of the temple area proper, as specified by Josephus and the Talmud; and although we do not now find the whole area, inclusive of Antonia, to be full six stadia in circuit, yet the actual difference is not greater than might be expected in a merely popular estimate.

The same view in respect to Antonia enables us to account for the very remarkable excavation on the north of the present area, still more than *seventy-five* feet in depth and one hundred and thirty feet in width; which tallies so strikingly with the fosse mentioned by Josephus on the north of the temple and Antonia, or rather of *Baris*, and described by him as of "infinite depth."³ This is probably, even now, the deepest excavation of the kind known. If it be said, that this very depth militates against the idea of its having been intended for defence, and that therefore it was probably at first a mere reservoir for water; then the reply is, that on this latter supposition the great depth is still more anomalous and inexplicable. As a military fosse we have the express testimony of Josephus, that its depth was "infinite;" and that, too, during the siege by Pompey, many years before Herod had given to the fortress the form and name of Antonia.⁴ Herod very probably enlarged the former fosse along the eastern part of the fortress, and perhaps deepened it

¹ Jos. B. J. 6. 2. 1, 7, *ἡμέρας ἑπτα καταστρεψαμένη τοὺς τῆς Ἀντωνίας δεμελοῦς, μέχρι τοῦ ἱεροῦ πλατείαν ἑνὸς στήρην ἴσαντο.*

² See above, p. 231.

³ See the preceding page.

⁴ Gr. *διὰ βᾶδος ἔπειραν*, B. J. 1. 7. 8 Antt. 14. 4. 2.

⁵ See the preceding note.

still more. At a later period, apparently, it was converted into a vast reservoir for water; for which it has evidently been used at some former time.¹ But it is not necessary to suppose, that the "deep trench"² between Antonia and Bezetha, was carried through the rock of Bezetha at the same depth or of the same width, as is now found in the great reservoir. Indeed, it may not be improbable, that the inner citadel of Antonia stood mainly upon the rock and site now covered by the Serai or barracks; and that the trench, by which it was separated from Bezetha, was cut through the rock, deep indeed, but not necessarily wide, not far south of the line of the present street in that part. That is to say, that the lofty acropolis, faced to the top with sloping work of hewn stone, stood out further north than the main body of the lower fortress, and so as possibly to be on the west of the present deep excavation.

The like extent of Antonia seems further to be indicated by the features of the present eastern wall of the Haram area. At the northern end, as we have seen,³ we find what seems to have been the wall of a corner tower or bastion, measuring about eighty-three feet; and then again the projection of which the Golden gate forms part, extending fifty-five feet, and which apparently was once the base of another tower. From the southern side of this last projection to the southeast corner is a distance of 1018 feet; and to the northeast corner is about 516 feet. A line drawn from this point of division westward across the Haram area, would fall about 150 feet north of the great mosk.⁴ We thus should have the present area divided into two portions; the southern portion measuring 1018 feet by 925 feet, would then represent the square of the ancient temple.⁵ The northern tract, having the same breadth, and measuring about 516 feet from south to north, would in this way be left for the extent of Antonia. To this last may then be added the site of the present Serai, if occupied of old by the inner acropolis; thus increasing the area of the whole fortress to the extent of some 150 feet towards the north on the northwestern part. These estimates, of course, require the language of Josephus to be taken in a popular sense; and there is no ground for assigning to it any other. The Golden gate, according to this view, was near the southeastern angle of the fortress; and led out from Antonia into the country at this sheltered spot, where no enemy could

¹ See above, p. 172. Also Vol. I. pp. 293 sq. 330 sq. [i. 434, 489 sq.]

² Gr. *Spuryia Βαθύ*, B. J. 5. 4. 2.

³ See above, pp. 173, 175.

⁴ See the measurements referred to in the preceding note.

⁵ A line drawn across the area from the

projection next further south, would take from the southern part about 110 feet, and add it to the northern tract: thus making the former to be about 908 feet by 925 feet, or nearly an exact square. But such a line would leave too little space on the north of the mosk.

successfully assail it. The elaborate architecture of this gate is usually referred to the time of Herod ;¹ and the rougher courses of the corner bastion in the northeast may well belong to the same epoch, although they are more massive than any other of the remaining works of Herod.

The same general position of Antonia furnishes an easy explanation of some other circumstances connected with the temple.

One of these is the fact, that Josephus, in describing the gates of the temple leading to the city and suburb, speaks only of the four upon the west and one in the southern side ; thus affording strong ground for the inference, that there were none upon the north. If now Antonia with its lofty citadel and deep fosse lay along upon the whole of this northern side, we have at once a sufficient reason for his silence.

Another circumstance, which may thus be readily explained, is the Rabbinic statement, that the holy house itself stood in the northwestern part of the outer court or temple area. According to the Talmud : "The greatest space was on the south ; the next on the east ; the next on the north ; and the least on the west."² That is to say, the building was in the northwestern part ; but its length being from west to east, the space left next the western wall or portico was less than that on the north. The like position seems to be implied in the account given by Josephus, that Titus cast up one of his mounds and brought forward his engines "overagainst the northwest corner of the *inner* temple ;"³ it being obvious that the Romans made their assaults upon the wall of the temple area, whether from the city or from Antonia, at or near the northwest corner. If, therefore, the rock es-Sûkrah, now beneath the mosk of Omar, which the Jews in the fourth century were accustomed to wail over as marking the site of their former temple, does thus mark some point in the true site, (which I am not disposed to call in question),⁴ then the position thus indicated by this rock accords well with that above described by the Rabbins ; provided the temple area was in popular language a square, and the tract further north was occupied by Antonia.

In the same way we perceive a satisfactory reason for the historian's application of the celebrated oracle, that "the city and temple would be captured, when the temple should become four-square."⁵ He asserts that "the Jews, at the time of the destruction of Antonia, made the temple four-square ;" and thus

Catherwood in Bartlett's Walks, Ed. 2, pp. 158, 159, 161.

² In Lightfoot, Descr. Templi Hieros. c. 8, Opp. ed. Leusd. I. p. 556.

³ B. J. 6. 2. 7. ib. 6. 4. 1.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 300. [i. 444.]

⁵ B. J. 6. 5. 4.

the oracle received its fulfilment. Previously, then, the temple (ἱερόν) was *not* a square; because it comprised Antonia as a part of itself. It was an oblong, and perhaps irregular; especially if we regard the citadel as making a projection towards the north. This oblong, by the destruction of Antonia, was reduced to the square of the temple area proper.

Such are, in general, the grounds on which, in my former work, I ventured to bring forward, hypothetically, and with some hesitation, the view which assigns so great an extent to the fortress Antonia. Repeated subsequent examination has only served to render those grounds more definite and clear; and thus far to give confirmation to the hypothesis.

According to the earlier view, the citadel or acropolis at the northwest corner of the temple area, constituted of itself the whole fortress Antonia. This view is still preferred by several writers. But they thus overlook the extent assigned by Josephus to Antonia; its city-like character; and the "apartments of every kind, and courts surrounded with porticos, and baths, and broad open places for encampments." And further, they are compelled, either to set aside the testimony of the historian as to the square form of the proper temple area; ¹ a course which I do not feel at liberty to follow; or else to deny the antiquity of the southern portion of the present Haram area.² The strong reasons against this latter course have been already enumerated.³

The chief reason assigned against the view proposed by me, is the alleged fact, that "the whole of the north wall of the temple was not covered by the fortress in question."⁴ In support of this allegation, reference is made to the various sieges of the temple, in connection with the city, as narrated by Josephus. Of such sieges no less than five are described, and another is spoken of as planned. Three of them took place while the fortress still bore the name of Baris, viz. those by Aretas, Pompey, and Herod. The other three, those by Florus (intended), Cestius, and Titus, occurred long after the reconstruction of the fortress by Herod as Antonia.

About the year 63 B. C. or shortly before Pompey's arrival, Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, as the ally of Hyrcanus against Aristobulus, "made an assault upon the temple and beleaguered Aristobulus; the people supporting Hyrcanus and assisting him in the siege, while only the priests continued with Aristobulus."⁵

¹ Thus Mr Catherwood expressly rejects the testimony of Josephus as to the square form of the temple area; Bartlett's Walks, Ed. 2. p. 165.

² Holy City, II. pp. 353, 360 sq.

³ See above, p. 220 sq.

⁴ Holy City, II. p. 348. Krafft p. 74 sq. Comp. Tobler, Topogr. I. pp. 636-

648. Also Museum of Class. Antiq. May 1853, p. 445.

⁵ Jos. Ant. 14. 2. 1, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς . . . προσβαλὼν τῇ ἱερῇ, τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπολιόρκει, προστιδεμένοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου τῇ Ἰρκανῶ καὶ συμπολιορκοῦντος αὐτῶ, μόνων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων Ἀριστοβούλῳ προσμενόντων

The siege was afterwards raised by the Roman general Scaurus. As there is in this account no allusion whatever to the point of assault upon the temple, the passage can have nothing to do with the matter now before us.¹

The siege by Pompey took place in the year 62 B. C. That general, advancing from Jericho upon the Holy City, found it strongly fortified on all sides except the north; "for a broad and deep valley encompasses the city, comprehending within it the temple, which was strongly fortified round about with a wall of stone;" "so that the city being taken, this would be a second place of refuge from the enemy."² The inhabitants were divided. The partisans of Hyrcanus opened the gates to Pompey, and delivered over to him the city and the royal palace. On the other hand, the adherents of Aristobulus retired into the temple; and having cut off the bridge leading to the city, prepared to hold out till the last. Piso was now sent in with a body of troops; he stationed guards in the city and the royal palace, and fortified the houses towards the temple and the parts without around the temple. "Pompey then took a position within, on the northern quarter of the temple, where it was assailable. There too stood lofty towers, and a trench had been dug; and it was encompassed by a deep valley; for the part towards the city was also abrupt, the bridge being broken down."³ The Romans cut down all the trees round about; and "filled up in the northern quarter both the trench and the whole valley."⁴ But this was done with difficulty, the trench being of immense depth.⁵ The engines were at length brought up; and, the largest of the towers having been thrown down, the temple was carried by storm.⁶

Now it is obvious, that the valley (φάραγξ) mentioned in this account, can only be the valley on the west of the temple; just as it is also clear, that the artificial trench was that on the north. The circumstance so distinctly stated, that Pompey filled up both the valley and the trench shows definitely that he

¹ It is indeed assumed, that Aristobulus had "also the city in his power;" and hence it is inferred, that the assault on the temple was from the north; Holy City, II. pp. 348, 351. But the fact that the people aided Hyrcanus, and only the priests remained with Aristobulus, shows conclusively that the latter was shut up in the temple and Baris; and therefore the assault on the temple may have been from within the city.

² Antt. 14. 4. 1-4. B. J. 1. 7. 1-4. These two accounts are, in part, combined in the text.

³ Antt. 14. 4. 2, Πομπήϊος δὲ ἔσωθεν στρα-

τοπεδεύεται, κατὰ τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέρος, ἔθεν ἦν ἐπιμαχόν. ἀνεστήκεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι πύργοι, καὶ τάφος δὲ δρώρυκτο, καὶ βαθεῖα περιέχου φάραγξ. ἀπεβρώγει γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῆς γεφύρας ἀνατετραμμένης.

⁴ B. J. 1. 7. 8, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσόρκτιον κλίμα τὴν τε τάφρον ἔχου καὶ τὴν φάραγγα πᾶσαν, ὅλην συμφοροῦσας τὰς δυνάμεις.

⁵ Antt. 14. 4. 2, περιτεμονόντων τὴν πέριξ ὅλην Ῥωμαίων... μολὶς πλησείσης τῆς τάφρου διὰ βάρους ὑπειρον.

⁶ Antt. 14. 4. 4.

made his approaches *on the northwest corner*, both from the west and from the north. And this was natural ; for there, on the north, is the higher ground of Bezetha, overlooking the temple and its precincts. But in that northwest corner stood the fortress or rather acropolis of Baris ; so that it was this citadel, the fortress of the temple, that Pompey chose as his main point of attack ; just as Titus, more than a hundred and thirty years later, made his chief assaults upon Antonia from the same quarter. The fortress Baris was necessarily within the trench ; and being the acropolis of the temple, in which the robes of the high priest were laid up, it was reckoned as part and parcel of the temple and its precincts, without being specified by name. The towers belonged doubtless to Baris ; for none are ever mentioned in connection with the wall of the temple proper. The trench was that on the north of the acropolis, separating it from Bezetha.

Herod's siege of Jerusalem took place in the year 37 B. C. or twenty-five years later than that by Pompey. The city was then held by Antigonus. Herod being joined by the Roman general Sosius " pitched his camp near to the northern wall ; " ¹ or, as the other account says, " approaching the city where it was most assailable, he pitched his camp before the temple, having determined to make an assault, as Pompey had formerly done." For this end he " sat down along the north wall of the city." ² The siege would seem, at first, not to have been pressed with much vigour. Herod himself was absent at Samaria for a time ; nor did all the troops arrive before his return. The city is said, in one place, to have held out five months. ³ In another place we are told, that the first (or outer) wall was taken after forty days ; and the second (or temple) wall after fifteen days more. ⁴ This last account refers, apparently, to the commencement of the more vigorous assault or storming of the wall. Herod thus broke through the outer wall (the *second* of Josephus) into the lower city ; and then through another (interior) wall into the temple ; that is to say, he assailed the temple from the lower city. After he had thus got possession of it, Antigonus, who still held out in Baris, descended from the acropolis and yielded himself to Sosius. ⁵

Such were the three sieges of the temple, while its fortress was yet known as Baris. The others were much later. In the interval, both the temple and the fortress had been rebuilt by Herod ; and Agrippa had erected the third wall of the city.

¹ B. J. 1. 17. 9.

² Antt. 14. 15. 14. *ib.* 14. 16. 1, διακείμετο πρὸς τῇ βορείῃ τείχει τῆς πόλεως.

³ B. J. 1. 18. 2.

⁴ Antt. 14. 16. 2.

⁵ B. J. 1. 18. 2, κάτεισε μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Βάρεως. Antt. 14. 16. 2.

It was about A. D. 65, or not long before the siege by Cestius, that Florus, the last procurator of Judea, during a tumult in the city, sent troops to get possession of Antonia and the temple. In this he was foiled; and then the insurgents, "fearing that Florus would again come and seize upon the temple through Antonia, went up and cut off the continuous porticos of the temple towards Antonia."¹ This led Florus to abandon his purpose.—The passage obviously has no bearing upon the question here at issue.

The insurrectionary spirit of the Jews brought Cestius, then proconsul of Syria, with an army, to Jerusalem in A. D. 66. He entered the city without opposition; and after various delays, made an attack with chosen troops "upon the temple" in its northern quarter. But the Jews fighting from the portico "kept them off, and several times drove them back as they approached the wall."² The Romans now formed with their shields a *testudo*; "and the soldiers, being now unharassed, undermined the wall, and made ready to set fire to the gate of the temple."³ Here the circumstance, that the troops could approach and undermine the wall, and set fire to a gate of the temple, is conclusive evidence that the attack was made from the lower city at the northern part of the western wall of the temple. Just there, too, some years later, the troops of Titus, it is related, attacking the temple from the west, "undermined the foundations of the northern gate."⁴ All the circumstances are incompatible with the idea of an approach from the north; where the wall was rendered inaccessible by the very deep and broad trench.

In the description of the final siege and destruction of the city and temple by Titus, in A. D. 70, there are only two circumstances, which need here to be taken into account. The Jews during the siege were divided into two factions; one of which, under Simon, had possession of the upper and lower city; while the other, under John, held "the temple and the tract around it to no small extent."⁵ Titus, after taking the outer or third wall of the city, pitched his camp within it, and pressed the attack on the second wall. The Jews, still in two factions, bravely repelled the Romans from this wall; "those with John fighting from Antonia and the northern portico of the temple,

¹ B. J. 2. 15. 5, 6, οἱ δὲ στασιασταί, δείσαντες μὴ πάλιν ἐπελθόν ὁ Φλωρος κρατήσῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀναβάντες εὐθέως τὰς συνεχεῖς στοὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διέκοψαν.

² B. J. 2. 19. 5. See more fully above, p. 215.

³ Ibid. κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον ἐπιχειρεῖ κλίμα τῷ ἱερῷ. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς

εἰργον, καὶ πολλὰκις μὲν ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς τῷ τείχει προσελθόντας.

⁴ Ibid. μηδὲν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται κακούμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ὑπάρυσσον, καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν πύλην ὑποπιμπράναι παρεσκεύαζοντο.

⁵ B. J. 6. 4. 1, κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέριον ἐξέδραν τοῦ ἱεροῦ . . . τῆς δὲ βορείου πύλης ὑπάρυττον ἕτεροι τοὺς δεμελούς.

⁶ B. J. 5. 6. 1.

and also before the monument of king Alexander.”¹ Now as the Romans were not yet in the lower city, but still outside of the second wall, it is obvious that a defence made from the north portico of the temple could be directed against the enemy only as approaching from the north or northeast quarter; that is to say, on the east of the acropolis of Antonia, and of that portion of the second wall, which ran down to join the fortress. Does this necessarily imply, that the northern portico of the temple was carried along close upon the trench? ²

In respect to the difficulty supposed to be here involved, several explanations may be given. One is, as I have formerly suggested,³ that the Jews of John's party, after being driven in from the third wall, may have now made the fortress Antonia and this northern portico their *head-quarters*, from which to conduct their further defence. A second, proposed by Schultz,⁴ regards here “the northern portico” as signifying “the portico which ran northwards;” that is, the eastern portico, from which the defence would naturally be conducted against the Roman troops on the mount of Olives. Now as the enemy would not unlikely make attempts upon the gate leading out from Antonia in this quarter, it would be natural for the Jews to fight against them, at this point, both from the eastern and northern porticos. A third explanation, which I would here suggest, depends upon the elevation of the northern portico.

Herod built up all around the holy house immense porticos, more costly than the former ones;⁵ though it appears elsewhere, that the eastern portico was not rebuilt, but was still looked upon as the work of Solomon.⁶ These porticos formed each a double colonnade; the columns of which were five and twenty cubits high.⁷ That on the south had three colonnades; of which the two outer ones were each more than fifty feet high, and the middle one double that height. The northern portico of the temple, then, with its roof, we may assume to have had an elevation of not less than fifty feet. As we have seen above,⁸ it was probably distant from the south side of the great fosse about 516 feet; and from the northern side about 646 feet or some 215 yards. The wall on this part of Antonia, within the fosse, would not necessarily or probably be higher than at present, some twenty or twenty-five feet. Hence it would be no difficult matter for the Jews, stationed on the much loftier roof of the

¹ B. J. 5. 7. 3, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τε τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως μνημείων μαχόμενοι.

² Holy City, II. pp. 350, 353.

³ Biblioth. Sacra, 1846, p. 628 sq.

⁴ Schultz, p. 69.

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⁵ Antt. 15. 11. 3, περιελάβανε δὲ καὶ στοᾶς μεγίσταις τὸν ναὸν ἅπαντα, . . . καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τῶν πρὶν ὑπερβαλλόμενος.

⁶ Antt. 20. 9. 7.

⁷ B. J. 5. 5. 2.

⁸ See above, p. 235.

northern portico, to throw missiles from their bows and engines across the whole breadth of the lower Antonia and the fosse, so as effectually to assail enemies approaching from that quarter. According to the ancient accounts, stones were sometimes thrown by the *balistæ* more than a quarter of an English mile, or double the distance above specified.¹—A due consideration of the circumstances, therefore, seems to show, that the supposed difficulty has no foundation in fact.

The other circumstance during the siege by Titus, referred to above, occurred after the Romans had broken through the second wall, and got possession of the lower city. Titus now relaxed his efforts for a little while ; and meantime paraded his troops in battle-array, with much pomp and splendour, in order to terrify the Jews. “The whole old wall [on Zion] and the northern quarter of the temple were full of spectators ; and one might see houses full of those looking on ; nor did any part of the city appear, which was not covered by the multitude.”² Here it is not the northern portico, but the northern quarter of the temple ; and as both the old wall on Zion and the houses of the city are likewise mentioned, the allusion is probably to the northwestern part of the temple and the acropolis of Antonia, as affording a view of the parade. Here too, Antonia, as the temple fortress, is apparently comprised under the general appellation of the temple.

The above review of the sieges enumerated has shown, as it appears to me, that the objection thence raised against the proposed extent of Antonia is without validity. The whole discussion respecting the fortress may perhaps seem long and out of place. Yet the subject has a deep historical interest ; for Antonia was the “castle” into which Paul was carried, after having been dragged out of the temple ; and from the stairs the great Apostle addressed the tumultuous throng below.³

At what time, or in what way, the ancient precincts of the temple assumed the form and extent of the present Haram area, is unknown. Titus left the whole a mass of scorched and smoking ruins. Half a century later Adrian rebuilt the city ; and apparently gave to its walls their present course and circuit. At the same time, he erected a temple to Jupiter on the site of the former Jewish temple ; and decorated the area with statues

¹ See the account by Josephus of the siege of Jotapata ; where, in one instance, the head of a man is said to have been taken off by a stone, and carried a distance of three stadia ; B. J. 3. 7. 23. Comp. Procop. Bell. Goth. 1. 21, 23. Smith's Dict. of Antt. art *Tormentum*.

² B. J. 5. 9. 1, *κατεπλήσθη γὰρ ἀφορώντων*

τό τε ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ἔπυν καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα, τὰς τε οἰκίας μεστὰς ἢ προκυντόντων ὑπεριδεῖν, καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ κεκάλυπτο πλήθει διεφαίνετο.

³ Acts 21, 31–40. In the N. T. the fortress is called *ἡ ναρεμβολή*, Acts 21, 34, 37.

of himself, one of them equestrian ; which last was standing in the days of Jerome, late in the fourth century. Since that time, there is no reason to suppose, that any important change has taken place in the extent or limits of the area ; and its present form, therefore, may be referred back in all probability to the times of Adrian. The rocky surface in the northwestern corner of the area still testifies that this portion has been artificially levelled. Here stood the acropolis.¹ In the process of razing the foundations of Antonia, the trench between it and the higher part of Bezetha would naturally be filled up ; while the eastern portion still remains and is without a parallel, whether regarded as a military defence or as a reservoir.²

VII. WATERS OF JERUSALEM.

The various ways in which a supply of water was of old furnished to the Holy City have been fully treated of in a former volume.³ It remains here only to notice such information as has since come to light, and some views which have been put forward.

GIHON.—In a former volume I have adduced all the evidence extant relating to this fountain.⁴ The result seemed to be, that Gihon was on the west of the city, in the basin or head of the valley of Hinnom ; since it is narrated of king Hezekiah, that he “stopped the upper water-course [outflow of the waters] of Gihon, and brought it down on the west to the city of David.”⁵ It was thus stopped, perhaps, like the fountain near Solomon’s pools ; and the waters thus brought down by subterranean channels, in order to preserve them to the city in case of siege. The pool of Hezekiah so called, was probably thus fed ; and also, as some suppose, the deep fountain or well near the Haram. We learn too from Josephus, that an aqueduct conveyed water to the tower of Hippicus ; and one is likewise spoken of in connection with the royal palace on Zion.⁶ The water here must have come from Gihon.

The general correctness of the preceding view has since been singularly attested by the discovery of an “immense conduit” beneath the surface of the ground on Zion, brought to light in digging for the foundations of the Anglican church. This edifice occupies apparently a portion of the ancient site of the royal

¹ See above, p. 231 sq.

² Some remarks upon the supposed identity of the fortress Baris with the *Akra* of Antiochus Epiphanes, which gave name to the lower city, see in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Nov. 1846, pp. 629–634.

³ See in full, Vol. I. pp. 323–349. [i 479–516.]

⁴ Vol. I. p. 346 sq. [i. 512 sq.]

⁵ 2 Chr. 32, 30.

⁶ B. J. 5. 7. 3. ib. 2. 17. 9.

palace ; it being not far from the northern brow of Zion, nor also from Hippicus, towards the east. On sinking a shaft, the workmen at the depth of more than twenty feet came upon the roof of a vaulted chamber of fine masonry and in perfect repair. Under this they found "an immense conduit partly hewn out of the solid rock ; and where this was not the case it was solidly built in even courses, and cemented on the face with a hard coating of cement, about one inch thick, and was covered over with large stones. The direction of this aqueduct was east and west." Mr Johns, the architect of the church, to whom we are indebted for this account, traced it eastward for more than two hundred feet. In respect to the chamber and aqueduct, he further says, "there is no doubt on my own mind, that they have been used for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants with pure water." This indeed is shown by the cement ; as also by there being several apertures at intervals, apparently for drawing up water.¹

Here then is the aqueduct, in all probability, which we know existed in connection with the royal palace on Zion.² Not unlikely it was the continuation of that, by which water was conveyed to the tower Hippicus.³ It could thus be brought into Zion from the upper basin ; but not from any other quarter. Indeed, the small rude channel, which still comes from the upper pool, enters the city apparently at a higher level.⁴

But notwithstanding all this testimony in respect to Gihon as being situated on the west of the city ; supported as it is by the actual existence of water in that quarter, and the fact that it was formerly, and is still, conducted into the city ; some writers have chosen to transfer the position of Gihon to the north of the city, beyond the Damascus gate and towards the tombs of the Kings so called.⁵ Against this view there is not only the direct testimony of Scripture, that the water was brought down from Gihon to the city *on the west* ;⁶ but the nature of the ground on the north of the Damascus gate shows, that no sources of living water ever existed there. Nor were there large reservoirs in that quarter ; and the supply was only from a few wells and many private cisterns. As to the other argument, the alleged existence of "a large cistern fed with living water" at the Damascus gate, and of "an abundant well of water" in the church of

¹ See "The Anglican Cathedral Church on Mount Zion, by J. W. Johns," pp. 9. 10. Bartlett's Walks, Ed. 2, pp 82-84.

² B. J. 2. 17. 9, ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας περὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς εὐρίπον διαλαβάνων ἀλίσχεται.

³ B. J. 5. 7. 8.

⁴ The author of the Holy City affects to speak of this aqueduct on Zion always

as a sewer ; II. pp. 31, 44, 489. He also argues, without evidence, that it runs to the sewer under the bazar.

⁵ Holy City, II. p. 474 sq. Kraft, pp. 95, 121 sq. 132 sq. 140.—Schultz rightly regards Gihon as on the west ; p. 79.

⁶ Heb. מִצְרֵקָה לְיָרֵךְ הַיְיָ 2 Chr. 32. 30.

the Flagellation, both of them having the taste of the water of Siloam; we have already seen that both are merely ordinary cisterns of rain water, which had become impure.¹

A comparatively modern tradition has given to the ridge or swell of land, on the north and northeast of the western basin, the name of Mount Gihon; but this, as I have formerly said, seems not to go back further than the time of the crusades, being first mentioned by Brocardus about A. D. 1283.² It has recently been suggested, that a passage in the second book of Chronicles, as found in the English version, mentions Gihon in such a way, as to imply that this hill was intended.³ But a slight change in the rendering of the passage, as in the note below, removes the difficulty; and leaves the name Gihon in its usual application.⁴

WELL NEAR THE HARAM.—I have formerly given an account of this well; and of our unsuccessful effort to obtain permission to descend into it and explore the fountain.⁵ The attempt was afterwards repeated by Mr Wolcott with better success. The depth of the well is 82½ feet; and its distance from the adjacent entrance of the Haram, according to Mr Wolcott, is 124 feet.

By a private arrangement with two of the Arabs employed about the well, Mr Wolcott descended into it on the evening of January 5th, 1842.⁶ Several feet above the water are four arched recesses in the rock, opposite one another, each about two feet deep, six high, and four wide. A little lower, six feet above the water, is a small doorway leading to an arched chamber excavated in the rock, about fifteen feet long, ten feet broad, and only three or four feet high. The ceiling was overlaid with stucco; but the chamber did not seem to be constructed with any reference to the water. Directly opposite to this doorway was the passage or channel for the water; and these two were the only openings from the well. Their direction Mr Wolcott was unable to ascertain, because of an accident to his compass.

The depth of the water in the well and in the passage was

¹ See fully above, pp. 196–198.

² See Vol. I. p. 265. [i. 391.] Brocardus c. 9. Pococke Deser. of the East. II. i. pp. 10, 15, 28. Sandys' Trav. pp. 158, 160. etc.

³ See Museum of Classical Antiquities, Vol. II. 1854, pp. 349, 428.

⁴ 2 Chr. 33, 14, "Now after this he [Manasseh] built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish gate." Here, if the allusion is to a *spring* Gihon, the wall must have been in the valley; which is inconceivable. But

the Hebrew may just as correctly be translated thus, as is done indeed by Luther: "Now after this he built the outer wall of the city of David, on the west, towards Gihon in the valley, etc." Manasseh probably rebuilt the whole wall around the south of Zion as far as to the fish gate on the east side of the city; see Rödiger in Gesen. Thesaur. p. 1460. b; and Lex. art. גִּיחֹן no. 1. b.

⁵ See Vol. I. pp. 348–345. [508–512.]

⁶ See the full report of Mr Wolcott in the Bibliotheca Sacra, 1843, pp. 24–28.

about four and a half feet. The entrance to the latter was more than ten feet high ; and just within this was an open space or chamber twenty feet high, and perhaps as long and broad. It had once been walled, and covered with an arch of hewn stone. Beyond this, the passage was two or three feet wide, and about five feet high, covered with stones laid transversely. These were without order ; and were evidently from the ruins of some other structure. There were ordinary hewn stones ; then shafts of polished marble, half a foot in diameter, some of them square and fluted ; and then again a larger granite column.

The passage terminated at a well or basin ; beyond which was seen the wall of rock. But the space above the water, which nowhere had been more than a few inches, was here not enough to reach and explore the opposite side. One would naturally infer, that this was the fountain head ; but there was no appearance in the water to indicate it. The distance back to the well was found by careful measurement with a rule to be eighty feet.

Such is the sum of Mr Wolcott's report. He was alone, and was subjected to many untoward circumstances, which give to his undertaking an air of romantic adventure. It was likewise the rainy season ; when of course there was more water in the passage than at other times.

Four years later, March 16th, 1846, Tobler in like manner, after some higgling with the men drawing water, was permitted to descend by the bucket¹. He found a boy already below with a light, in order to bring out water from the passage. This he did by lading it up from the farthest basin into the channel at the bottom of the passage ; along which it then flowed to the basin of the well. The water now stood in the passage not more than an inch deep. The direction of the passage from the well is *southeast* seventeen paces ; and then *south* twenty-five paces. The basin at the end seemed to be round, some six feet in diameter ; but the bottom could not be seen, nor was there any bubbling or motion of the water. Near this basin the bottom of the passage itself was about three feet lower than further north. The basin seemed to be merely roughly cut in the limestone rock. The quantity of water was said to vary with the rains above ; so that after a long and heavy rain, the water of itself flows out into the well. The temperature below was warm, and the air pure.

During the year 1853, Dr Barclay also succeeded in descending into the well. He followed the stream (as he calls it) nearly due south for 105 feet ; when all further progress was cut off by

¹ See the full account in Tobler's Denksblätter etc. p. 73 sq.

the roof of the passage suddenly declining and coming in contact with the water.¹

Such is all the information, that we are likely to have for many years in respect to this well. The main point settled seems to be, that the farthest basin is not under the Haram, and probably had no connection with the temple. It may turn out, as is suggested by Dr Barclay, that the well has likewise no connection with Gihon or with any other reservoir; but is itself an independent natural fountain, which has been enlarged at the bottom from time to time, and especially in seasons of drought, merely to increase the internal area from which the water slowly trickles. In this way the horizontal passage may have been excavated along a fissure in the rock, in the hope of reaching a more abundant source. Something of the same kind exists in connection with the well of Job. Besides ornamental masonry on the sides of the well, an Arabian writer relates, that, in its lower part, there is in like manner a side grotto or chamber, from which the water strictly comes.² I heard also a similar report of a deep well in the house occupied by the French consul on Bezetha, which was said to have passages at the bottom. But it was then too late to make further inquiry.

THE AQUEDUCT.—The course of the aqueduct was described in my former work, from the point where it crosses the valley of Hinnom on low arches, and "is then carried along and around the southwestern part of Zion above the valley, till it comes out again high up along the eastern slope, and enters the city." Further than this we did not trace it.³ In 1842, Mr Wolcott found that the aqueduct passes under the city wall at a point further east than that marked on our former plan; and is then carried along the steep eastern declivity of Zion; partly by a passage excavated for it in the rock, and partly as supported by a wall of masonry some fifteen feet high against the face of the rock. The northern portion of the excavated passage Mr Wolcott entered and penetrated for a distance of 140 feet; but was then stopped by some modern masonry, under which the pipes continue. This was near the northeast corner of Zion; from which point the aqueduct is understood to be carried along the causeway to the Haram.⁴

¹ Ms. Letter dated Dec. 6th, 1853.

² Mejr ed-Dîn in *Fundgr. des Or.* II. p. 130. See in Vol. I. p. 332. [I. 492.]

³ See Vol. I. pp. 265, 347. [i. 390, 514.]

⁴ See the full account by Mr Wolcott, *Biblioth. Sac.* 1843, p. 31 sq. *Comp. Topogr. L. p.* 474.—An instance of Kraft's not unfrequent inaccuracy occurs in reference to this aqueduct. In two places, he describes it rightly as carried

along the east border of Zion to the causeway; and then adds: "By another branch the water was led along the north border of Zion towards the west, to the palace of Herod, or specially to the tower Hippicus;" pp. 112, 189. Now the aqueduct, even where it crosses the valley of Hinnom, is not less than sixty feet lower than Hippicus; see above, Vol. I. p. 273 sq. [i. 403.]

In some connection with this aqueduct, and supposed to have been fed from it, is a large subterranean reservoir adjacent to the outside of the western wall of the Haram, under and just north of the house of the Kâdy. Tobler is the first to give an account of it.¹ The entrance is through a vault or passage from the court or garden between the wailing place and that house. The tank is 84 feet long by 42 broad, with a vaulted roof some 24 feet high. Its eastern side is formed by the wall of the Haram. At each end, south and north, is a doorway about six feet above the bottom; that on the north being now walled up. A little water was percolating through the western wall. There is a square opening above, for the purpose of drawing up water. At the time there was almost no water. Adjacent to this tank, on the west, are other smaller subterranean vaults; the entrances of which are reported as exhibiting *pointed* arches.

This reservoir has also been visited by Dr Barclay.² He found in it no water, but not a little mud. The Haram wall in this part is composed of large blocks of stone, similar to those at the wailing place. He did not notice the aqueduct; although it evidently passes immediately in the vicinity of the tank. The footsteps of persons walking overhead were distinctly heard.

According to his measurements, Dr Barclay found the tank to be under the northern portion of the Kâdy's house, and also under the causeway, and extending as far as to the minaret a few yards north of the Haram gate. Tobler regards the smaller vaults on the west as substructions or supports for the causeway. Should this turn out to be so; and especially if they exhibit pointed arches; it would seem to bring down the causeway, as also this part of the aqueduct, to the times of the Saracens.³

UPPER FOUNTAIN.—This has been commonly known as the fountain of the Virgin. Of its irregular and intermitting flow we formerly were witnesses; and we also passed through the subterranean channel by which its waters are conducted to Siloam. All this is fully described in a former volume.⁴

The inquiry was there started,⁵ Whether perhaps this irregular flow is to be explained by some connection with waters from the temple or Haram above, the taste of which was found to be the same? On this point nothing new has since come to light; except that the exploration of the well west of the Haram has

¹ Tobler, Denkbl. p. 41 sq. Schwarz speaks of this tank as discovered by the Muslims in 1845; p. 269.

² Ms. Letter, Dec. 6th, 1853.

³ See above, pp. 227, 228.—I add here an extract from the letter of Dr Barclay referred to above: "Has this any decisive bearing upon the causeway question? From all that I have been able to see or

hear, the elevated street is a mere bank of earth, with the exception of the space occupied by this tank; the sewer passing transversely beneath it north and south; and a small sewer, probably once a water-conduit, perforating it longitudinally from the west."

⁴ Vol. I. pp. 337-343. [i. 498-508.]

⁵ Ibid. p. 342. [i. 507.]

shown, that at least *those* waters apparently have no outflow either towards the Haram or the valley. The likeness of taste, therefore, is probably to be ascribed rather to the like soil and rock through which the waters of both fountains percolate.

Whether any communication whatever exists with the Haram above, is a matter yet to be determined. The present popular report of such a connection, like that respecting running water at the Damascus gate, is too indefinite and legendary to be of any weight. Yet the writers of the Talmud have recorded the tradition of their day, that the blood from the great altar was drained off by a subterranean channel into the valley of the Kidron; where it was sold to the gardeners for manure.¹

In respect to the suggestion formerly made by me, as to the possible identity of this intermitting fountain with the pool of Bethesda, I may now venture a somewhat more definite statement.² The irregular flow certainly corresponds perfectly well with the "troubling" of the water. When it is said, that "an angel went down at a certain season into the pool and troubled the water," probably there is no one who would hold, that on every such occasion there was the visible form and appearance of an angel. This mysterious motion of the waters, of which none could comprehend the cause, the people ascribed to the direct supernatural agency of an angel; and this in accordance with the general principle, that God administers the laws of the universe through the agency of the angels, his messengers.³ Again, when it is said, that "whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had," it is evident that the healing power was held to lie, not in the water itself, but in the circumstance of *first* stepping in. This of course is contrary to the analogy of all medical waters; as is also the other circumstance, that the power extended to the healing of all kinds of diseases. In these particulars we have the unerring marks of a current popular belief; which the Evangelist has chosen to make the basis of his representation. The same was sometimes done by an authority higher than John.⁴

CANALS OR SEWERS, ETC.—Of the channel for water on Zion,

¹ Joma, fol. 58. 2; see Lightfoot Hor. Heb. Opp. II. p. 20. ed. Leusd.—In the tract Middoth, 3. 2, 8, it is also related, that "at the southeast corner of the altar were two openings, through which the blood was collected into the canal, and so carried off into the Kidron;" and further, that "in the floor at the same corner was a place a cubit square, covered by a marble slab with a ring, where one could de-

scend into the canal, etc." Comp. Holy City II. p. 342.

² John 5, 2-7. See in Vol. I. p. 342. [i. 507.]

³ Comp. Heb. 1, 7. 14.

⁴ See especially our Lord's parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, founded on the Jewish popular belief as to Hades and the state of the dead; Luke 16, 19 sq. comp. Luke 23, 39 sq.

and the sewer along the bazar, as also those reported to exist in connection with the causeway, I have already spoken.¹ It remains only to add a few words respecting two other subterranean passages.

One is outside of the Bâb el-Mughâribeh or Dung gate, near the bed of the Tyropœon. This I have formerly mentioned.² A low arch here forms the present outlet of a large sewer from the city. This was pointed out to us in 1838, as the sewer by which some of the leaders of the Fellâhin, in their siege of Jerusalem in 1834, passed in and got possession of the city.³ Dr Barclay informs me, that he recently attempted to explore this deep channel, in the hope of finding some communication between it and the causeway or the sewers above; but having approached within twenty or thirty yards of the causeway, the passage became so low and choked with mud, that he was compelled to return.⁴ Tobler also appears to have had no better success.⁵

The mouth of another subterranean passage is seen on the declivity above the upper fountain, a little southwestwards from the same. This canal is mentioned by Schultz; but appears to have been first explored and described by Tobler.⁶ According to him, so far as he could follow it, the passage runs up first N. 20° W. for 480 feet; and then west, 142 feet. The greater part is walled with small stones laid in mortar; and the bottom is flagged with square stones. For 113 feet, the canal is cut through the limestone rock. The width is about 2½ feet; the height variable, sometimes low and sometimes rising to eight feet. The whole is now entirely dry, and the air pure.

The same canal was again explored in 1853 by Dr Barclay. Taking with them lights, tape-line, and compass, they penetrated more than six hundred feet; when it became too much choked to proceed further. On plotting their measurements upon the map, Dr Barclay found that the passage had taken them to the path within a few yards of the Bâb el-Mughâribeh or Dung gate; where they distinctly heard the peculiar tread of donkeys overhead. From this point it runs farther due west.

This excavation is held to have been a sewer; and if so, it was not improbably a branch of that coming down from the city near the same gate, as above described. There is nothing to identify it with the "canal" mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela,

¹ For the channel on Zion, see above, pp. 243, 244. For the sewer under the bazar, see p. 166; and for those said to be under the causeway, see pp. 187, 190.

² Vol. I p. 265. [i. 390.]

³ So we were distinctly informed by those who knew; and so too Tobler, To-

pogr. I p. 92. Schultz refers their entrance to the other passage mentioned below.

⁴ Ms. Letter of Dec. 6th, 1853.

⁵ Topogr. I p. 90 sq.

⁶ Schultz p. 41. Tobler Topogr. I p. 93 sq.

near which the sacrifices were slaughtered in ancient times, and where all Jews inscribed their names on an adjacent wall.¹ This latter was obviously within the temple enclosure ; which in Benjamin's day was in possession of the Christians, and to which the Jews then had access.²

VIII. SEPULCHRES.

I have here only to present a few additional remarks upon the Tomb of Helena and the Tombs of the Prophets, so called ; both of which are treated of in my former work.³

TOMB OF HELENA. This remarkable excavation, commonly known to travellers as the tombs of the Kings, we examined in 1838, as Irby and Mangles had done before us, to ascertain whether there might not exist an entrance at the north end of the portico, similar to that now open at the southern end. We however found nothing.⁴ The attempt was renewed by Messrs Wolcott and Tipping in 1842. Yûsuf, who had been with us, was employed, and two other men. They reached the block of stone described by Irby and Mangles ; it was three or four feet square, and seemed to have been broken away from the front of the portico. They removed it, but found no opening beneath ; and laid bare the rock for several feet, without discovering any trace of a passage. None probably ever existed. Indeed the rock on that side is less firm and compact, and less suited for excavation.⁵

In a former volume I have likewise brought forward the evidence, which goes to show, that this sepulchre was that of Helena, queen of Adiabene ; as suggested by Pococke. This is mentioned as on the north of Jerusalem by Josephus and Jerome ; and also generally by Eusebius and Pausanias. The evidence may be reduced to three heads :

First. According to Josephus, the sepulchre was constructed with three pyramids at the distance of three stadia from the city, overagainst a gate of the third wall ; which wall is also said to have passed overagainst the sepulchre.⁶ These pyramids Eusebius calls *stelæ* or *cippi* ; and speaks of them as extant and famous in his day.⁷

Second. Jerome, in describing the journey of Paula from

¹ Benj. of Tnd. by Asher, I. p. 36. 2, the way, the passage turns due west ; " Heb. and. p. 71, Transl. Letter of Dec. 6th, 1853.

² The author of the Holy City has no doubt, that the canal above described, is " the termination of the drain of the great altar ;" II. p. 453. Dr Barclay remarks : " In this supposition he is entirely mistaken ; for at the terminus of our peregrination, which was already too far out of

³ Vol. I. pp. 356 sq. 364. [i. 528 sq. 539.]

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 360. [i. 533.]

⁵ See Wolcott in Biblioth. Sacra, 1848, p. 35 sq.

⁶ Antt. 20. 4. 3. B. J. 5. 2. 2. ib. 5. 4. 2

⁷ H. E. 2. 12, στήλαι διαφανείς.

Lydda to Jerusalem, says she ascended by Beth-horon and Gibeon, passed near Ramah, and stopped a little at Gibeah; she then entered Jerusalem, leaving the mausoleum of Helena *on the left hand*.¹ Since the appearance of my former work, the site of Gibeah of Saul has been definitely identified with the Tuleil el-Fûl, which rises some distance south of Ramah, and close on the east of the great northern road. This road is at present unquestionably the same that it ever was; and Paula proceeding from Gibeah to Jerusalem would have, as now, this sepulchre on her left.²

Third. The testimony of Pausanias establishes the remarkable character of the sepulchre of Helena; which he names, along with that of king Mausolus in Caria, as being particularly worthy of admiration.³ He makes allusion, exaggerated and legendary indeed, to the singular doors; and these, as also the splendid marble sarcophagi, are found in no other sepulchre around Jerusalem. All the circumstances of elaborateness and splendour, which mark this sepulchre, and this alone, made it famous in the days of Pausanias and Eusebius; and still distinguish it above all others.

All these points of evidence, taken together, seem to me to prove, beyond all reasonable question, the identity of this sepulchre with that of Helena. The three pyramids were probably slender *cippi* of a pyramidal form, erected on the level ground above the portal, not unlike to those surmounting one of the rock-hewn tombs at Petra.⁴

In view of the preceding considerations, the attempt of Schultz and De Saulcy to transfer the tomb of Helena to a sepulchre far in the northwest of the city, and north of the Birket Mamilla, can only be regarded as against all the evidence.⁵ Especially so, since the latter writer admits of his own accord, that the tomb proposed "is of such coarse workmanship, as to present a striking contrast with the magnificent carvings of the tombs of the Kings."⁶

¹ Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ: "In Gabaa urbe usque ad solum diruta paululum substitit. . . Ad lævam mausoleo Helenæ derelicto, . . . ingressa est Jerusolymam urbem." Opp. T. IV. ii. p. 673, ed. Martianay.

² M. De Saulcy asserts, that Paula came "from the direction of Jaffa." II. p. 199.

³ Pausan. Græc. Descr. 8. 16 fin.

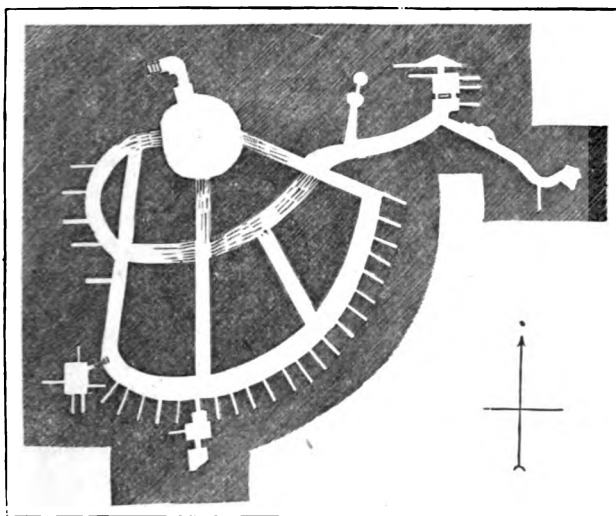
⁴ See Vol. II. p. 129, comp. p. 126 sq. [ii. 515, comp. p. 510].—It is objected, that according to Josephus the bones of Helena were to be buried *in the pyramids* (Ἰσάβη ἐν ταῖς πυραμίδων) which she had erected; Antt. 20. 4. 3. Hence it is inferred, that her tomb was not an excavated

one; Wilson Lands of the Bible, I. p. 429. But these very pyramids are called by Eusebius στήλαι, and could not therefore have been large. The whole work is called by Pausanias τάφος, and by Jerome a *mausoleum*; neither of which terms is well applicable to three separate *cippi* or even three pyramids. Indeed the very expression of Josephus implies the same thing. We can hardly suppose that the bones of Helena would literally be deposited in three pyramids; but rather in a sepulchre constructed with three *cippi*.

⁵ Schultz p. 65. De Saulcy II. p. 160.

⁶ M. De Saulcy has a long and elaborate argument, covering more than fifty

TOMBS OF THE PROPHETS.—These are near the top of the mount of Olives, not far south-southwest of the village. They are mentioned in my former work ; but we did not ourselves then visit them ; nor had they at that time been described by others.¹ This deficiency has since been abundantly supplied ; and I give here a plan and brief description.²



The entrance is through a hole in the rock, with a blind stair, which leads down into a circular apartment about ten feet high, and twenty-one feet in diameter. This is excavated in the rock. From this chamber, two parallel galleries, ten feet high and five wide, are carried southwards through the rock for about sixty feet. A third gallery, on the left, diverges southeast, and extends for about forty feet. These

pages (II. pp. 162–215), by which he attempts to prove that the tombs of the Kings, so called, are the veritable sepulchres of David and his successors. So sanguine is he, indeed, that he actually assigns the several chambers and niches to the bodies of the individual kings ; ib. p. 183 sq. The argument will probably convince no one, who has regard to such passages of Scripture as 1 K. 2, 10, 11, 43. 2 Chr. 28, 27. 32, 33. Acts 2, 29 ; see also, Vol. I. p. 361 sq. [i. 535.] With these passages the statements of Josephus are in perfect accordance ; even upon M. De Saulcy's own showing.—The argument is very similar to that by which Dr E. D.

Clarke persuaded himself, that the sarcophagus brought home by him had been the veritable resting-place of Alexander the Great ; see his *Tomb of Alexander*, 4to. Camb. 1805.

¹ Vol. I. p. 364. [i. 539.]

² The account in the text is drawn chiefly from Wolcott, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, p. 36 ; and from Tobler, *Siloah u. Oelberg*, p. 250 sq. The plan is that of Tobler.—These tombs are also described by Lord Nugent, II. p. 73 sq. ; by Schultz p. 42 ; by Kraft p. 202 ; by the author of the *Holy City*, II. p. 447 ; and by De Saulcy, II. p. 215 sq. Comp. Ritter *Erdbk.* XVI. i. p. 473.

three passages are connected by two cross galleries in concentric curves; one at their extreme end, the other in the middle. Running between these latter is a fourth shorter gallery; lying on the east of the middle one of the first three. Niches for dead bodies, thirty-two in number, are seen along the farther side of the outer curved gallery, on a level with the floor. Two small chambers, each having two or three niches, open into the same passage, opposite the ends of the two westernmost galleries. The western end of the middle curved passage is carried round in a semicircle beyond the western gallery; and here are also several niches. The straight passages, and also the middle curved gallery, have no receptacles for bodies. From the eastern part of the same curved gallery, an irregular passage is carried eastward for more than a hundred feet; where it terminates in a clayey friable soil. This was probably the reason why it was not continued. Along this last passage, there are two or three quite small chambers, and a few niches. The air is everywhere pure.

These singular sepulchral galleries, so different in their plan and character from all other sepulchres around the Holy City, are as yet an enigma to travellers and antiquarians. All that can be definitely affirmed is, that they have nothing to do with the "tombs of the prophets" mentioned by the Evangelists.¹

IX. THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Having thus completed what I have to say respecting the topography and antiquities of the Holy City in the times of the New Testament and of Josephus, I turn for a few moments to another monument of later celebrity; first known indeed to history in the fourth century; but ever since that time overshadowing in importance all other monuments, in the estimation of much of the Christian world. I mean the Holy Sepulchre.

It will not be denied, that since the publication of the Biblical Researches in 1841, this topic has been discussed with great fulness; and, in some parts, under a new aspect. My purpose

¹ Matt. 23, 29. Luke 11, 47.—Schultz connects this excavation with "the rock *Peristæreon*" mentioned by Josephus (B. J. 5. 12. 2); to which ran the wall of Titus along the mount of Olives. He supposes *περιστερεών* to be here put for *columbarium*, in the signification of a sepulchre with many niches; p. 72. So Kraft p. 208. De Saulcy, II. p. 221. The word *columbarium* (dovecote) was indeed in a late age applied to a sepulchre filled up with niches to receive the funeral urns;

see Smith's Dict. of Antt. art. *Funus*, p. 561. But there was nothing of that kind here; nor does it appear that the Greek word was ever thus applied. The language of Josephus, too, implies a prominent rock. Further, if the Romans brought their wall thus near to the top of the mount, they voluntarily subjected themselves to the toil and trouble of lengthening it by at least half a mile, without necessity or motive; and all this in a work accomplished by the army in three days.

here is simply to ascertain, in brief, what progress may have been made towards a final determination of the question, whether the present site is the true one.

The evidence on which the whole question turns, is of two kinds, topographical and historical. The particulars of this evidence, so far as then known, were given in my former work ; and the result which seemed to me to follow, was against the authenticity of the present site.¹

I. In respect to the *topographical* evidence, we have already seen, that the discovery of the ancient chambers at the Damascus gate, and the general recognition of them as belonging to an ancient gate of the second wall on that spot, has wrought a change in the mode of treating of the second wall, among the advocates for the authenticity of the sepulchre.² The course of that wall is now laid down by them along the street of the bazar to the Damascus gate ; and for this purpose the gate Gennath is held to have been opposite to that street on the northern brow of Zion. Both of these new positions, I have endeavoured to show, are untenable.³ I have also brought forward facts and evidence, stronger than before, which demonstrate, that the second wall must have run considerably on the west of the sepulchre ; and which show also, that its probable course was near the street leading northwards from the castle to the Latin convent.⁴

So far, then, as the topographical evidence is concerned, it appears to be incompatible with the idea of the authenticity of the present site of the sepulchre. Hence have arisen, apparently, the efforts made to transfer the Tyropœon and Akra to another part of the city ; in order to get rid both of the ancient reservoir now known as the pool of Hezekiah, and also of the waters of Gihon on the west. Hence too the theory of sources, which do not exist, on the northern quarter of the city.

II. In respect to the *historical* testimony, there has likewise been some change in the manner of bringing it forward. Instead of the plausible *à priori* statement of Chateaubriand, we have had from one writer "an antecedent probability ;" and from another the "strong presumption in favour of a right conclusion."⁵ But the actual historic facts remain for the most part unmodified.

The precise and main point of inquiry in relation to this topic is : Did there exist, in the time of Constantine, any such historical evidence or tradition respecting the place of our Lord's

¹ See Vol. I. pp. 408-418. [ii. 64-80.]

The reader is referred to that discussion ; as it lies at the basis of the further remarks in the text.

² See above, p. 218.

³ See above, pp. 199 sq. 218 sq.

⁴ See above, pp. 218-220.

⁵ Newman, Essay on Miracles, pp. 143 sq. 153 sq. Holy City II. p. 74.

sepulchre, as to lead to the selection of the present site as the true one? Here Eusebius is the first and chief witness. No earlier father or writer makes even the slightest allusion to the sepulchre as then existing; nor to any tradition respecting it. Nor does any later writer speak of the circumstances attending the discovery of the site, until seventy years after the event. The Bourdeaux pilgrim in A. D. 333, and Cyril, a deacon under Macarius, and a few years afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, are utterly silent. Eusebius, therefore, the cotemporary and an actor in these transactions, the friend and agent of the emperor Constantine in Palestine, is the sole writer who bears testimony to the historical facts as an eyewitness.

This father, writing ten years or more before the alleged discovery of the sepulchre, speaks of crowds of pilgrims, who flocked to Jerusalem to pay their devotions on the mount of Olives, where our Saviour taught his disciples and then ascended into Heaven.¹ He speaks also of the place of our Lord's nativity at Bethlehem; which indeed was marked by a still earlier tradition.² Now had there been, in like manner, a definite tradition as to our Lord's sepulchre, it is hard to conceive, how these crowds of pilgrims, who were eager to seek out even the most trivial scriptural localities, should have neglected to ascertain and visit the sacred spot; and also, how Eusebius should have omitted to allude to the fact, when speaking of the two other collateral traditions.³

Indeed, the language of Eusebius would seem rather to imply the non-existence of any such tradition. He relates,⁴ that after the council of Nicea (A. D. 325), the emperor Constantine became desirous of "performing a glorious work in Palestine, by adorning and rendering sacred the place of our Lord's resurrection." This was undertaken by him, not without a divine admonition, but as moved thereto in spirit by the Saviour himself.⁵ "For hitherto impious men, or rather the whole race of demons through their instrumentality, had made every effort to deliver over that illustrious monument to darkness and oblivion." Such language, certainly, would hardly be appropriate, in speaking of a spot definitely known and marked by long tradition.

¹ Euseb. Demonstr. Ev. 6. 18. p. 288. Colon. 1688: τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων ἀπάντων πανταχόθεν γῆς συντρεχόντων . . . [ἑνεκα] τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὕψος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν προσκυνήσεως . . . ἔνθα [τοῦ Λόγου] τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωτέρας τοῦ τῶν Ἑλαιῶν ὕψους τὰ περὶ τῆς συντελείας μυστήρια παραδεικνύσας, ἐντεῦθεν τε τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἡσόδον πεποιμένου. Comp. in Vol. I. p. 416 [ii. 77.]

² See Vol. I. p. 416. [ii. 78.]

³ It does not help the matter to say, that

"the idol-fane [over the sepulchre] as yet excited the horror, and forbade the devotions of the early Christians;" Holy City II. p. 440, comp. p. 73. This statement assumes, that they and Eusebius knew the spot. If so, what motive excited for his and their silence? Why not speak of the "horror" thus excited?

⁴ Euseb. Vit. Const. 3. 25, 26.

⁵ Οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτ' ἐν διανοίᾳ βαλόν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνακηρύξας τῷ πνεύματι. Ib. 3. 25.

Indeed, Eusebius expressly affirms, that the discovery of the sepulchre was "beyond all hope."¹ In like manner the emperor himself, in his letter to Macarius preserved by Eusebius, regards the discovery of "the monument of the Saviour's most sacred passion, which for so long a time had been hidden under ground," as "a miracle beyond the capacity of man sufficiently to celebrate, or men to comprehend."² The mere removal of obstructions from a well known spot, could hardly have been described as a miracle so stupendous. Indeed, as I have elsewhere remarked, the whole tenor of the language both of Eusebius and Constantine shows, that the discovery of the sepulchre was held to be the result, not of a previous knowledge derived from tradition, but of a supernatural intimation.³

Great stress continues to be laid upon the circumstance first reported by Eusebius, that the same "impious men," after covering over the sepulchre with earth, had built upon it "a dark retreat or cavern for the lascivious demon Venus."⁴ Nothing is here intimated as to the time of its construction. Jerome, some seventy years after the discovery, places a marble statue of Venus on the "rock of the cross" or Golgotha, and an image of Jupiter on the place of the resurrection; and affirms that they had been upon the spot from the time of Adrian.⁵ There is here a discrepancy between this account and that of Eusebius; and the Latin father must be in the wrong; for Eusebius was an eyewitness, and Jerome not. The historians of the next century, too, adopt the account of Eusebius, and say nothing of Adrian in this connection.⁶ What then is the amount of all this testimony? Why simply, just what I have formerly stated,⁷ that writers *ex post facto* have mentioned such a temple or idol as standing, not over the sepulchre *known of old* as that of Christ, but over the spot *fixed upon by Constantine* as that sepulchre. There is no reason to doubt, that a temple and idol stood upon that spot; but this fact in itself has no bearing to show that the place was the true sepulchre. Indeed, the two parts of the argument are inconsistent with each other. If the pagan temple

¹ Euseb. Vit. Const. 3. 28, τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ παλῶν τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον παρ' ἑλπίδα πᾶσαν ἀνεφαίνετο.

² Euseb. Vit. Const. 3. 30, τὸ γὰρ τὸ γνῶρισμα τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πύδους ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ πάλαι κρυπτόμενον, τοσαύταις ἐτών σπράξιν λαθεῖν . . . πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀληθῶς ὑπερβαίνει, κτλ.—There is a question here as to the word γνῶρισμα, whether it refers to the sepulchre, or to the true cross alleged to have been discovered at the same time. It makes no difference with the argument, whichever way it is understood. Mr Newman understands the cross; Essay

on Miracles p. 146. So too Mr Taylor, Anc. Christianity, Pt. VII. p. 296.

³ Comp. above, Vol. I. p. 414. [ii. 74, 75.]

⁴ Vita. Const. 3. 26, νεκρῶν εἰδῶλων σκότιον Ἀφροδίτης ἀκολούσας δαίμονι μυχθὲς οἰκοδομησάμενοι.

⁵ Hieron. Ep. 49, ad Paulin. Opp. IV. ii. p. 561. ed. Mart.

⁶ Soer. H. E. 1. 17. Sozom. 2. 1. Theodoret is silent as to any temple or statue.

⁷ See Vol. I. p. 413 sq. [ii. 73 sq.] Comp. Biblioth. Sac. 1843, p. 183 sq

had thus actually marked the place of the sepulchre as a "lasting record" from the days of Adrian, or for any period of time, then this site was a definite and well known spot. Yet, according to Eusebius and the later writers, the sepulchre had been consigned to utter oblivion, and its discovery was the result of a divine warning, accompanied by diligent inquiry.¹

In respect to what is usually and appropriately termed the *invention* of the true cross,² which historians of that and the next century narrate as part and parcel of the discovery of the sepulchre, the advocates of tradition seem at present disposed to say as little as possible.³ As to the cross, Eusebius is silent. Yet in less than twenty years we find Cyril, and afterwards Jerome, speaking of its existence as a public and well known fact; and such not improbably is the import of the epistle of Constantine.⁴ So that I may still say, as before, that there is hardly any fact in history better accredited, than this *alleged* discovery of the true cross. The discovery of the sepulchre, and the discovery of the cross, belong historically and appropriately together.⁵

Thus a consideration of the cotemporary historical evidence goes to show, that in the selection of the present site there was neither any prior tradition, nor any direct probability, to guide the choice.⁶

We are now prepared to advance a step further and take the position, that even had there existed such an earlier tradition, it could have had no authority in opposition to the clear and definite topographical evidence. This latter rests, not only upon recorded historical facts, but also upon archæological remains and the physical features of the ground. A tradition may have had its source in error; and then it only serves to perpetuate that error. Thus in the parallel example of the reputed place of the ascension on the mount of Olives, there was actually an earlier tradition; and the spot was early visited by throngs of pilgrims. Such is the testimony of Eusebius; who also relates, that Helena founded there a church in honour of our Lord's ascension, and another in Bethlehem over the place of his birth.⁷ Yet, notwithstanding this weight of testimony and tradition, the site

¹ Comp. Vol. I. pp. 373, 374. [ii. 14.]

² Holy City II. p. 223.

³ Except Mr Newman; Essay on Mir. p. 143 sq. The author of the Holy City gives a brief statement as to the cross in his first edition, p. 303 sq. But in the second edition, where its corresponding place would be in Vol. II, after p. 73, it is wholly omitted.

⁴ Τὸ γράμμα τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου πατρὸς. See the preceding page, n. 2

⁵ See fully on the cross, Vol. I. pp. 373-375. [ii. 14-16.]

⁶ Hence the very logical position, that "the more improbable the supposition, the better reason must there have existed for marking this as the spot;" Holy City II. p. 4.

⁷ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. 6. 18. p. 288. Vita. Const. 3. 34. Comp. above p. 256.

assigned by it as the scene of our Lord's ascension, must be regarded as wrong; since it is in contradiction to the express declaration of Scripture. According to Luke in his Gospel, Jesus led out his disciples "as far as to Bethany," and blessed them; and "while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven."¹ Language cannot be more definite; and in entire accordance with it the same writer relates in the book of Acts: "Then returned they [the Apostles] unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath day's journey."² Bethany is a part of the mount of Olives. It lies upon the eastern slope, at the distance of a mile or more below the crest; so that in order to return to Jerusalem it is necessary to cross the ridge, and the most direct path leads over the main summit.³ Further, if this summit was the true place of the ascension, then our Lord was taken up, and the cloud received him, in full view of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem; a circumstance not hinted at by the sacred writers, nor at all in accordance with the life and character of the Saviour.⁴

As subsidiary to the supposed testimony of tradition, there has recently been brought forward what may be termed the *archæological* argument; which treats of the original form and character of the tomb, and of the changes which it has subsequently undergone. This argument, so far as it is an argument, has been first elaborated in the valuable memoir of Prof. Willis.⁵ It assumes, that the tomb in question was originally an excavated sepulchre; although Eusebius speaks of it as an *antrum* or cavern.⁶ The architects of Constantine doubtless gave it the appearance of a sepulchre; either by paring down the rock into the form of an isolated monolithic tomb or *ædícula*;⁷ or by constructing with masonry an artificial imitation

¹ Luke 24, 50. 51.

² Acts 1, 12; comp. Luke 19, 29.

³ Matthew and Mark speak of Jesus, during the week of his passion, as going out to lodge at *Bethany*; while Luke says expressly that he spent the nights going out into the *mount of Olives*; see Matt. 21, 17. Mark 11, 11. 19. 20. Luke 21, 37.

⁴ Comp. the author's *Harmony*, p. 235. Quart. Review, Vol. 93. p. 447.—Such an exhibition might be open to the charge of leaning towards the spirit of Satan's suggestion, that Jesus should cast himself down from the pinnacle of the temple; Matt. 4, 6. Luke 4, 9.

⁵ "The architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre;" Holy City II. pp. 129-294. It gives me plea-

sure to acknowledge the courteous and candid tone of this memoir; so strikingly in contrast with the spirit of the work in which it is printed.

⁶ Gr. τὸ ἄντρον, which usually implies a natural cavern, rather than an excavated tomb; Vit. Const. 3. 25, 28, 33, etc. So Eusebius himself speaks of the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, τὸ τῆς γεννήσεως ἄντρον, which has never been regarded otherwise than as natural; Vit. Const. 3. 43. Comp. above, Vol. I. p. 416. [ii. 78.] —The word used by the Evangelists is mostly μνημεῖον, Matt. 27, 60. 28, 1 sq. Mark 15, 46. 16, 2 sq. Luke 24, 2. John 19, 41. 20, 1 sq. Matthew calls it also τάφος, 27, 61. 28, 1. etc.

⁷ Comp. Prof. Willis, in *Holy City* II. p. 172.

of such a tomb. Whether this remained unharmed in the destruction of the church by the Persians in A. D. 614, is unknown. Adamnanus relates from Arculfus, about A. D. 697, that in his day the interior of the monument exhibited "the marks of the workmen's tools, by which it was excavated. The colour of the rock of the monument and sepulchre," he says, "is not uniform, but a mixture of red and white."¹ Now as the native rock of that locality is *grey limestone*, it is a necessary conclusion, that the sepulchre to which this "mixture of red and white" belonged was artificial. Perhaps it was the work of Modestus.

More definitely is it assumed, that the sepulchre of Joseph and Nicodemus so called, now within the church, was "formed long before the church was built;" and therefore "affords important collateral evidence for the genuineness" of the Holy Sepulchre.² That crypt I have already described; and have endeavoured, at the same time, to meet this very argument.³ The character of that excavation, its rude and irregular form, its contracted space and the crowding together of the *loculi*, furnish strong evidence against its high antiquity. Or, admitting for the moment, that it is possibly older than the church, there is nothing unnatural in the supposition, that it and other tombs might have been excavated in this ledge of rock during the two and a half centuries next after the destruction of Jerusalem; when this tract not improbably was unoccupied by dwellings. Or, to go back still further, and even admitting that it was perhaps "an old Jewish sepulchre of an age prior to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans;"⁴ the conclusion by no means follows, that, inasmuch as there could have been no sepulchre within the city, *therefore* the second wall must have been carried along below this spot. As a general rule, this exclusion of sepulchres from the interior of the city undoubtedly prevailed. Yet when the third wall was erected, the sepulchres that were enclosed within it, like that of John, were not removed. The tombs of the kings were on Zion itself; and later Jewish writers speak also of the sepulchres of the children of Huldah the prophetess, as having been originally within the city, and afterwards transferred to the mount of Olives; where they were still shown in the fourteenth century.⁵ All this, however, is unneces-

¹ "Per totam ejus cavaturam ferramentorum ostendit vestigia, quibus dolatores sive excisores in eodem usi sunt opere; color verò illius ejusdem petrae monumenti et sepulcri non unus sed duo permixti videntur; ruber utique et albus, inde et bicolor eadem ostenditur petra." Mabillon *Acta Sanctor. Sæc. 8. P. 2.* p. 504. Comp. Dublin Univ. Mag. Sept. 1845, p. 273. *Mus. of Class. Antt.* Apr. 1853, p. 357 sq.

² Prof. Willis, in *Holy City* II. p. 194.

³ See above, pp. 180-182. To that discussion the reader is specially requested to refer.

⁴ Prof. Willis from Schultz, *Holy City* II. p. 194. Schultz p. 97.

⁵ See Lightfoot *Opp.* II. p. 200. ed. Leusd. Parchi in Asher's *Benj. of Tud.* II. p. 399. Carmoly *Itin.* p. 238.

sary; for, as we have already seen, the whole character of the sepulchre of Joseph and Nicodemus affords a strong archæological presumption against its high antiquity.

Thus we are brought at last to the conclusion, that the genuineness of the present site of the Holy Sepulchre is supported neither by well authenticated historical facts, nor by prior tradition, nor by archæological features. The question, therefore, after all, "must principally be determined by TOPOGRAPHICAL considerations."¹

The fact, that an unbroken tradition of fifteen centuries now testifies to the alleged discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, has no bearing to show the genuineness of the spot thus fixed upon. The tradition may have had its origin in error; and in that case the only effect of its long continuance has been to fasten that error the more firmly upon the world. The similar tradition in respect to the place of Stephen's martyrdom, which sprung up a century later, is too instructive on these points to be wholly passed over.

It is matter of more than mere tradition, that after three centuries of oblivion the burial-place of Stephen was held to be revealed, and his body recovered in December, A. D. 415. This event was accompanied by visions and miracles; in which the chief actor was Lucian a priest. The bones of the proto-martyr were transferred with solemn rites to Jerusalem, and deposited for a time on Zion; but were afterwards removed to a magnificent church on the north of the city, erected on the supposed place of his martyrdom by the empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius the younger. The church was dedicated in A. D. 460; and appears to have had a monastery connected with it. The empress herself was buried in the church.²

The narrative of the discovery and removal of the body of St. Stephen was written by Lucian himself; and the authority of it is attested by Augustine, the great theologian of that and later ages, and also by Gennadius of Marseilles, whose work was continued by Jerome.³ Augustine likewise testifies largely to

¹ I am happy to find myself sustained in the very words of this conclusion, by Prof. Willis, who thus writes: "Throughout this discussion I have applied the term Holy Sepulchre to that which is exhibited under this name in the church; without intending to assume its identity with the sepulchre of the gospel narrative; which must principally be determined by *topographical considerations*. To show that the arrangements of this sepulchre are not inconsistent with sacred history, may afford some slight arguments in its favour; but it could hardly be supposed, that those who first asserted this, gave to be the

genuine one, would have selected one which was at variance with the gospel account;" Holy City II. p. 195.—This last point is the very question at issue. In all the rest of this extract I entirely concur.

² On the church built by the empress Eudocia, and the accompanying circumstances, see Tillemont *Mémoires* etc. II. p. 24. Also his *Hist. des Empereurs*, VI. p. 86.

³ The tract of Lucian is found in Augustini Opp. ed. Benedict. Tom. VII, Appendix. Prefixed to it are some of the testimonies of Augustine and that of Gennadius, as well as references to later writers.

the many miracles wrought by relics of the martyr, which were possessed by his own church at Hippo in Africa, and by neighbouring churches.¹ Sozomen, the cotemporary historian, speaks of the recovery of the body as an event most extraordinary and wholly divine.²

All these circumstances present many points of analogy, both in the alleged facts and in the testimony, with the accounts we have of the similar discovery of the Holy Cross and Holy Sepulchre in A. D. 325, less than a century earlier. The erection of a splendid church fixed the place of Stephen's martyrdom, as having been outside of the present Damascus gate; which, for that reason, long bore the name of St. Stephen's gate.³ For ten centuries an unbroken tradition continued to mark this spot as the true one; and such too was the unanimous and unquestioned belief of laity and clergy, of bishops and councils and popes; yea, of the church universal. Yet, in the middle of the fifteenth century, we find this long and venerated tradition abandoned; the former belief of the whole church given up; and the place of martyrdom actually transferred to the east side of the Holy City; where too we now find the gate of St. Stephen.⁴

Here then we have two like traditions, of high and almost equal antiquity, attested in like manner by the acknowledgment of sovereigns and councils and the erection of splendid churches, and both moving on together with equal credit and like undoubting faith for more than a thousand years. Why should it be, that at the end of this period, the one should be dropped, and the other continue with increasing pretensions? What element of testimony is wanting in the one, as compared with the other? Yet so it is, that after ten centuries the one tradition comes to an end; while the other still exists for five centuries more; and this fact of its continuance is now urged as a high claim to be received with an undoubting faith. Can five additional centuries add strength to the original evidence? Is this latter now better attested? Is it more clear, more consistent, more convincing, than it was five hundred years ago?

I have thus placed these two traditions side by side; because the comparison affords a lesson on the general subject of the value of all tradition.⁵

¹ August. de Civitat. Dei, lib. 22. 10-22.

² Sozomen H. E. 4. 16.

³ Adamnan. 1. 1. Will. Tyr. 8. 2, 5. Brocardus c. 8. fin. La Citez de Jherus. in Vol. II. pp. 559, 560, 561. In the time of Ludolf de Suchem this church had disappeared; p. 83. Stuttgart. 1851.

⁴ So in the journals of Steph. v. Gumpenberg, A. D. 1449; Tucher, A. D. 1479; Breidenbach and Fabri, A. D. 1483, etc.

See Reissb. des heil. Landes, pp. 444, 665, 111, 252.—Maundeville, about A. D. 1325, speaks already of a church of St. Stephen upon the east of the city, by the valley of Jehoshaphat; p. 80. So too Ludolf de Suchem; Itin. p. 83. The tradition had begun to waver.

⁵ In connection with this tradition respecting the place of Stephen's martyrdom, there occurs an amusing instance of the

In the particular instance of the Holy Sepulchre, probably no one at the present day, except Mr Fergusson and his followers, supposes there has been any transfer of the site, since it was originally fixed in the fourth century.¹ The theory of that writer assumes, that the church erected by Constantine was the present grand mosk es-Sukhrah in the middle of the Haram area. His position is very ingeniously elaborated and sustained ; but is directly contradicted, as it seems to me, by the historical evidence. I need only refer to two witnesses. The pilgrim of Bourdeaux in A. D. 333, a cotemporary writer, relates, that "those going from Zion to the gate of Neapolis . . . have on the left hand the hillock Golgotha, where the Lord was crucified ; and a stone's throw off the crypt where his body was laid, and rose again on the third day ; and there also, by order of the emperor Constantine, a church has been erected of admirable beauty."² Here the gate of Neapolis can only be the present Damascus gate. In like manner, Eusebius, who also was a cotemporary, relates, that the splendid *Propylæa* of the *Basilica* of Constantine extended on the east of the same to the midst of the street of the market ; which can be referred to nothing but the present street of the bazars.³ The two witnesses thus accord together, and sustain each other

Thus in every view, which I have been able to take of the Holy Sepulchre and its traditions, I am led to hold fast the position, which I have formerly laid down, viz. "That all ecclesiastical tradition respecting the ancient places in and around Jerusalem and throughout Palestine is of NO VALUE ; except so far as it is supported by circumstances known from the Scriptures, or from other cotemporary testimony."⁴

consistency of a main champion of tradition. In the first edition of the Holy City, the author writes, p. 364, "It is an unhappy circumstance, that the site of the proto-martyr's suffering was found for many years without the Damascus gate ; because, but for this fact, there would be little difficulty in fixing it to the neighbourhood of this [gate], which now bears his name." i. e. the eastern gate "And what is more provoking, is, that the empress Eudocia had erected a large church to the memory of the saint, at the supposed place of his martyrdom, without the Damascus gate, as early as the fifth century." That is to say, no tradition, continued even for a

thousand years, is of any avail, against the preconceived views of this staunch stickler for *all* tradition. In the second edition of his work, all this is silently dropped ; Vol. II. p. 432.

¹ Essay on the ancient Topography of Jerusalem, by J. Fergusson. Lond. 1847. p. 76 sq.

² Itin. Hieros. p. 593, "inde ut eas foris murum de Sion euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam . . . à sinistra parte est monticulus Golgotha, etc."

³ Euseb. Vit. Const. 3. 39. See above, p. 168 sq.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 253. [i. 374.]

SECTION VI.

EXCURSIONS FROM JERUSALEM.

I HAVE already mentioned, that, during our sojourn in the Holy City, we devoted one day to an excursion to Wady Bittir; and two other days to a like excursion to the neighbourhood of Hebron. The present Section comprises a narrative of these two excursions.

I. EXCURSION TO WADY BITTIR.

Wednesday, May 5th.—We left the Yâfa gate at 8.10; accompanied by Dr Barclay and his son, and taking with us only our servant Rashid. Our course was about west, on the road to the convent of the Cross, leaving the upper pool on our right. Crossing the swell of land beyond, which here marks the watershed between the waters flowing east to the Dead Sea, and those flowing west to the Mediterranean, we descended gradually into another wide basin, forming the head of an open valley running off a little south of west. At 8.30 the convent of the Cross was on our right, a few rods distant, in its green shallow valley, as we had seen it on our approach to Jerusalem the week before.¹ A large building was now in the process of erection, intended for a school or college. The great Greek convent in the city, as we have seen, has likewise established a large and good school; and the Latins were said to be about to open schools in their new building near the Yâfa gate. All these, it was understood, had been set on foot in consequence of the schools established by the English missionaries. It was also reported, that the Greek convent in the city was buying up all the land they could get hold of, both in the city and the adjacent country, even whole villages; and this for the supposed purpose of counteracting

¹ See above, p. 159.

and keeping out the English. That they are jealous of English influence, we have already seen.¹

We kept on down the valley, after the junction of that in which the convent stands, about west by south. At 9 o'clock we had sight of Máliahah, occupying a Tell among the hills on our right.² Ten minutes later, the broad and shallow Wady from the plain of Rephaim, coming down on the west of Beit Sūfāfa and north of Sherafāt, joined the one we were in. The latter now takes the name of Wady el-Werd or Valley of Roses; not as a mere fancy name, but from the fact that roses are here extensively cultivated. The gardens or rather fields of roses, among olive trees and vineyards, commence above Máliahah and continue nearly to 'Ain Yálo. The ground is ploughed over; and the rose bushes are planted quite far apart. We met twenty or more women with loads of the blossoms on their heads, going to market in the city; where the roses bring about four piastres the *rohl*, and are used for making rose water.

We were now upon the Gaza road; along which were many marks of antiquity, though we noticed no traces of ancient pavement. At 9.15 Sherafāt was still nearer to us on the left;³ and also a Tell on the same side called Beit Mirmil. Here the valley becomes contracted between rocky ridges on each side. At 9.20 we came to 'Ain Yálo, a small fountain on the left hand, considerably above the bottom of the valley. The issue of water is quite small, and not very cold. From this fountain Máliahah gets its supply of water. Here is a small heap of ruins, perhaps of a former chapel, with two or three small columns. We stopped five minutes.

The path continues along the bed of the valley, on a course about west, to 'Ain Haniyeh. At 9.30 Wady Ahmed came in on the left, from the north side of Beit Jála; a deep valley, down which comes a road from Beit Jála and Bethlehem. Afterwards the valley opens a little; and the path lies along above the bottom on the left. At 9.45 there was an excavated sepulchre by the way side above us. We came at 9.50 to 'Ain Haniyeh, known to the Latins and to travellers as the fountain of Philip. This is somewhat larger than 'Ain Yálo. It is in like manner on the hill-side above the road; and waters extensive gardens of vegetables in the valley below. Here, too, are a few columns in a field near by; and at the fountain is seen an immense block, like a fragment of the shaft of a very large column. These are probably the remains of a chapel.⁴ The fountain and gardens

¹ See above, p. 194.

² Bearings at 9 o'clock: Máliahah, W. $\frac{1}{2}$

m. Sherafāt S. Beit Sūfāfa S. 45° E.

³ Sherafāt here bore S. 50° E.

⁴ In the days of Quaresmus, and even so late as Pococke, a part of this chapel

was yet standing; Quaresm. II. p. 697.

Pococke II. i. pp. 45, 46—As to the legend, which makes this the fountain where Philip baptized the eunuch, see below under May 7th.

belong to the village of Welejah; though that village itself is supplied by a fountain within it. Here again we stopped five minutes.¹

The path soon descends to the bed of the valley; and is sufficiently rough and difficult. At 10.10 the village Welejah was high on our right, three eighths of a mile distant, on the west side of a short and steep side Wady.² We came at 10.30, by a steep ascent, to the village of Bittir, placed at a considerable elevation on, or rather just beyond, the western flank of Wady Bittir, which here comes in from the southeast. Its head is near el-Khüdr (St. George). As it here enters the Wady which we had followed down, its sides are high, steep, and rugged; and from this point the united valley is called Wady Bittir. In front of the village the whole Wady turns short to the right; and then sweeps around again to the left in almost a semicircle; enclosing a large and high Tell, which is connected by a lower narrow ridge with the table land on the south. At the village, which thus stands in an angle, is a fine fountain, larger than both those we had already seen, and with water enough to turn a mill. Below the fountain are extensive gardens on terraces. There are marks upon the steep rocks near by, as if a channel had once been carried along them; perhaps for a mill. The village is not large; and seemed poor and dirty. It is probably the *Bæther* of the Septuagint and Jerome.³

Taking an old man as guide, and leading our horses with difficulty up the steep and slippery rocks along the path, we ascended northwest to the summit of the Tell in fifteen minutes from the village. The top of the connecting ridge or neck is narrow and rocky. Where it joins the steep southern side of the Tell, it has apparently been cut through; and thus a wide trench formed, above which the summit of the Tell rises some forty feet. This wide trench may possibly be artificial; but its width and the height of the Tell above it would seem rather to indicate the contrary. On the declivity of the Tell towards the village, east of the neck, are three excavated caves of some extent; perhaps sepulchres. The top of the Tell has an area of five or six acres; the northern part being somewhat lower than the southern; and the whole is more or less ploughed and cultivated. The soil is very stony; and the stones have been gathered and thrown together in many unmeaning heaps. We

¹ From the fountain, Bittir bore S. 45° W.

² This is the village known to the Latins as "Villa Sancti Philippi." It is correctly described by Quaresmius as on the hill-side, and reached by crossing the valley from the fountain; that is, by descending

the valley for fifteen minutes, and then ascending. II. p. 697. Pococke II. i. p. 46.

³ See note on p. 156, above. Jerome has *Bæther* for the *Θεσθα* of the Septuagint, doubtless from the reading *Βαθθα*.—Pococke writes the name *Betur*, and supposes it to be for Beth-zur; II. i. p. 46.

saw one or two squared stones on the southwest side. Otherwise there is no trace of ruins; except upon the highest point, towards the northeast, where are the remains of what was once apparently a square tower, of perhaps forty feet on each side. It was built of stones broken to a rough surface; and the whole was of the very rudest construction. There is no water nearer than the fountain at the village below; nor is there any trace of cisterns. The spot is now called Khirbet el-Yehûd, 'Ruins of the Jews.'

From this summit we saw upon the southern hills the villages Hûsân and el-Kabu; and on the northern, beyond Wady Bittir, the ruins of Kuriet el-Sa'ideh. We could also distinguish the point where the Wady Bittir unites with the great Wady from Kulônîeh, near the village 'Akûr; perhaps an hour and a half distant from where we stood. Near it is a place called Deir esh-Sheikh.¹

This Tell, from its strong position and proximity to the village of Bittir, has, on the strength of the latter name, been of late years assumed as the site of the ancient *Bether*;² the scene of the last great catastrophe of the Jews in their war against Hadrian under the leadership of the famous Bar-cochba, "Son of a Star."³ To enable us to form a judgment on this point, it will be necessary to bring together the few historical data which have come down to us.

The writers of the Talmud place Bether at four miles from the sea.⁴ Eusebius, on the contrary, speaks of it as a city strongly fortified, and not far distant from Jerusalem.⁵ This slight notice from the father of ecclesiastical history, is all that we have relating to Bether, except from Jewish writers. The name *Bether* or *Beth-Tar*⁶ seems not to have been ancient; but to have become known only after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. It is rendered *domus inquisitoris vel explorationis*; because, after the overthrow of the Holy City, watchmen are said to have been posted there to spy out those going up to visit the ruins, and inform against them.⁷ If any stress can be laid upon this etymology, it would seem to imply that Bether was on the north

¹ Bearings from the Tell: Bittir S. 45° E. Hûsân 186°. el-Kabu 265°. Kuriet el-Sa'ideh 352°. Junction of Wady Bittir etc. 300°.

² Holy City, II. p. 210 sq.

³ See Vol. I. p. 369. [ii. 6.] Münter Jüdischer Krieg, etc. § 20. Translated by W. W. Turner in Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, p. 438 sq.

⁴ Reland Palest. p. 639.

⁵ Euseb. H. E. 4. 6, ἀκμώσαντος δὲ τοῦ αἰσίου ἔτους ὀκτωκαίδεκάτου τῆς ἡγεμο-

νίας Ἀδριανοῦ κατὰ Βίβδθρα πόλιν, ἥτις ἦν ὀχυρωτάτη, τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστώσα.

⁶ Heb. usually בֵּיתָר, apparently for בֵּיתָרָה; see Lightfoot Opp. ed. Leusd. II. p. 208. Eusebius writes Βίβδθρα, as in the preceding note. Lat. *Bether*, *Bethar*, *Bethara*, *Biter*, etc.

⁷ Münter Jüd. Krieg § 20. n. Also in Biblioth. Sac. 1843, pp. 439, 457. Lightfoot Opp. ed. Leusd. II. p. 209.

of Jerusalem ; since the greater number of Jewish visitors would naturally come from that quarter ; where a very large population of Jews continued to reside undisturbed in Galilee and the adjacent region.

Jewish writers describe Bether as a city of great extent and a vast population ; but their accounts are highly exaggerated. It had, they say, from four hundred to five hundred synagogues ; in each four hundred teachers ; and in the smallest four hundred scholars.¹ Jerome speaks of the "many thousands" of Jews who had taken refuge there from the Romans.² The siege continued for three and a half years ; and the city was captured with great bloodshed towards the end of the eighteenth year of Hadrian, in A. D. 135.³ The Talmudists relate, that eight hundred thousand persons were slain in Bether ; that the horses waded up to their mouths in blood ; and that the blood of those that fell rolled along in its current stones of four pounds weight.⁴ However exaggerated all this may be, it seems a necessary conclusion, that Bether was a city of some size and strength.

Where then was this city situated ? Not at the *Betarum* of the Itineraries, on the way from Cæsarea to Antipatris and Lydda ;⁵ although the name accords sufficiently well. This too would nearly agree with the testimony of the Rabbins, that Bether was four Roman miles distant from the sea. But *Betarum* was apparently nothing more than a village or station on the great road, and must have been well known to Eusebius ; who nevertheless testifies, that Bether was a strong city near Jerusalem.⁶ The reputed origin of the name Bether or Beth-Tar, as above given, implies that it was near Jerusalem, and probably on the north. And further, the many captives taken in the final catastrophe of this war, were exposed for sale at the Terebinth, or house of Abraham, near Hebron ; afterwards at Gaza ; and then those remaining were transported to Egypt.⁷ Now if Bether was near Jerusalem, the removal of the captives in this direction was natural and obvious ; while, if it lay upon the plain and near the sea, such a course was unnatural and improbable.—Yet a Jewish traveller of the fourteenth century finds Bether on the way between Samaria and Arsuf, at a place of ruins then called Bether. This was probably the earlier *Betarum* ; and seems to mark a Jewish tradition of the overthrow of Bar-cochba as connected with that spot.⁸

¹ Münter l. c. and in Biblioth. Sac. 1843, p. 439.

² Comm. in Zach. viii. 19.

³ So according to the best accounts, Münter l. c. Others make it A. D. 143.

⁴ See Valesius' Note on Euseb. H. E. 4. 6. n. 4. Münter l. c. Biblioth. Sac. 1843, p. 440.

⁵ Itin. Antonini et Hieros. ed Wesseling, pp. 150, 600.

⁶ See the preceding page, n. 5.

⁷ See fully in Vol. I. p. 369. n. 3. [ii. 7 n. 8.]

⁸ Ishak Chelo in A. D. 1334 ; Carmoly Itin. p. 252.

Nor can Bether have been situated at Beth-horon, nor at Bethlehem, as has been supposed by some. There is no affinity between the names; nor is there any other circumstance to suggest an identity.¹

Was then the city of Bether identical with the Tell now known as Khirbet el-Yehûd, near the village of Bittir? The names, though not the same, are yet sufficiently in accord.² The place also is strong; and it is not far from Jerusalem. But, on the other hand, the mere name cannot here determine the question; any more, indeed, than in the case of Betarum, which we have just considered. Then, too, according to the reputed origin of the name, we should look for the city on the north of Jerusalem, rather than on the west. And, further, the absence of all traces of ancient fortifications, of ancient dwellings, and of any supply of water, puts it beyond any conceivable possibility, that this could ever have been the site of a strong and populous city with its many synagogues; which sustained a siege of three and a half years; and where tens of thousands of Jews, if not hundreds of thousands, were slain or led away into captivity. The name does not require, nor do the circumstances admit of such a supposition.

The name Bittir, as I have said, is in itself no more decisive than the name Betarum; strengthened, too, as the latter is, by a Jewish tradition. Nor can the name Khirbet el-Yehûd (Ruins of the Jews) well be regarded as otherwise than modern. Of course it did not come from the Jews themselves; and therefore marks no tradition of theirs. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, R. Parchi, the best of the early Jewish travellers, speaks of a *Bether* as three hours west by south of Jerusalem; referring doubtless to this spot.³ But he mentions neither ruins, nor name, nor tradition, as connecting the place with the history of Bar-cochba. Yet he was a zealous searcher after Jewish antiquities; and, had the name Khirbet el-Yehûd been at that time extant, he would not have been likely to pass it over without notice.⁴

The only remains of masonry, which can be regarded as having

¹ Cellarius and others refer to Beth-horon; an opinion refuted by Reland. See Reland *Palæst.* p. 639. Cellarii *Not. Orbis*, II. p. 450.—Baronius assumed Bethlehem, "audaci manu," as Lightfoot has it; Opp. ed. Leusd. II. p. 143.

² For the Rabbinic ביתר, ביתר, we should expect at least the Arabic syllable *Beit*, as in Beit Jala; but the Arabic name *Bittir* is not so written or pronounced.

³ Benj. of Tud. by Asher, II. p. 438.

⁴ The following passage is characteristic of the author of the Holy City; II. p.

212, "The Sheikh pointed to the hills behind the modern village, rising to about the same height as that [of the Tell] on which we stood, and remarked, 'They shot at them from that hill.' 'Who shot at whom?' I inquired. 'Oh! I don't know,' he replied; 'it was a long while ago. How should I know?' This is gravely brought forward, as a trustworthy popular tradition of the siege and capture of Bether by the Romans, more than seventeen hundred years ago.

belonged to a fortification, are those of the square tower on the highest point, already described. It was built of small stones roughly broken, if broken at all; and was of the rudest construction. Hence it bears much more the appearance of having been built as the stronghold of some Arab robber chief; like that now seen at Küstül, where the family Abu Ghaush sometimes took refuge.¹

It may be said, that in other instances, as at Jotapata, all traces of former fortifications have vanished, and yet no one doubts the identity of the site. But in the case of Jotapata, the place is at once recognised by its correspondence with the minute description of Josephus. And although the fortifications have disappeared, yet the foundations of the town are still seen; and the cisterns and caverns of the fortress remain.² So too in respect to the ancient strong place Beth-Zacharia, which we visited four days later; although its walls and defences are gone, yet the foundations, and the columns, and the cisterns still remain; and they leave no room to doubt of its identity, nor of its ancient importance and strength.³

From all these considerations, it would seem to follow that we cannot as yet definitely assume, that the great and strong city of Bether was situated on or around the Tell of Bittir.

I venture here to repeat a suggestion which I have formerly made;⁴ and which I desire to have regarded only as a suggestion, to be hereafter perhaps received or rejected, according as new facts and circumstances shall be discovered. It is simply the inquiry, Whether after all *Bether* may not have been the same with *Bethel*? The change from *l* to *r* is a common one in all languages. It is, too, a circumstance to be remarked, that all the later Jewish writers, who alone speak of *Bether*, seem to make no mention of *Bethel* whatever, as then existing; and speak of it only in connection with its history in the Old Testament.⁵ The Talmudists, writing in Galilee and Babylon, far from Judea and forbidden to set foot upon its soil, might easily lose sight of the identity of the two names. That the name Bethel was actually changed, and that the form *Bethar* did for a time prevail, appears from the language of the Bourdeaux pilgrim in A. D. 333. In going from Neapolis to Jerusalem he saw, on the left hand, twelve or thirteen Roman miles from the latter city, a "villa," called *Bethar*.⁶ This corresponds precisely with the position of Bethel. And Jerome expressly refers the

¹ See above, p. 158.

² See above, pp. 105, 106.

³ See below, under May 8th.

⁴ See more in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, p. 458 sq.

⁵ See Lightfoot in his article on *Bethel*;

Opp. II. p. 185. ed. Leusd. Reland Palæst. p. 636 sq.

⁶ Itin. Hieros. p. 588 sq. "inde [a Neapoli] millia xxviii euntibus Hierusalem in parte sinistra est villa quæ dicitur Bethar. . . . Inde Hierusalem millia xii."

catastrophe of the Jews under Hadrian to *Bethel*; showing apparently that he regarded this as the Bether of the Rabbins.¹

If this view be well founded, we have a site not far distant from Jerusalem, near the great road on the *north*, with extensive and important ruins still remaining; and occupying a position not so strong indeed as the Tell of Bittir, but yet far stronger than the site of Eleutheropolis. It might throw light upon the question, were travellers to examine further the ruins of Bethel; and ascertain, whether or not among them there are perhaps traces of that Jewish synagogue architecture, of which we found so many remains in Galilee.²

We returned to the village of Bittir, and took our lunch at the fountain, under the shade of a wide-spreading mulberry tree. Our purpose was to return by a different route; so as to pass in sight of 'Ain Kârim. Setting off at 12.10, we first followed up the valley, and came at 12.30 to the fork at the side Wady of Welejah. A path leads up on the east side of this Wady; but we missed it, and clambered the steep hill among the rocks for a time without path; thus losing ten minutes. At length we found a man in the fields, and took him as a guide. He soon brought us into the pilgrims' road leading over from St. Philip's fountain to St. John's in the Desert. It was sufficiently rugged and bad. At 12.45 we were opposite Welejah, a quarter of a mile distant.³ Our course was about north to the top of the ridge between the two great valleys. This we reached at 1.05; and looked down into the Wady Beit Hanina, coming from Kulônîeh. Here we stopped for ten minutes.

At our feet was the small village of Jaura in a short side valley or nook. Further down the great valley, on the other side, was Sâtâf; opposite to which, our guide said, is the fountain and ruined convent called el-Habis, the native name for St. John's in the Desert, about an hour from 'Ain Kârim.⁴ In the south, on the western brow of the mountains, nearly in a line with Jedûr, but less distant, was pointed out Beit Sakârieh, which we visited afterwards. 'Ain Kârim was not here visible; but Sôba was in sight, as also Kulônîeh, Neby Samwil, and other places.⁵

¹ Hieron Comm. in Zach. viii. 19, "Capta urbe Bethel, ad quam multa millia confugerunt Judæorum: aratum templum in ignominiam gentis oppressum, a Tito Annio Rufo." The mention of Titus Annius (Turanus) Rufus shows, that Jerome is here speaking of events that took place under Hadrian.—Tillemont suggests that *Bethel* is here a false reading for *Bether*; H² a. des Emp. II. p. 309. But there is no trace of any various reading; nor is *Bether* the form usually found in Latin

writers. Jerome himself apparently mentions Bittir as *Bether*; see on p. 266, n. 3

² E. g. at Kefr Bir'im, Meirôn, Irbid, Tell Hûm, Kedea, etc. We did not revisit Bethel; and I regret that the thought of further examination did not occur to me, while I was in a situation to realize it.

³ Bearings at 12.45: Welejah 185°, ½ m. Hûsân 203°.

⁴ Tobler Denkb. p. 658. Prokeasch, p. 120. See Quaresmius II. p. 707.

⁵ Bearings at 1.05: Jaura N. 35° E. ½

Starting again at 1.20, we struck the road from Jaura to Jerusalem; and kept upon it along the brow above the great valley about N. E. by N. At 1.40 'Ain Kârim was below us on the left; a large and flourishing village, with the Franciscan convent of St. John the Baptist in the midst. There is also a fountain. The village was below in a nook or recess from the great valley; and was about half a mile distant from us.¹ It is doubtless the *Karem* or *Caram* of the Septuagint and Jerome.²

We now kept along the usual road, which passes just north of Mâlihah, on a course about east. At 2.10 we crossed an indentation of the ridge; having Mâlihah on a Tell just on our right. In five minutes more we struck again our road of this morning; but almost immediately left it by a fork on the right, leading through the northern part of the plain of Rephaim. At 2.30 we came out upon the low ridge on the west of that plain.³ Here we could distinguish the valley running out from its southwest part; and could see beyond the plain the convent of Mâr Eliâs and its green Tell. Passing on now by the direct road, we reached the Yâfa gate of Jerusalem at 3 o'clock.

II. EXCURSION TO THE VICINITY OF HEBRON.

Friday, May 7th.—As we expected to be absent over night, we took with us both of our servants, and all our mules, with tent and beds. We left the Yâfa gate at 7.35, on the Bethlehem road; and reached Mâr Eliâs at 8.25. Here at the well were several men, Greek Christians, from Beit Jâla. We inquired of them about a Ramah in this region; but they knew of none. We engaged one of them as a guide; and turned more to the right, on the road to Beit Jâla. A low ridge on the right is called Tûbûlyeh; and after five minutes was a hill on the left, called Râs Eliâs. Here too was a large sarcophagus turned partly over on one side, called Mary's cradle; with small heaps of stones around it. The road from Mâr Eliâs to Bethlehem runs along the dividing ridge, between the deep valley on the left running eastwards, and the long basin of Wady Ahmed, which runs off northwest under Beit Jâla to Wady Bittir. One of the branches of the latter begins not far from Mâr Eliâs in the southwest.

m. Sâtif N. 25° W. Küstûl 2°. Különieh 24°. Neby Samwîl 25°. Beit Iksa 29°. Beit Sûrik 35°. Beit Lahm 138°. Beit Jâla 141°. Beit Sakârieh 199°. Hûsin 201°. Sôba 335°.—The villages of Beit Lahm and Beit Jâla were not distinctly visible; they stand upon the eastern slope of their hills, and were thus not actually in sight.

¹ Bearings at 1. 40: Sôba 315°. Neby

Samwîl 17°. 'Ain Kârim 9°, $\frac{1}{4}$ m.—Comp. Tobler Denkbk. pp 660, 730 sq.

² See above, p. 156, n. 3. *Sept Kapéu*, Jerome *Caram*.—For the account given by the Latins respecting the house of Elisabeth, the convent and church of the Nativity of John the Baptist, and the fountain of St. Mary, so called, see Quaresmius II. pp. 709–712.

³ Here the Mount of Olives bore N. 65° E.

Turning from the road a little towards the left, we came at 8.50 to el-Khamis, or Khirbet Khamis. Here are cisterns, a few hewn stones, and some fragments of columns, marking a small ancient site. The guide said there were also sepulchres, and the door of a church; but the latter proved to be merely three or four rather large hewn stones thrown together, one of which was grooved.¹ This place is pointed out by the Latin monks at the present day, as the Ramah mentioned by Matthew, supposed to be near Rachel's tomb.² We had heard of this in Jerusalem; and also, that some of the recent Latin converts in Beit Jala now spoke of this spot as Ramah. But the Greeks know nothing of it; nor does Quaresmius or the earlier travellers speak of it. Yet Eusebius and Jerome assume a Ramah near Bethlehem, in order to afford an explanation of the language of Matthew.³ This however is quite unnecessary. In the original passage of Jeremiah, Rachel, the ancestress of the tribe of Benjamin, is poetically introduced as bewailing the departure of her descendants into exile, from Ramah of Benjamin, their place of rendezvous.⁴

Ten minutes brought us to Rachel's tomb. This had been enlarged since our former visit, by the addition of a square court on the east side, with high walls and arches. Beyond the road which passes here, and northeast from the tomb, we looked at the traces of an ancient aqueduct, which was carried up the slope of the hill by means of tubes or perforated blocks of stone, fitted together with sockets and tenons, and originally cemented. We saw other like traces further up the hill the next day; but stones of this kind are seen nowhere else in this region.

We left Rachel's tomb at 9.15 for Urtas; at first along the camel road to Hebron, which passes on the west of Bethlehem. At 9.30, we turned more to the left, in order to gain the path along the aqueduct. This we struck at 9.40, and followed it. There are frequent openings in the aqueduct; and the stones adjacent to them seem to be hollowed out; but the aqueduct in this part is later, and is mostly laid with tubes of pottery. By a mistake of our guide we turned down the steep slope on the left too soon; and after a very difficult descent reached Urtas at 10.5, some hundred and fifty feet below the aqueduct. This is probably the *Etam* of the Scriptures.⁵

Here is a large and noble fountain with the remains of an ancient reservoir. The ruins of a former village are scattered among the rocks on the declivity of the northern hill. The

¹ Bearings from el-Khamis: Fureidis' 150°. Convent of Bethlehem 157°. Beit Jala 233°. Kùbbet Râhlil 133°, $\frac{1}{4}$ m.

² Prokesch p. 110. Salzbacher II. p. 164.

³ Matt. 2, 18, quoted from Jer. 31, 11; comp. Jer. 40, 1.—See Onomast. art *Ramah*. Reland Pal p. 964.

⁴ Jer. 31, 11; comp. 40, 1.
⁵ See Vol. I. p. 477. [ii. 168.]

level land at the bottom of the valley has been leased by Mr Meshullam, a convert from Judaism ; who formerly kept a hotel in Jerusalem. He had now brought it under tillage for three years, and raised fruit and vegetables for the Jerusalem market. The fields are all irrigated from the fountain ; and in this country everything thrives with water. As seen from above, the bottom of the valley, thus cultivated, presented a beautiful appearance. There was nothing of the scientific tillage of western Europe ; yet such is the strength of the soil and the abundance of water, that the returns are larger, and (as Meshullam said) remunerative.

We met here seven or eight Americans, men and women, Seventh Day Baptists from Philadelphia and the vicinity. They had come out as missionaries to introduce agriculture among the Jews ; but being unacquainted with the language and customs of the country, and therefore helpless, they had been taken by Meshullam into his employ ; where they found at least food and shelter. They did not, however, appear satisfied ; and seemed to us likely to leave the place so soon as they could help themselves. Indeed, in the course of the following winter, a quarrel arose between them and Meshullam, and they removed to the neighbourhood of Yâfa. They told us they had brought out with them American ploughs ; but could make no use of them for want of stronger teams. A similar colony of Germans had been in like manner employed by Meshullam two years before ; a glowing report from whom is given by Ritter. But they too had become dissatisfied ; and were now dispersed.¹ It is hardly necessary to remark, that the idea of speedily converting the Jews, living as strangers in Palestine, into an agricultural people, is altogether visionary.

Leaving Ūrtâs at 10.55 we came at 11.20 to el-Burak, the castle at the Pools. On the way were some traces of an ancient road. At this time the lower pool was empty ; in the middle one the water covered only the bottom ; while the upper one was full or nearly so. A little streamlet from above was running into the middle pool at its upper end.² After a stop of five minutes we took the Hebron road ; and at 11.35 were on the top of the southern hill. Along the ascent are traces of an ancient paved road ; but no ruts. The village and convent of St. George (el-Khûdr) were visible in the north, beyond the valley of the Pools.³ On the left below us was a short Wady, with a side aqueduct. We now kept along on high ground ; and soon

¹ Ritter, *Erdk.* XVI p. 282.

² For a full description of these pools, see Vol. I. p. 474 sq. [ii. 164 sq.]

³ Bearings at 11.35 : el-Khûdr N. 5°

E. el-Burak N. 40° E.—For the subsequent route, see also in Vol. I. pp. 216, 217. [i. 319–321.]

had on our left the deep Wady Biyâr, here a narrow gorge, running off about N. 75° E. with another side aqueduct, and a square ruin on the further side, called Deir el-Benât. We soon descended a little (at 11.50) into the small cultivated plain from which the Wady issues. In this plain several Wadys unite, coming from various directions. We followed up a shallow one, S. 35° W. formerly named to us Wady Tuheishimeh; and at 12.5 saw on our right the ruin of Beit Fâghûr, half a mile distant, having a Wely and a fountain.¹ Reaching the head of the valley at 12.30, we came out upon level land; and then at 12.40 rose to a higher tract of table land. Here Beit Fejjâr was visible on high ground at a distance in the southeast;² while nearer to us, but hidden by a ridge, was said to be the ruin of Bereikût. Ten minutes later, the ruin Bereikût was just visible over a depression in the ridge, bearing 116°. This form corresponds to an ancient *Berachah*, which gave name to a valley in the south of Tekoa, the scene of Jehosaphat's thanksgiving.³ We heard of it on our former journey; but it was first visited by Mr Wolcott.⁴ The ruins lie on the west side of the valley, on a small eminence; and cover three or four acres. The Wady is not now called after the ruins, except just opposite to them; but bears lower down the name of Wady Khanzireh.

We came at 12.55 to the brow of a long descent, looking out over a lower tract of country on the south. Here Halhûl came in sight, and several other places.⁵ Half way or more down the long declivity is a cistern and *Kibleh* or praying-place; where at 1.10 we stopped for lunch. Here Merrina, a small ruin was visible, bearing 256°, at the foot of the hills beyond the green Wady. We set off again at 1.40, and descended into the broad and fertile plain of Wady 'Arrûb running off southeast; and, after crossing a low swell, came to another like valley bearing the same name, and uniting with the former one just below. The united Wady runs to Wady Jehâr south of Tekoa, and so to the Dead Sea.⁶ Beyond, on the left, at 2 o'clock, we had a ruin called Beit Za'ter. At 2.10 we reached the reservoir of Kûfin; the village being a quarter of a mile distant on the right.⁷ It is inhabited; and has in it a large ruined building, which makes quite a show at a distance.⁸

¹ Bearing of Beit Fâghûr, N. 75° W. ‡ m.

² Bearings at 12.40: Beit Fejjâr 153°. Beit Ummar 230°. Beit Sâwir, a ruin, 331°, ‡ m.—Instead of Beit Fejjâr, Dr Wilson writes Beit Hajar; but erroneously. My companion, Dr Smith, took special pains to day, to verify the name. Lands of the Bible, I. p. 386. Ritter XVI. p. 270.

³ 2 Chr. 20, 26, comp. 20.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 491. [ii. 189.] Wolcott in Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, p. 43. Comp. Wilson, Lands of the Bible, I. p. 386. Ritter Erdk. XV. i. p. 635.

⁵ Bearings at 12.55: Beit Ummar 230°. Halhûl 202°. Kûfin 217°. Shiyâkh 172°.

⁶ See Vol. I. p. 488. [i. 185.]

⁷ Bearings at the tank of Kûfin: Beit Fejjâr 88°. Beit Za'ter 59°. Beit Kheiran 195°. Kûfin 275°, ‡ m.

⁸ Kûfin is the place erroneously named

After five minutes more we were in another shallow Wady, coming from the south and passing off northeast to Wady 'Arrûb. We followed it up, or a branch of it; and at 2.35 came out on a low ridge looking into a like parallel Wady on our left. Beyond this latter, on a hill, was the ruin Beit Kheirân, half a mile distant.¹ The road then descends a little, and passes along on the west side of this Wady here running north.

Thus far we had followed from the Pools the same road that we travelled in 1838, on our first approach to the Holy City, and our first day in Palestine. We had then been compelled, wearied and exhausted as we were from our long journey in the desert, to hasten over the tract between Hebron and Jerusalem without a guide. Hence, on some points we obtained no information, and on others were misled. I had ever regarded that day as in some respects the least satisfactory in all our former journey; and was not sorry now to retrace the road.—The main features of the country, thus far, consisted of low rocky hills with intervening valleys, uninteresting, uncultivated, and the hills thinly covered with bushes, chiefly shrub oaks. Beyond this point, towards the south, there is more cultivation; and the hills are more naked of bushes, being tilled often to the top.

We now turned from the Hebron road more southwesterly; along a low neck which separated the Wady on our left from Wady Rishrâsh on our right; the latter descending rapidly westwards towards Wady es-Sûr, as was said. Our purpose was to ascend a high rounded Tell just on the west of the Hebron road, in the hope of finding ruins. We reached the top at 3 o'clock; but found nothing. The tower of Beit Sûr was before us, on another lower Tell in the southwest.² After a delay of ten minutes, we struck down across the intervening valley through the fields, without a path; and came at 3.20 to the tower of Beit Sûr. From this place 'Ain edh-Dhirweh, on the Hebron road, bore N. 80° E.

This tower we saw and noted on our former journey; but, in consequence of our having no guide, we did not hear the name, and therefore failed to fully identify the place. Yet from its position and other features I was even then inclined to regard it as the ancient Beth-zur; and it was so inserted on our map.³

to us in our former journey as Abu Fid. We had then no guide except a Nubian camel driver from Dhoheriyeh. No such name as Abu Fid exists anywhere in the region, so far as we could learn

¹ Bearings at 2.35, opposite Beit Kheirân: Beit Fejjâr 64°. Beit Kheirân 141°,

$\frac{1}{4}$ m. Halhâl 191°. 'Ain edh-Dhirweh 210°. Tell near by, 222°.

² Bearings at 3 o'clock, from the Tell, Beit Ummar 7°. Jâla, a Wely, 326°, Beit Sûr 216°. Halhâl 164°. Shiyâkh 113°.

³ See Vol. I. pp. 216, 217. n., [i. 819, 320, n.]

The name Beit Sûr was heard first by Mr Wolcott;¹ and we now heard it from people in the fields. This name, and the ancient remains, leave no doubt as to the identity.—The principal ruin is the tower; of which only one side is now standing. It was perhaps some twenty feet square. At its southwest corner are a few bevelled stones, not large. These mark its foundations as ancient; though its upper portion was more probably of the time of the crusades. There are hewn stones scattered about, as also some fragments of columns, and many foundations of buildings; but no traces of a wall on the south, where the Tell connects with the range of hills. In the eastern declivity, below the tower, are two or three excavated sepulchres. It must have been a small place; but occupied a strong position, and commanded a great road. Josephus speaks of it as the strongest fortress in Judea.²

Beth-zur is mentioned in the book of Joshua as between Halhul and Gedor;³ and it still lies here between the two, not far from the former. It was fortified by Rehoboam; and its inhabitants aided in building the walls of Jerusalem after the exile.⁴ Judas Maccabæus here defeated Lysias, and strengthened the fortress against the Idumeans.⁵ It was besieged and taken by Antiochus Eupator; made stronger and held by Bacchides; until at length Simon Maccabæus got possession and further fortified it.⁶ Beth-zur is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome; and also by the Bourdeaux pilgrim.⁷ These writers all regard it, or rather the fountain not far off, as the place where Philip baptized the eunuch. To this tradition we shall speedily recur again.

We now turned down to 'Ain edh-Dhirweh on the Hebron road; which we reached in seven minutes. Here, on the east of the road, is a low ledge of rocks running off northeast, with a perpendicular face towards the northwest, ten or twelve feet high. In some parts the rocks appear to have been hewn away; and there are also sepulchres excavated in them. By the roadside, near these rocks, is the fountain. It is small, and issues from beneath a wall of large hewn stones into a drinking-trough. On the west of the road is a fine little tank lined with cement; and another, larger and ruder, without cement. On the east of the fountain is the ruin of an ancient church or chapel; between which and the fountain was an enclosed court. The road just here has marks of an ancient pavement; and we had before

¹ Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, p. 56.

² Antt. 13. 5. 6.

³ Josh. 15. 58. See generally, Reland Palest. p. 658 sq. Raumer Paläst. pp. 163, 164.

⁴ 2 Chr 11, 7. Neh. 3, 16.

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⁵ 1 Macc. 4, 29. 61. 2 Macc. 11, 5; comp. Jos. Antt. 12. 7. 5.

⁶ 1 Macc. 6, 31. 50.—ib. 9, 52. 10, 14.—ib. 11, 65. 66. 14, 7. 33

⁷ Onomast. art. *Bethzur*. Itin. Hieros. p. 599.

noticed several similar traces along the way ; but nowhere any appearance whatever of ruts.¹

This then is the fountain, which a tradition earlier and in so far better than that connected with St. Philip's fountain near Welekeh, once marked as the place where Philip baptized the eunuch on his way from Jerusalem to Gaza.² Both Eusebius and Jerome, and also the Bourdeaux pilgrim, speak of Beth-zur as the scene of that transaction.³ What grounds those fathers had for connecting it at all with Beth-zur, we know not ; but the Scriptures certainly contain no hint to that effect. There was here no desert ; and, further, the circumstances that Philip was afterwards found at Azotus (Ashdod), far away in the plain, is strongly against the view in question. I have elsewhere assigned reasons, which still seem to me valid, for seeking the place of the baptism in the plain, on the way from Eleutheropoli to Gaza, perhaps in Wady el-Hasy.⁴

From the fountain we sent Rashid with the mules and luggage directly up to Halhûl ; in order that he might pitch the tent and make his preparations, while we should go on as far as er-Râmeh and return. The guide, whom we had taken at Mâr Eliâs, we found well acquainted with the country ; he having often been at Halhûl, where he had been accustomed to farm vineyards. But here his knowledge of the road was at an end ; and we therefore engaged another guide for er-Râmeh.

Leaving 'Ain edh-Dhirweh at 3.35, we followed the Hebron road, about south ; still ascending and crossing the swell, which more to the left forms the broad ridge on which Halhûl stands. The road then keeps along on the west of the basin of Wady 'Ain 'Âsy, which runs off N. 75° E. as a branch of the Wady southeast of Halhûl. We were in this basin at 3.55. Then, crossing another lower swell, we came at 4.05 to the head of Wady Beit Haskeh, which runs down westwards towards Terkûmieh. Rising gradually from this, we turned at 4.15 to the left at a right angle ; and came in seven minutes across the fields to the immense foundations, which we had formerly visited.⁵ They are known to the Jews as the House of Abraham ; and are sometimes called by the natives Bir el-Khûlîl, from the well connected with them. These inexplicable walls remain as when we saw them in 1838 ; except that the covering above the well was gone. This well is of large circumference, and about ten feet deep to the surface of the water ; it is said to be strictly a fountain. The course of the longest wall by compass is S. 80°

¹ See *genr. Krafft*, in *Ritter's Erdk.* XVI. p. 266 sq.

² Acts 8, 38 sq.

³ *Onomast. art. Bethsur.* Itin. Hieros. p. 599.

⁴ See above, Vol. II. pp. 41, 48, and Note XXXII, and of Vol. II. [ii. 380, 390, and Note XXX.]

⁵ Vol. I. pp. 215, 216. [i. 317, 318.]

E. These foundations are regarded by the common people as belonging to the ruins of er-Râmeḥ, which cover the hill on the north, and extend down to this spot. Hence the name Râmeḥ el-Khūlil, which we formerly heard applied also to the foundations.

We now turned up the hill er-Râmeḥ, and reached the top in six minutes. Here and on the slope are the remains of a large village. The ground all the way is strewn with ruins of dwellings, covering some acres, with hewn stones among them. There is on the top a cistern excavated in the rock. Mr Wolcott noticed some fragments of columns, a few bevelled stones, and many tesserae; and speaks also of the Mediterranean as visible through a gap in the hills in the northwest.¹ Several places were here again in sight, which we had seen or visited in 1838; as Dûra in the southwest, Beni Na'im in the southeast, and Beit 'Ainûn nearer at hand.²

To what ancient place and structure are all these remains to be assigned? To this question no satisfactory answer has yet been given; and perhaps never will be. Yet several items of ancient testimony go far to show, that this spot, now called er-Râmeḥ, is that which in the early centuries of the Christian era was held, whether truly or falsely, to be the site of the terebinth of Mamre, near Hebron, where Abraham long pitched his tent.³ The testimony of Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth century shows, that the place was then pointed out near Hebron; while from that of Josephus, of the *Itin. Hieros.* in the fourth century, of Sozomen in the fifth, and of Adamnanus in the seventh, it is clear that it lay not far from Hebron towards Jerusalem.⁴ The *Itin. Hieros.* and Sozomen agree in placing it *two* Roman miles from Hebron; while Josephus says it was only *six stadia* distant from that city. As the place during those centuries was well known and frequented; and as the specification of *two* miles agrees well with the actual distance from Hebron; there can be little doubt that the notice of Josephus, though intended to refer to the same spot, is erroneous.⁵

Admitting, then, that this was the reputed place of Abraham's terebinth, we can account perhaps for the extensive vestiges of an ancient site. Eusebius relates, that the terebinth

¹ Biblioth. Sacra, 1843, p. 45.

² See Vol. I. p. 489 II. p. 214. [i. 186 sq. ii. 214.]—Bearings at Râmeḥ: Shiyûkh 67°. Beit 'Ainûn 81°. Beni Na'im 134°. Dûra 238°. Beit Sâr 351°. Hal-hâl 9°.

³ Engl. Vera. *plain of Mamre*. Gen. 13, 18, 18, 1.

⁴ Euseb. et Hieron. *Onomast. arta. Arboch, Drya*. Jos. B. J. 4. 9. 7. *Itir.*

Hieros. p. 599. Sozom. H. E. 2. 4. Adamnan. ex Arculfo, 2. 11.

⁵ The *six* (ἑξ) stadia may be an error of transcribers for *sixteen* (ἑκατὼν); especially as numbers were usually written by signs. Thus it here needed only to drop an *iota*, and write ϛ instead of ις. Or it may have been merely a loose estimate on the part of Josephus, after many years of absence.

of Abraham, which was still remaining in his day, had become an object of worship to Christians ; as also to the Gentiles round about, who had set up here an idol and altars. To break up this idolatrous worship, the emperor Constantine gave orders to erect on the spot a *Basilica* or church ; the oversight of which was entrusted to Eusebius himself.¹ In the same connection it is likewise related, that this had long been the seat of a celebrated mart or fair, whither the people of the country far and wide resorted to buy and sell ; and that after the final overthrow of the Jews in the war with Adrian, A. D. 135, a great multitude of captives of every age and sex were here publicly sold as slaves.² These facts serve to show, that not long after the time of Josephus, and for several subsequent centuries, this was a well known and greatly frequented spot ; and they are also sufficient to account for the existence here of a large town, the actual vestiges of which are still extant.

In respect to the immense walls, which form the most imposing feature of the place, I find as yet no satisfactory explanation. They seem not to be Jewish ; for they bear no resemblance to the walls of Jewish structures at Hebron or Jerusalem. If a church was actually erected here in accordance with the orders of Constantine ; as indeed the testimony of later writers seems to imply ; we should most naturally regard these as its foundation walls. Yet they exhibit none of the tokens of ecclesiastical architecture, and do not of themselves suggest a church.³

Another question arises, as to the present name er-Râmeh. At first, and naturally, it suggests the *Ramah of the south*, which belonged to Simeon, and is mentioned twice in the Old Testament.⁴ But the order and manner in which that place is named, seem to imply, that it was quite in the south of Judah, and apparently further south than Hebron. The manner too in which the terebinth of Mamre is spoken of in the Old Testament and by the later writers, excludes the idea, that it was identical with that Ramah. Yet as the Hebrew *Ramah*, signifying a *height*, was not unfrequent as a proper name ; it is not improbable, that, this hill was anciently one of the many Ramahs of Palestine, of which we have no account ; and that the name has in modern times become extended, so as to include the site and remains which lie in the neighbourhood below.

The ruins of Beit 'Aintûn, which we saw from er-Râmeh,

¹ Onomast. l. c. Euseb. Demonstr. also the account in Vol. I. p. 349. [il. Evang. c. 9. Vita Const. 3. 53. 7.]

² Sozom. H. E. 2. 4. Hieron. Comm. in Jes. c. 31. Comm. in Zach. 11. 4. Chron. Paschal p. 253 Par. p. 474 Dind. Comp. Relaud Palæst. pp. 711-715. See

³ Such too was the judgment of Mr Tipping; Biblioth. Sac. 1843, p. 45.

⁴ Heb. רָמָה רְיִמָּה Josh. 19, 8; רְיִמָּה רָמָה 1 Sam. 30, 27.

were visited in 1842 by Mr Wolcott.¹ They lie mainly on the lower part of the southern slope of a hill or promontory, apparently in the fork between two valleys. The area is about half a mile long, and half as broad. The principal ruin is a building eighty-three feet long from north to south, and seventy-two feet broad, but the ends of broken columns built into the walls, and other circumstances, show that this is not the original structure. The remains of the town lie on the gentle slope above (north of) this edifice. The foundations remain ; and the streets and forms of the dwellings can still be traced. The largest hewn stones were six feet long by three broad, and bevelled. There are three or four cisterns in the upper part ; but the fountain was of course the main reliance. The probable identity of this place with the *Beth-anoth* of the book of Joshua, was suggested by Mr Wolcott. The two names, though by no means the same, are yet perhaps sufficiently alike ; and the mention of Beth-anoth along with Halhul and Beth-zur goes far to establish the identity of the place.²

We left er-Rameh at 4.45 for Halhul, descending the hill towards the north. At the foot was an excavated cistern now dry, with steps to descend into it. A fertile plain was before us, sloping very gently eastwards to a Wady. Passing this plain, and crossing a low water-shed, we descended into the deep Wady Kabûn, here running northeast under Halhul ; but further down sweeping around to the southeast to the great Wady which lies towards Beni Na'im ;³ and having the ruins of Beit 'Ainûn on its left side, apparently near the junction. Ascending again the opposite slope through extensive and well cultivated fields, we reached Halhul at 5.10 ; and found our tent pitched on the summit of the ridge, not far from the sightly mosk.

Everything around Halhul looks thrifty ; fine fields, fine vineyards, and many cattle and goats. Especially is the eastern slope fertile and well tilled. The village is just below the eastern brow ; and thus is not visible from the Jerusalem road. It is the head of a district. The people were barely civil ; and would not answer many of our inquiries, especially as to sepulchres. The old mosk or Wely of Neby Yûnas is a poor structure. It has a tower or minaret ; which makes it look at a distance like a New England church on a hill. We thought at first it might have been perhaps originally a church ; but there are no tokens of it. It lies so high, and is seen so far, that we supposed many villages would be in sight from it ; but in this were disappointed. We were not allowed to enter the mosk.⁴

¹ Biblioth. Sacra, pp. 57, 58.

² Josh. 15, 58, 59.

³ See Vol. I. p. 489. [ii. 186.]

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⁴ Bearings from Halhul: Beit Ummaw .
359° Beit Kheirân 10°.

The ancient *Halhul* of the book of Joshua, to which this place corresponds, is mentioned also in the Onomasticon of Jerome.¹ A Jewish traveller of the fourteenth century speaks of it as containing the sepulchre of Gad the seer.² The identity of no ancient site is more undisputed; though it seems not to have been recognised before our former journey.³

Saturday, May 8th. We left Halhul at 6 o'clock, and descended the slope to 'Ain edh-Dhirweh in twelve minutes. Here we sent off Beshârah with the mules and luggage direct to Jerusalem, retaining only Rashid; in order ourselves to proceed more rapidly by way of Beit Ummar and so along near the western brow of the mountains.

Setting off again at 6.20, we came in ten minutes to the fork of the road leading to Beit Ummar. Here Wady Rishrâsh was on our left, breaking down as a deep ravine to the western plain; with the Wely of Jâla on its northern side, on an almost isolated hill, a high and strong point; and Bökkâr on the south side opposite, an old site marked by two trees. We took the road to Beit Ummar, leaving that to Jerusalem on the right; and ascended gradually, till at 6.40 we were at the top.⁴ Five minutes later Kûfin was in sight, N. 45° E. We were here surrounded with the clucking of partridges; of which the bushes seemed to be full. Passing at 6.50 the head of the Wady which runs down westwards on the south of Kûfin, we reached Beit Ummar at 7.10, a miserable mass of rubbish and ruins. It lies high; and having an old mosk with a tower, and also another shabby tower, it makes quite a show at a distance. I saw no village apparently more wretched in all Palestine. Very few women were to be seen. The men were surly and suspicious; and would give us no information. We learned that they had now been at war for a year with the village Sûrif below the mountains, with which they had a feud of blood. A man was stationed upon the tower of the mosk, to watch against the approach of the enemy.

After some difficulty, we at last found a woman, who answered our inquiries intelligently.⁵ On the north of Jâla runs down Wady Muzeiri'ah from between Beit Ummar and Jedûr. Kusbur appeared like a village; but is a ruin, separated from Bökkâr by Wady esh-Sheikh. Min'in appeared like an inhabited place. By going three minutes northwest, we saw the

¹ Josh. 15, 58. Onomast. art. *Ezal*.

² 1 Sam. 22, 5. 2 Sam. 24, 11 sq.—Isbak Chelo in 1334, Carmoly p. 242; comp. pp. 388, 435. It is also merely mentioned by R. Parchi a few years earlier; Benj. of Tud. by Asher, II. p. 437.

³ See Vol. I. p. 216. [i. 319.]

⁴ Bearings at 6.40: Halhul 179°. Bökkâr 285°. Beit Sûr 203°. Beit Ummar 2°.

⁵ Bearings at Beit Ummar: Beit Nettif 315°. Jâla 269°. Um Burj 269°. Min'in 211°. Bökkâr 231°. Kusbur 231°. Beit Fejjâr 91°. Jedûr N. 35 W. 4 m.

site of Jedûr three quarters of a mile distant. It is merely a small ruin marked by a tree, on a point or Tell projecting from the brow of the mountain. We had it afterwards somewhat nearer on our left as we passed along. Jedûr is the ancient *Gedor* of Judah.¹

Leaving Beit Ummar at 7.35, on a course about N. 20° E. we descended gradually to the green basin and bed of the southern branch of Wady 'Arrûb. This Wady has its head here near the western brow, just under Jedûr; and passes down across the whole mountain tract to the Dead sea. On its northern side we rose again obliquely to the top of the ridge (at 8.5), here of considerable height.² Descending again we came into the northern branch of Wady 'Arrûb; in which at 8.15 we stopped a moment at a well of living water near the slight ruins of Merrina, which we had seen yesterday across the valley. We now took a direction N. 15° E. up a side valley called Wady Shukheit; which is straight and shallow. We followed it quite to its head. At its mouth, on our right, were the slight remains of Um el-Meis. Further north it is open and arable; and several persons were ploughing. At 8.45 we reached a tree at the head of the valley, on the water-shed; it marks likewise the boundary between the provinces of Jerusalem and Hebron, as also between the Yemen and the Keis.³ Here we stopped for five minutes. Beit Sakârieh was now in view before us, on an almost isolated promontory or Tell, jutting out northwest between two deep valleys; and connected with the high ground south by a low neck between the heads of those two valleys. These run off to Wady Musûrr below. We descended, crossed the neck, and at 9.5 reached the top of the Tell.

As we came to the neck, a large column lay just by the path; perhaps quarried there. On the neck and all the way up the ascent were many hewn stones, some of them large, lying scattered, and also in walls and foundations. The summit is rather extensive, not less than two or three acres. There are several ancient cisterns; also fragments of columns. Towards the northwest are two sepulchres, with upright doors, in the scarped face of a sunken rock. There is an old Wely under a tree, called Abu Zakary. There were at the time only a few families sojourning here temporarily. Two women were churning with goatskins, in the manner formerly described.⁴ The land round about had been farmed by Meshullam of Ūrtâs, for the purpose of planting sea-island cotton.⁵

¹ Josh. 15, 58. Onomast. art. *Gedor*. Beit Ummar 208°. Beit Sakârieh 21°.

² Bearings at 8.5, from top of ridge: Sûba 7°.

Beit Ummar S. 20° W. Kûfin S. 20° E.

³ Bearings at 8.45, at tree: Shiyûkh

167°. Halhûl 193°. Beit Sûr 200°.

⁴ Bibl. Res. I. p. 485. [ii. 180.]

⁵ Bearings at Beit Sakârieh: Beit Ummar 208°. Hûbîleh, a ruin, 26.5°. Jeb'ah

Here then we have the almost impregnable position of a strong fortress ; and the name, Beit Sakârieh, identifies it with the ancient *Beth-zacharia* ;¹ where Judas Maccabæus was defeated by Antiochus Eupator.² The Syrians having besieged Beth-zur, Judas abandoned his investment of the citadel in Jerusalem ; and pitched his camp at Beth-zacharia, seventy furlongs distant from the enemy. Here Antiochus attacked and routed his forces. It follows that Beth-zacharia was between Beth-zur and Jerusalem, and seventy furlongs distant from the former. We had travelled this morning from 'Ain edh-Dhirweh, the fountain of Beth-zur, to Beit Sakârieh, *two and a quarter hours*, at a more rapid rate than usual. Assuming four Roman miles the hour as our rate, which can vary little from the truth, the coincidence is quite exact ; and the identity of the names serves to remove every shadow of doubt.³

We left Beit Sakârieh again by the neck, the only place of exit ; and came in seven minutes to the point where we had quitted the Jerusalem road. Leaving this spot at 9.35, we had in five minutes on our right the little basin at the head of Wady Biyâr, which runs down on the south of Beit Fâghûr and of the Pools. This basin is southeast from the Tell of Beit Sakârieh. A road passes down the valley to the Pools and Bethlehem. We kept more to the left, around the head of the deep valley on the east of the Tell, and overagainst the ruins, on a course about N. E. by E. until 10 o'clock ; here that valley turned more west.⁴ After five minutes, we proceeded on the same general course ; and passed around the head of another like deep Wady, which sweeps off in a similar curve, first north, then northwest, and at last west. Just beyond this, we had at 10.35 an extensive view over the region of hills below us in the west. Nûhhâlin is in the bottom of Wady el-Musûrr, on its southern side. This Wady seemed to pass just under Jeb'ah, on the north ; and uniting with Wady es-Sûr from the south, it becomes the broad Wady es-Sûmt, now appearing as a beautiful and cultivated tract between Beit Nettif and Shuweikeh.⁵

Turning now E. N. E. we rose in ten minutes to the top of the mountain ridge, and came at 10.50 to the eastern brow,

291°. Sûnâsîn 309°. Beit 'Atâb 325°. Deir el-Hawa 325°. Sôba 6°. Hûsân 14°. Neby Samwîl 20°. Beit Nettif 290°. Head of Wady Biyâr 125°.

¹ Gr. Βεθζαχαρία, 1 Macc. 6, 32. 33. Jos. Antt. 12. 9. 4.

² 1 Macc. 6, 32 sq. Jos. Antt. 12. 9. 4. B. J. 1. 1. 5. Reland Palest. p. 660.

³ Hence the argument of Krafft to prove that Beth-zacharia was situated at the village edh-Dhoheriyeh southwest of He-

bron, falls to the ground ; Ritter's Erdk. XVI. pp. 205-207.

⁴ Bearings at 10 o'clock : Beit Sakârieh 238°. Nûhhâlin 310°. 2 m. Hûsân N. Kuriet es-Sa'idah N. Sôba N.

⁵ Bearings at 10.35 : Beit Sakârieh 219°. Hûbaleh 231°. Jeba' 262°. Nûhhâlin 264°. Sûnâsîn 281°. Beit 'Atâb 306°. Deir el-Hawa 316°. Kesla 322°. el-Kabu 339°. Hûsân 345°. Sôba 356°. Weleieh 7°.

where Bethlehem and the Mount of Olives were in sight.¹ Before us was the head of a Wady running down to Wady Biyâr south of the Pools. Our road kept along high on the northern declivity of this valley, until at a low spot it crossed over the ridge towards the left; and then continued in like manner on the southern slope of the parallel Wady, running also down to the Pools. This latter valley is broad, and was full of vineyards and fig orchards. Beyond it, el-Khûdr was in view. When opposite that place, we turned down into the valley at 11.10; and crossing it, afterwards rose a little, and reached the village at 11.25. Here is a branch of the great Greek convent in Jerusalem; and to it belong most of the vineyards and orchards of fruit. The village is small, and wholly dependent on the convent. The people came hither a few years ago, a colony from Welejuh. The place is on the water-shed, between the valley going to the Pools and the head of the deep Wady Bittir running off northwest. We stopped for lunch in a field just out of the village.

Starting again at 11.55, we had before us the high ridge between Wady Bittir and Wady Ahmed. We took the Bethlehem road; which passes along by the head of Wady Bittir; and crossing the ridge leaves Beit Jâla on the north. Both declivities of the ridge are thickly strewn with large rocks. At 12.10 we were on the summit, and looked down into the basin of Wady Ahmed. A small Wady went off just on our right to the Pools; the rest of the tract being all drained to Wady Ahmed, here running towards the north. Our guide now left us, to return to his home in Beit Jâla. We had found him intelligent and faithful; and I trust he retains a pleasant remembrance of his excursion with us.

Crossing the basin of Wady Ahmed, we struck at 12.40 the camel road from the Pools to Jerusalem, just above the bed of the valley, and back of Bethlehem. Following it we were at 12.55 opposite Rachel's tomb; and saw again the perforated stones of the aqueduct described yesterday. The same ancient aqueduct crossed a saddle in the ridge just north, in a mass of large hewn stones, which yet remain. Still further north the present aqueduct is seen east of the road, winding along the steep slopes south of Mâr Eliâs, and passing around to the eastward of the higher hills. We now rode rapidly. At 1.15 we were opposite Mâr Eliâs; and at 1.55 reached Jerusalem at the Yâfa gate.

Bearings at 10.50: Mount of Olives 48°. Bethlehem 79°.

SECTION VII.

FROM JERUSALEM TO BEISAN.

Monday, May 10th.—We left Jerusalem as related at the end of Sect. IV ; and having examined the mounds of ashes, and looked for a moment at the Tomb of Helena, we set off from the latter at 12.25. Crossing the valley of Jehoshaphat, we rose upon the first ascent beyond, to a narrow plain running down eastwards and terminating in a small Wady, which enters the valley of Jehoshaphat at the northern extremity of the Mount of Olives. The ascent to the next brow is steeper ; and the paved way may perhaps in part be ancient. This brow is the ancient Scopus, where Titus obtained his first view of Jerusalem. This we reached at 12.40 ; and I recalled anew the emotions I had formerly felt upon this spot, in taking leave of the Holy City, as I then supposed, for the last time.¹ Fourteen years meantime had rolled away ; changes many and great had taken place in other things ; but *here* everything was the same, and the physical and historic features all remained unchanged. And *now* the feeling came over me with a deeper consciousness, that I was indeed looking upon this scene of beauty and historic glory for the last time on earth.

Five minutes further north a path goes off on the right over the hill to Hizmeh ; and at the same point begins on the left a side Wady descending westwards to the Wady Beit Hanina. At 12.55 Sha'fât was on our left, a quarter of a mile distant ; and at 1.05 Tuleil el-Fûl was close upon our right, marking the site of the ancient Gibeah of Saul.² The road now descends gradually ; and seven minutes more brought us to the foundations and remains called Khirbet el-Kûtâ', directly upon the path. These proved to be smaller and less important than I had anticipated :

¹ See Vol. II. p. 261. [iii. 74.]

² See Vol. II. pp. 577-579. Bibliotheca Sacra, 1844, pp. 598-602.

they are likewise too distant perhaps from the base of the Tuleil el-Fûl to be decidedly regarded as the remains of Gibeah. Yet the town may well have extended down thus far. Possibly some traces of the ancient city may yet be discovered around the base of the hill on the east or northeast; though we perceived nothing of the kind on our visit to the Tell in 1838.¹

The camel road to Ramleh went off on the left at 1.18; the village er-Râm being now in sight upon its conical hill, over-against Tuleil el-Fûl in the north. At 1.40 we came to the ruined Khân known as Khurâib er-Râm, with a cistern at which women were drawing water. Just south of this spot is a small mound called Kabr el-'Amâlikah, "Tomb of the Amalekites." This is worth notice only as showing the facility, with which high-sounding names are applied by the common people. After a delay of five minutes, we turned off directly to er-Râm; which we reached at 1.55. Here are broken columns, a few bevelled stones, and some other large hewn stones. There is also an ancient reservoir of tolerable size towards the southwest. The village was now nearly deserted.²

We now took a guide; and leaving er-Râm at 2 o'clock, turned eastward upon the road to Hizmeh. The path lies high along the north side of Wady 'Aiyâd, which further down becomes Wady Fârah. Opposite to us was a low Tell called Khirbet Erhah; which at 2.10 bore S. 25° W. At 2.25 we had in sight 'Anâta, Hizmeh, and also 'Almit, a low naked Tell beyond the Wady which runs down south of Hizmeh.³ This name, 'Almit, had already been found by Mr Finn, and compared with *Alemeth*, one of the priests' cities of Benjamin enumerated in the Chronicles; but which in Joshua is called *Almon*.⁴ The name of itself would perhaps not be decisive; but the mention of that city between Geba and Anathoth speaks strongly for the identity.

Leaving the road to Hizmeh, which crosses the valley to reach that village, we kept along on the north side; and descending to the broad, level, and apparently fertile tract which here skirts the water-course, we came at 2.55 to what our guide called Kubûr Isra'in, but which the Sheikh of Mûkh-mâs afterwards named to us Kubûr el-'Amâlikah. These are the "Tombs of the Amalekites," so called; first seen and described by Capt. Newbold, in terms somewhat overdrawn.⁵ There are four of these structures, merely long low rude parallel-

¹ See Vol. I. p. 577 sq. [ii. 317.]

² For our former visit to er-Râm, see Vol. I. p. 576 sq. [ii. 315.]

³ Bearings at 2.25: 'Anâta 171°. 'Almit 145°. Hizmeh 136°. Tuleil el-Fûl 220°.

⁴ Heb. אֶלְמֶת *Al'meth* 1 Chr. 6, 45

[60]; אֶלְמוֹן *Almon* Josh. 21, 18.

⁵ Lond. Athenæum, 1849, No. 1124. p. 491. Ritter Erdk. Th. XVI. p. 522.

ograms of rough broken stones, laid up with no great regularity. The largest is 102 feet long by 21 feet broad; the next has a length of 98 feet. The average height is from three to five feet, except where the ground is less elevated. About the middle of the eastern side of the largest, is a square hole or doorway leading to a small square chamber covered with longer stones. Towards the south end of the same parallelogram is a small opening like a well, extending to the ground. The other structures are smaller; and have neither chamber nor well. The work is all of the rudest kind. There is nothing about them to suggest the idea either of sepulchral monuments or of any remote antiquity. They are such as the Arabs may well have thrown together in no very distant times; but the purpose of them is inexplicable.¹

We now at 3 o'clock struck up out of the valley obliquely, about E. by N. The tract we were passing over had some excellent soil; but much of the surface was naked rock.² At 3.30 we reached Khirbet el-Haiyeh (Ruins of the Serpents) on a low Tell looking down into Wady Suweinit, which unites further below with Wady Fârah. The remains are those of an ordinary village, with a cistern in the middle. There is no appearance of a wall, nor of hewn stones; except a few of small size lying around the cistern, and once belonging to an arch. Neither the name nor the remains suggest any great antiquity.³

We were here told of similar ruins further down, at or near the junction of the two Wadys, called Kula'at Tuweiy.

We now took the road to Jeba', N. 65° W. crossing midway a ridge of some elevation; the top of which we reached at 3.50.⁴ The fields were well tilled and green; but the crops were much lighter than those we had seen in Galilee. We came to Jeba' at 4.15. This is the ancient *Geba*, several times mentioned in Scripture, and situated at the northern extremity of the kingdom of Judah.⁵

After a stop of ten minutes, we proceeded towards Mûkh-

¹ From this spot, Hizmeh bore S. 30° W. dist $\frac{1}{2}$ m. It was now deserted on account of the conscription.

² Bearings at 3.15: 'Almît 200'. Hizmeh 245'. Tuleil el-Fûl 248'.

³ We had come to this spot, because, on account of the name (which Krafft writes *Medinet Chai*), it has recently been brought forward as the site of ancient *Ai*. But there is no affinity between the two names; for *Ai* contains the tenacious letter 'Ain, which the other does not. The latter is also a regular plural form, signifying *serpents*. And further, *Ai* was near to Bethel, and of easy access from it; but this

spot is at least nearly three hours distant from Bethel, and the deep and difficult Wady es-Suweinit lies between. There is here no valley whatever on the west; except the low open plain we had traversed. See Krafft Topogr. Jerus. p. ix. Ritter Erdk. XVI. p. 527 sq.—Bearings from Kh. el-Haiyeh: 'Almît 223'. Hizmeh 251'. T. el-Fûl 251'. Taiyibeh 8'.

⁴ Bearings at 3.50, on a ridge: Kh. el-Haiyeh S. 65° E. Jeba' N. 65° W. Hizmeh S. 55° W.

⁵ For Jeba' (*Geba*) and our former visit there, see Vol. I. p. 440 sq. [ii. 113 sq.]

mâs, descending immediately by a very steep and rugged path into the deep Wady es-Suweinit. The way was so steep, and the rocky steps so high, that we were compelled to dismount; while the baggage-mules got along with great difficulty. The bottom of the great Wady is here broad and uneven; the main branch comes down between Bethel and Bireh. Here, where we crossed, several short side Wadys came in from the south-west and northwest. The ridges between these terminate in elevated points projecting into the great Wady; and the easternmost of these bluffs on each side were probably the outposts of the two garrisons of Israel and the Philistines. The road passes around the eastern side of the southern hill, the post of Israel; and then strikes up over the western part of the northern one, the post of the Philistines, and the scene of Jonathan's adventure. These hills struck us now, more than formerly, as of sharp ascent, and as appropriate to the circumstances of the narrative. They are isolated hills in the valley; except so far as the low ridges, at the end of which they are found, connect them back with the higher ground on each side.¹

After crossing the western part of the northern hill, the path descends again into the side Wady which here comes in; and then winds around eastward in ascending to the village. We reached Mukhmâs at 5.10; and pitched our tent in the fields on the northeast of the village. The day had been exceedingly hot and sultry; the thermometer rising to 95° in the afternoon. Here at 7 o'clock in the evening it stood at 83°.

East of Mukhmâs and on the north side of Wady es-Suweinit, are two sites of ruins. One of them was in sight on a high round Tell, called Kubbeh;² the other, further down, is called Duweir.

Tuesday, May 11th. Our course of yesterday was taken, in order to visit particular localities, which seemed to need further examination. To day our purpose was to explore the country further north, keeping as near as possible to the brow of the Jordan valley; and then find our way afterwards to Nâbulus.

We set off at 6.05 for Rûmmôn with a guide; and ascending the shallow Wady on the east of Mukhmâs, took from its head a course N. 50° E. At 6.15 some ruins appeared on a hill at our right, called Tell 'Askar. Our way lay across small plains and heads of valleys running southeast to the Suweinit. At 6.45 we crossed the road by which we had formerly travelled from Jericho to Deir Duwân; leaving now the remains of Abu

¹ 1 Sam. 14, 4 sq. See Vol. I. p. 441. [ii. 116]

² This *Kubbâh* is doubtless the Gobah of Kraft; which he places on the south side of the valley at its junction with Wady

Fârah; where we heard of a site called Kula'at Tuweiy. He also regards it as the ancient Gibeah of Benjamin. Topogr. Jerus. p. ix. Ritter XVI. p. 528.

Sübbâh on our left out of sight. The place is so called from a family that lived in it awhile; but its proper name is Kefr Nâta.¹ From this point Rûmmôn bore directly north. We here met, for the first time on our present journey, flocks of sheep and goats mingled together; on our former journey we saw them often. Here too we found mandrakes; and partridges were frequent. There were also many fields of grain.

After descending gradually by a side valley, we came at 7.15 to the bottom of the great Wady el-'Asas, under Rûmmôn. Further down it is called Wady es-Sik; and afterwards becomes Wady en-Nâ'imeh. By a circuitous route we rose again, steeply at first, then up a gradual slope through fields of wheat, and then still more steeply, to Rûmmôn, which we reached at 7.55. It lies high, on a rocky Tell, with a deep valley on the north running southeast into the deeper 'Asas. The place has an old look; and there is a deep tank cut in the rock on the northeast quarter. There seems to be no reason for doubt, but that this place represents the rock *Rimmon*, where the remnant of the Benjamites took refuge.²

Several military officers were here, taking a new list of houses and property. They were reported to have received bribes, to the amount of 2000 piastres, in the district of Beni Sâlim.

At 8 o'clock we proceeded towards Taiyibeh, which bore N. 1° E. Here again the path led over small plains and heads of valleys running southeast. These tracts have more of good soil than one would anticipate in so rocky a region. There are no trees nor bushes. At 8.40 we were at the foot of the high Tell on which Taiyibeh is situated; here is the head of a valley called Wady Rubeiyeh, which runs down S. 10° E. to the 'Asas on the east of Rûmmôn. Instead of ascending to the town, we turned to the left along the foot of the Tell, and so along its western side, which rises from the Wady Kûsis; this latter extending (as Wady el-'Ain) to the 'Asas opposite Deir Duwân.³ We thus passed round to the slope of the basin on the north of Taiyibeh, and came at 9 o'clock to Deir Jerûr; from which Taiyibeh bore S. 5° E.

Deir Jerûr is a village of some size, facing towards the south, on a point between two Wadys; which here unite and form Wady Habis, running down to the Ghôr between Dûk and 'Aujeh. We sought to obtain here a guide; but after considerable delay, were obliged to depart without one.

We were now entering upon a region which had been seldom traversed; and was, as yet, comparatively a blank upon the

¹ See Vol. I. p. 573. [ii. 311.]

² See Vol. I. p. 444. [ii. 120.]-For our

³ Judg. 20, 45, 47. See more in Vol. I. p. 440. [ii. 113.]

former visit to Taiyibeh, see *ibid.* [ii. 121 sq.]

maps. Leaving Deir Jerûr at 9.15, we followed up the Wady which comes from the north ; and came in ten minutes to a cistern, where women were washing. We needed water for our beasts ; at first they denied that there was any, but afterwards let us draw. Here we stopped ten minutes. We ought now to have ascended the eastern hill or ridge, on the road to Kefr Mâlik ; but being without a guide, we kept on up the valley till 10 o'clock ;¹ when some boys tending goats set us right, and we then ascended the hill by a more difficult path, and came at 10.10 into the right road. It lies along the top of what proved to be a high ridge ; the highest ground, indeed, that we passed over.² Kûrn Sûrtabeh was in the northeast below us ; and before us was a very deep and broken gorge running down to the Ghôr. Our course was now about N. 55° E. We soon began to descend very steeply ; and at 10.45 came to Kefr Mâlik, a village of good size, situated on a ridge projecting towards the northeast, between two valleys running down to the deep Wady Mûhâmî.

From this point Khirbet Jeradeh was seen on a Tell in the valley, about a mile and a half distant nearly north ; and further on, beyond a hill, was said to be the plain of Turmus 'Aya.³ The direction of Sâmieh was pointed out to us, about east. Above it were said to be the ruins of a castle, called el-Merjemeh.⁴

We rested and took our lunch at Kefr-Malik ; and started again at 12.30 with a guide for Daumeh. Descending steeply and slowly into the western valley, we passed down it in a north-easterly direction ; and at 12.55 were at the mouth of the Wady Hûmar coming down on the south of Khirbet Jeradeh.⁵ The hills (or rather mountains) round about were rocky and naked ; except where occasionally olive trees had been planted among the rocks. Five minutes later we turned up Wady Shâm north-west ; and afterwards followed up a branch of it northeast. The great Wady formed by the junction of all these and others is here called el-Mûhâmî ; and lower down Wady es-Sâmieh. At 1.30, near the head of the side valley, the ruins of Si'a were on a hill close on our left. Five minutes later we came out upon a high ridge ; and looked down on the east into a deep valley running south. Down this valley we could see the position of Sâmieh, some two and a half miles distant, in the main valley ; its rich plain covered with fields of onions, and watered by its fountains. Sâmieh was now a ruin ; its castle was not

¹ Bearings at 10 : Deir Jerûr S. 35° E. Taivibeh 167°.

² Bearings at 10.10 from top of ridge : Kûrn S. rtabeh 55°. el-Mughaiyir 54°.

³ See Vol. II, p. 268 [iii. 85.]

⁴ Bearings at Kefr Malik : Abu el-'Aul 335°. Khirbet Jeradeh 355°, 1½ m. el-Mughaiyir 53°.

⁵ Here Khirbet Jeradeh bore N. 10° W ¼ m.

here visible. Below the village the Wady turns east and descends to the plain as Wady 'Aujeh, next north of Wady Nuwá'imeh. At some distance beyond Sámieh is a high conical mountain called Nejemeh.¹

Ten minutes later we descended a little into the eastern part of a fine plain, mostly covered with wheat, extending two or three miles from east to west, and perhaps a mile wide; drained apparently towards the southeast by the valley above described. At 2 o'clock we saw towards the north, on the summit of the hills, an old site called Kūlasôn, about three quarters of a mile distant. We now rose gradually from the plain, at its north-eastern corner, through another narrow plain; and came at 2.15 to Mughaiyir, a village of considerable size, and built of hewn stones. The people were quite civil, and readily answered all our inquiries.²

Setting off again at 2.30, we descended considerably into a beautiful plain, where we rode through extensive wheat fields, on a course about N. N. E. The crops here, however, were much less heavy than those we had seen further north, and especially in Galilee; and this remark was applicable throughout all Judea. The plain lay long and narrow from southwest to northeast; and our course being rather diagonal to it, we rose after a time on the left to a higher rocky terrace, skirted by rugged hills or mountains towards the west. Here we crossed a ravine coming from these hills, called Wady Reshshâsh, descending east through a deep narrow chasm to the Ghôr, where it unites with Wady Fūsâil. The fine plain above mentioned is drained into it; and we could see that the cultivation was continued for some distance down the mountain. We here got into a wrong path and wandered about for some time; losing fifteen minutes. We crossed at 3.20 another Wady from the northwest, a branch of the former, with a ruin called Merâjim on its high western bank, a quarter of a mile distant. Following up a shallow side Wady towards the northeast, we came out upon the ridge, or rather the high table land, which forms the brow of the mountain overlooking the Ghôr; and at 3.30 reached the village of Daumeh.

¹ Bearings at 1.35: Khirbet Jeradeh S. 85° W. es-Sâmieh S. 25° E. 2½ m. Nejemeh S. 25° E.—This es-Sâmieh is probably the place called Ssamireh by Barth, who passed from Jericho to Nâbulus in Feb. 1847; see Ritter XV. i. p. 465. But it is not the same with the Sumrah, of which we heard at Jericho; which is a ruin in the Ghôr, about three quarters of an hour north of 'Ain es-Sultân. It was visited by my companion in 1844. See

Vol. I. p. 569. [ii. 305.] Ritter l. c. p. 465 sq. The name es-Sâmieh stands in our former lists.—Barth seems also to speak of a castle called Nejemeh; ib. p. 464.

² Bearings at Mughaiyir: Kūlasôn 321°. el-Mejdel 6'.—This seems to be the *Muir* of Barth, also built of hewn stones; Ritter XV. i. p. 467. The place stands in our former lists; Bibl. Res. first edit. III. App. p. 128.

This is an old place, answering to the *Edumia* or *Edomia* of Eusebius and Jerome, which they fix at twelve Roman miles in the east from Neapolis, and erroneously assign to the tribe of Benjamin.¹ There are ancient sepulchres round about the village. It has also a fountain, which we did not visit; but were glad to drink of its waters, after another day of oppressive heat, during which we had thus far found only rain water from cisterns. I do not find that this village had before been visited by any traveller.

Five minutes east of the village is a more elevated point, affording an unobstructed view over this part of the Ghôr and towards Kûrn Sûrtabeh. Opposite this point a broad offset from the Ghôr runs up between Kûrn Sûrtabeh on the north, and a lower projection on the south called Mûskûrah. In this offset is the site of Fûsâil, the ancient Phasaëlis; and the projecting point Mûskûrah separates it from the smaller offset of 'Aujeh on the south.² There was a sirocco haze in the atmosphere, so that we could not view the various objects with entire distinctness; but we could see the outline of the great offset below, running up among the mountains; though Fûsâil itself was just out of sight under the mountain on which we stood.³ The general course of the Jordan was visible; but the mountain range beyond was only dimly seen. The long, high, rocky ridge of Sûrtabeh was overagainst us on the left, beyond the offset, running down from northwest to southeast, and extending far into the Ghôr. Towards the extremity and on its highest part is the horn (Kûrn), not unlike that of a rhinoceros in form. Beyond this is a large shoulder; and then a low rocky ridge reaching almost to the Jordan. Indeed the valley of the Jordan is here contracted to its narrowest limits; and the ridge of Kûrn Sûrtabeh may be said to divide it into the lower and upper Ghôr; the former mostly desert, and the latter fertile and in many parts cultivated. The valley at this point appears also higher than further south; a low ridge or hill seeming to extend across it from the foot of Sûrtabeh to the base of the eastern mountains. Where the Jordan finds its way through this higher tract, the latter is broken up into labyrinths of deep ravines with barren chalky sides, forming cones and hills of various shapes, and presenting a most wild and desolate scene.⁴ These wild hills we could now see; as also the course of the Jordan among them.

¹ Onomast. art. *Edomia*.

² The plain of 'Aujeh is in like manner separate from the tract of Wady Nuwa'imeh, further south, by another low projecting point, called 'Esh el Ghûrîb. E. Smith Ms. Journ. Apr. 17th, 1844.

³ The site of Fûsâil was visited by Dr Smith in April 1844. There are founda-

tions of houses, and of walls perhaps for gardens, with remains of conduits. Ms. Journal.

⁴ This description is taken from the manuscript journal of Dr Smith, who travelled up the Ghôr from Jericho to Wady Fârî'a in April 1844.

The deep chasm we had seen before reaching Daumeh, and another one now north of us, run together below, and take the name of Wady Fūsâil, as they pass that site. Still further north, and along the base of the ridge of Sûrtabeh, comes down Wady Ahmar; one head of which is at 'Akrabeh, and another in the small plain east of Nâbulus. It is said to join Wady Fūsâil before reaching the Jordan.¹ The tract in the offset watered by 'Ain Fūsâil is cultivated by the people of Daumeh and Mejdél. The high brow on which we stood is not very much lower than the water-shed at 'Akrabeh; and the mountain masses thus tumbling down to the Ghôr with an immense descent, presented a magnificent scene. Even Sûrtabeh itself is hardly higher than the brow on which we now were; and consequently is not visible in the vicinity of Nâbulus. The western end of its ridge is the highest; higher perhaps than the horn itself; and breaks down at once towards the west, so as to appear as an isolated ridge, only slightly connected with the high western region. As we afterwards saw it, more in the direction of its length, it appeared as a mass of naked jagged ridges huddled together, with one main backbone running through the whole. The people here and elsewhere spoke of ruins somewhere on Sûrtabeh, and a reservoir for water; to which there was formerly an aqueduct from Nâbulus! I examined the summit long and carefully with one of Plössl's *Feldstecher*; but could discover no appearance of ruins; more especially not upon the horn. The distance on an air line could hardly have been more than two or two and a half miles.² Sûrtabeh is mentioned in the Talmud, as the station next after the mount of Olives, where signal torches were lighted and waved to announce the appearance of the new moon.³

The general course of the Jordan, or rather that of its green border of vegetation, as seen from this point, would not be regarded as winding; but as tolerably direct. The many windings of the river, therefore, as laid down on the map of Lieut. Lynch, would seem to be in great part those of the *channel* along the lowest alluvial valley and among the trees, rather than those of the lower valley itself.

In our former journey we had visited the Ghôr at Jericho; and there took bearings of Kûrn Sûrtabeh as seen in the north. We now had the mountain near at hand; and looked down the great valley. This completed my view of the lower Ghôr; while my companion had travelled through it.⁴

¹ E. Smith, *Ms. Journ.* Ap. 17, 1844.

² Schultz heard also of ruins on Sûrtabeh; and thought he could discern them with his telescope; Ritter XV. i. p. 453.

³ Talm. *א-ר-ב-ב*. *Ivsh Hashana* c. 2. Reland *Palæst.* p. 346. Ritter *ib.* p. 454.

⁴ Bearings, 5 min. east of Daumeh: el-Mughaiyir 208°. Mejdél 353°. Jib'it 191°. Kûrn Sûrtabeh 68°. Fūsâil about 99°. Station of E. Smith 97°.—This station of Dr Smith, on his journey from Jericho along the Ghôr in 1844, was half an hour

Wednesday, May 12th. We were detained this morning nearly an hour, trying to find a guide ; and finally, at 6.55, left for Mejdel without one. Our way lay through another narrow plain of wheat fields, drained to the southern gorge, through the valley by which we approached Daumeh yesterday. Not far beyond the plain we came out upon the brink of a deep narrow chasm, which seemed impassable ; it is called Wady Bursheh, or also Wady Násir, and breaks down through to Fúsáil ; where it unites with the southern chasm, and becomes Wady Fúsáil. It was here very deep, precipitous, and descended with great rapidity. By following a path westwards along its steep south-western side, we came on the same level to its bed at 7.20, at a point where it breaks down at once a hundred feet or more. We now ascended on the north, and at 7.35 reached Mejdel.

This place also lies on the high brow overlooking the Ghôr. It is higher indeed than Daumeh ; and affords a nearer view of the valley below. It is perhaps the nearest point, from which to overlook the ridge of Kurn Surtabeh. The main features of the view, however, are the same as at Daumeh. There was still a haze in the atmosphere ; so that we saw nothing as distinctly as we could have wished.¹

Mejdel has the air of an ancient place ; there are sepulchral excavations and many cisterns hewn in the rock. Most probably it is the *Magdal-senna* of Eusebius and Jerome, which they place on the border of Judea, seven miles north of Jericho. The name and position accord well ; and in a part of the country so little frequented, the specification of distance might easily be too small.²

Among the places seen from Mejdel was 'Ain Tâna, N. 28° E. This would seem not improbably to be the ancient *T'hanath* or *Thenath* of Eusebius and Jerome, situated ten Roman miles east of Neapolis, on the way to the Jordan.³ I have no note of its distance from Mejdel ; nor did we see it again. It is not probable that it had any relation to the Taanath-shiloh of Scripture, as some have supposed.⁴

east (87°) of Fúsáil, just on the low ridge running out from Surtabeh.

¹ Bearings at el-Mejdel : 'Akrabeh about 352°. Yânûn N. 'Ain Tâna 28°. E. Smith's station in Ghôr 114°.

² Onomast. art. *Senna*. Reland Palæst. p. 884.—The Greek of Eusebius now reads *Μεγδαλ Σέννα*, instead of *Μαγδαλ Σέννα*, as Jerome has it. Jerome calls it "terminus Judææ," for which we ought doubtless to read "terminus Judææ," as it stands in his account of 'Akrabeh. In like manner the text of Eusebius now reads *ἡ πόλις τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, evidently for *τῆς*

Ἰουδαίας, as he also writes it in the case of 'Akrabeh ; Onom. art. *Akrabi*. The fact that Acrabi and Magdal-senna were both in this region on the northern border of Judea, shows their proximity to each other, and points decisively to the present Mejdel.

³ Onomast. art. *Thenath*. So too Ptolemy, *Θήνα*, Reland Palæst. pp. 461, 1032, 1034. Schultz therefore errs in placing this Thana near Beit Fûrik ; Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges. III. p. 48.

⁴ So Bonfrere, Onomast. art. *Thenath* ; also Gross, in Zeitschr. d. m. Ges. III. p. 55.

We found a guide at Mejdél ; and left again at 7.50 for 'Akrabeh, on a general course about N. by W. The road at first descended a little, and then passed through another not large plain, covered with wheat. It was matter of surprise to us, to find here in this great *break down* of the mountains so much good land ; so many fine and arable, though not large plains. We next wound around the side of a low hill on the left ; and came out at 8.15 upon an open uneven tract, extending from southeast to northwest, with higher hills on each side. On the southern hills was seen the village of Jûrish ; while more in the west was Ausarin.¹ Our course lay along this tract. At 8.40 we saw far in the distance the high Wely of Sheikh Salmôn el-Fârisy, with which we had become acquainted on our way from Nâbulus to Hableh.² At 9 o'clock we passed into the broad meadow-like valley of 'Akrabeh ;³ and reached that place at 9.15.

'Akrabeh is a place of considerable size and importance. It has a mosk with a regular dome ; and is now, as of old, the chief town of the district. Its position is fine. It lies on the lower slope of the northern hill, overlooking the fertile strip of plain on the south ; which here, as at Nâbulus, is actually the water-shed between two valleys running in opposite directions. The one, called Wady Bir Jenâb, runs westward by Kûbalân and south of the Mûkhna, and descends to the western plain as Wady Ribâh north of Mejdél Yâba.⁴ The other is one of the heads of Wady Ahmar, which descends rapidly to the Ghôr along the southern base of Sûrtabeh. We saw in the town several capitals of columns. There is an ancient reservoir near the foot of the slope ; the lower side is quite high ; the walls are built up of broken but unhewn stones. It is now in ruins.

There is no question, but that this is the *Acrabi* of Eusebius and Jerome, situated nine Roman miles eastward of Neapolis, on the way to the Jordan and Jericho, in the district called *Acrabatene*.⁵ Nothing more is known of the place itself ; but the toparchy to which it gave name is often mentioned.⁶ It was the easternmost of the four toparchies, which here lay side by side between the Jordan and the Mediterranean.⁷ How far

¹ Bearings at 8.15 : Jûrish 286°. Ausarin 311°. 'Akrabeh 344°. A ruin 292°, $\frac{1}{2}$ m.

² At 8.40, the bearing of Sheikh Salmôn el-Fârisy was 306°. See above, p. 135.

³ Bearings at 9 : Jûrish 233°. Ausarin 281°. 'Akrabeh 328°, $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Kûrn Sûrtabeh 108°.

⁴ See above, p. 140. See also Vol. II. pp. 272, 273. [iii. 91, 92.]

⁵ Ònomast. art. *Aorabi* ('Αραββελ): "Est autem et vicus hucusque grandis novem milibus à Neapoli contra orientem descendentibus ad Jordanem et Hierico, pe eam quæ appellatur Acrabitene"

⁶ *Acrabatta* or *Acrabatene*, Josephus, B. J. 3. 3. 5; also ib. 2. 12. 4; 2. 20. 4; 2. 22. 2; 3. 3. 4. Plin. H. N. 5. 15. By Eusebius and Jerome, *Onom. arts. Edomia, Janon, Selo*.

⁷ See above, p. 141.

it extended on the south, cannot well be determined. The region continued to bear the name Acrabatene, at least until the time of Jerome in the fourth century; but neither this name, nor that of the chief town, seems to be any where mentioned since that time, until the present century. We heard of 'Akrabeh in our former journey, as others had done before us;¹ but it was first visited by E. G. Schultz in 1847.²

We sent off our muleteers by the direct road from 'Akrabeh to Nâbulus; while we ourselves took a more circuitous route towards the north, by way of Yânûn. Setting off at 9.25, we took a road along the slope of the hill towards the east about on the level of the village; which brought us in ten minutes to the end of the hill, around which we turned northwards. Here again we could look down upon Sûrtabeh and the Ghôr; every thing, the Kûrn and all, was now below us. We saw here the village el-Ifjim on an open tract through which Wady Ahmar passes, near the bottom of the mountain. Southeast of Ifjim is a lower step of the mountain, forming an extensive plain covered with wheat.³ Our course was now N. 30° E. At 10 o'clock we crossed the deep bed of a Wady said to come from the neighbourhood of 'Awertah, and descending to join the Ahmar.

Five minutes later (at 10.5) we reached Yânûn, a village mostly in ruins, with a few houses inhabited, and one new house. We now proceeded up a fertile valley on the same course (N. 30° E.) and came at 10.25 to 'Ain Yânûn, a small fountain of bad water in the valley, feeding a small tank, but not rising above the ground. Here we stopped five minutes.⁴ On the hill above the valley in the northeast, and very near, is a ruin called Khirbet Yânûn.

The name Yânûn obviously corresponds to the ancient *Janon* of Eusebius and Jerome, a village in Acrabatene, twelve Roman miles east of Neapolis; which however these fathers strangely confound with the Janoah of Naphtali.⁵ Whether the ancient name was applied to the present village, or to the ruin upon the hill near the fountain, cannot well be determined.

Leaving the fountain at 10.30, we at once struck obliquely up the northwestern hill, by a blind path very little frequented; and at 10.45 came out on the top of what proved to be a narrow

¹ See Vol. II. p. 280. [iii. 103.] O. v. Richter, passing northwards along the great road, says Akrabi lay on his right, but he could not have seen it; Wallfahrten p. 55 Scholz also has the name; p. 267. Irby and Mangles, on their route from the Jordan to Nâbulus, heard of a village "Agrarba;" which perhaps was Akrabeh; p. 327 [100].

² Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges. III. p. 47. Ritter XV. i. p. 456.

³ Bearings at 9.35, ten minutes east of 'Akrabeh: el-Ifjim S. 70° E. Yânûn N. 30° E.

⁴ Bearing from 'Ain Yânûn: Yânûn S. 30° W.

⁵ Onomast. art. *Janon*, Euseb. 'Iarab. 2 K. 15, 29.

strip of high table land ; from which we looked down into the plain of Sâlim, which lies east of Nâbulus. It was a sightly spot. Mounts Gerizim and Ebal were in full view ; the former with its Wely of Sheikh Ghânim ; the latter apparently the highest by a hundred feet or more. Several villages were in sight ; as also the Wely Neby Belân, conspicuously situated on the mountain east of the valley which descends from the Mûkhna to Wady Fâri'a.¹

Having stopped five minutes for bearings, we began to descend by a steep and difficult path, along a rugged ravine, towards the plain of Sâlim, on a general course towards Nâbulus, N. 52° W. We soon got sight of Beit Dejan at the eastern end of the plain ; probably a *Beth Dagon* of antiquity, of which no mention has come down to us. A feature of the plain also came into view, which I here saw for the first time ; though I afterwards found the same on a grander scale in the Bûkâ'a between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Near the southern side of the little plain, a low ridge of rock runs for nearly its whole length parallel to the southern hills ; and thus forms between it and them a narrow strip of plain, or rather a valley. In this is a water-shed nearly opposite to Beit Dejan ; where is the head of Wady Hûmra descending on the east to Wady Ahmar ; while towards the west the narrow plain runs down to Beit Fûrik, and is thence drained, like the whole plain, northwards to Wady Fâri'a. Our path led along the declivity of the southern hills ; at 11.20 we stopped to take bearings.² Still keeping on the south of both the plains, we came at 11.40 to the small village of Beit Fûrik, situated in a nook in the southern hills, which here retire in almost a semicircle.

The village of Sâlim is directly north of Beit Fûrik, on a low hill on the north side of the plain. It was said to have two sources of living water ; one in a cavern, and the other a running fountain called 'Ain Kibir.

Setting off at 12.25, we passed to the right around the end of the low rocky ridge, which shuts in the strip of plain, and which terminates just below Beit Fûrik. A road from Nâbulus here enters the narrow plain ; and following it up into Wady Hûmra, finds its way across to the lower part of Wady Fâri'a north of Sûrtabeh ; and thus connects Nâbulus with the Kûrâwa, as the fertile tract is called at the mouth of Wady Fâri'a. This road we now kept, along the south side of the plain ; and at 12.40 had Kefr Beita, a ruin, on our left. Irby and Mangles speak

¹ Bearings at 10.45, on high ridge : Mejdal 181°. Tell 'Asûr ? 205°. Sheikh Ghânim 301°. Neby Belân 346°. Sâlim 336°. Tullûza 336°. Nâbulus 308°. Jâ-rish 206°.

² Bearings at 11.20 : Sheikh Ghânim 302°. Tullûza 341°. Neby Belân 352°. Sâlim 347°. Beit Fûrik 311°. Beit Dejan 48°. Head of Wady Hûmra 72°.

of sepulchres near this site.¹ The water-course of the plain bends more to the north and passes beyond a round hill, which thus stands out isolated, while the channel continues on towards the northwest corner of the plain.

As one looks towards the plain of Sâlim from the west, a low rocky ridge is seen running across its western end, separating it from this part of the Mûkhna. We had always taken it for granted, that the water-course of the Mûkhna passed on the west of this ridge; and it was therefore with some surprise, that we found that channel entering the plain of Sâlim by the gap at the southwest corner; and, after uniting with the channel of the little plain, passing out again at the northwest corner to the prolongation of the Mûkhna, and so to Wady Fâri'a. At 1.10 we crossed the large water-course coming in from the Mûkhna, having now some water in it. At 1.25 we were opposite Jacob's well and the ruins of Belâtah, on our right; having crossed some twenty rods further east the road leading northwards through the plain. Ten minutes later we were at 'Ain Defneh; and at 1.50 reached the eastern gate of Nâbulus. Passing around outside of the city, we encamped in an olive orchard, near the large fountains which burst forth below the city on the west.

Nâbulus is furnished with water in singular abundance in comparison with the rest of Palestine. On the east is the large fountain of Defneh, running off east and turning a mill. On the west are the similar fountains by which we were encamped. In the higher part of the city itself are two large fountains, and another in the ravine above on the side of Mount Gerizim. The water of these three flows off west, partly along the streets of the city, and partly in a canal from which gardens are irrigated and several mills supplied. This western stream we had formerly fallen in with far down the valley.

Close upon the city are several large mounds of ashes, thrown out by the extensive soap factories of Nâbulus. They are similar to those on the north of Jerusalem, and some of them are nearly as large. An examination of both localities convinced us, that those of Jerusalem can have no claim to high antiquity.²

The last two days had brought us through a tract of country hitherto in a great measure unexplored, and which has usually been regarded as one of the wildest and most lawless portions of the Holy Land. We had been agreeably surprised, to find so much fertile and cultivated soil, thriving villages, and the people kind and courteous. Every village we passed, with hardly an exception, has around it many olive trees. Our route led us across the basins of, or rather the tracts drained by, the three great

¹ Travels p. 328. [100.]

² See above, pp. 201, 202.

valleys, the Nawâ'imeh, 'Aujeh, and Fûsâil. All these and their branches form deep precipitous chasms, by which the whole region is broken up into steep ridges and hills. Such is the general character of the western wall of the Jordan valley, south of Kûrn Sûrtabeh. North of that mountain, as we shall see, the country assumes a different aspect.

We had an agreeable surprise this evening, in a call from Mr William Dickson of Edinburgh at our tent. While in London I had corresponded with him; and it had been arranged, that he would endeavour to reach Beirût in season to join me on the journey to Jerusalem. Not being able to do this, he first visited Constantinople; and was now on his way alone from Damascus to the Holy City. Aided by the suggestions of Dr De Forest at Beirût, he had followed a route of great interest; and had seen much more of Palestine than falls to the lot of most travellers. I called at his tent the next morning, a little out of the western gate, and saw him start for the Holy City; but heard nothing more of him, until we casually met in the diligence at Trieste, as we both were setting off for Laibach and Vienna. These unexpected encounters of friends form oases, in what some might call the desert of oriental travel.

We here fell in again with Mr Van de Velde, whom we had met in Jerusalem; and who had left that city a few days before us. He had made an excursion to the Kûrâwa in the Ghôr, under the guidance of a Sheikh whom the governor of Nâbulus had provided. After two or three days, the Sheikh refused to accompany him any further; and he had now returned to Nâbulus to make complaint against his guide before the governor.

Thursday, May 13th.—Our further plan now was to pass on to Tûllûzah and Tûbâs; then to descend to the northern Ghôr, and, if possible, cross the Jordan and search after the site of Pella; returning to Beisân. A main object in our own minds was also, to make all possible search for Salim and the Ænon near by, where John is recorded as baptizing.¹

It was arranged that Mr Van de Velde would accompany us; and for several days, therefore, the two companies travelled together, and encamped side by side. He had already engaged from the governor an armed horseman, (not a soldier,) of whose presence we too had the benefit. The man was good-natured and intelligent, and able to give much information about the country; the local guides we ourselves furnished in all cases.

Leaving the eastern end of the city at 8.50, we came in twenty-five minutes to 'Askar, with its fountain and broken

¹ John 3, 23.

reservoir.¹ The view is pretty, and several places were in sight; as 'Azmtt and Deir el-Hatab on the north side of the plain of Sâlim; and especially Neby Belân, on the summit of the northwest buttress of the mountain, which lies north of that plain. This continued to be a high landmark for the whole day.²

Our course now became about N. 35° E. along the western side of the prolongation of the Mûkhna. This name I have used for the whole extent of the large plain as far north as to the foot of Mount Ebal; although strictly, it was said, the name Mûkhna belongs only to the southern part, beyond the watershed. North of that point the plain slopes eastward; and its water-course lying along near the eastern hills, enters the little plain of Sâlim, as we have seen, and again issues from it at the northwest corner. Thence it still hugs the eastern hills in a deep channel; and the narrower prolongation of the Mûkhna becomes steeply sloping in that direction. Upon this we were now entering.

After half an hour, at 9.45, the three villages, 'Azmtt, Deir el-Hatab, and Sâlim, were all seen in one line, bearing S. 40° E. At 9.50 we came to the spot, where the narrow sloping plain or valley breaks down at once by an abrupt descent towards the Fâri'a; forming a deep and steep valley, called Wady Bidân, with a still deeper chasm as the water-bed skirted by rugged jagged rocks, the strata of which were very greatly dislocated. Near the same point the road forks; one branch, going to Tûbâs, descends along the valley; the other, which we took, continues high along the steep side of the western hill; which here, in fact, is the northeastern flank of Ebal. At 9.55 there was a small fountain above us, sending its gushing little stream down the declivity. At 10.15 we were opposite the angle of the valley below, where it opens out into the wide plain of the Fâri'a; and where its deep bed suddenly takes a course N. 80° E. still close under the southern mountain, and goes to join the main channel of the Fâri'a a long distance below. We could see in it further down a stream of water and several mills.³ The mountain buttress in the angle is crowned by the Wely Neby Belân. The region of the Fâri'a was now before us; an open tract or basin of rolling plain, intersected by deep water-courses, which ultimately unite and flow to the Ghôr by a very gentle descent. The western wall of the Jordan valley has here lost its precipices; and its "rough places" have become comparatively "plain."⁴

¹ Not *Sychar*; see above, pp. 132, 133.

² Bearings at 10.15: Burj el-Fâri'a 48°

³ Bearings at 'Askar: Raujib 179°. Sâ-

Neby Belân 114°.

lim 106°. Deir el-Hatab 95°. 'Azmtt 75°.

⁴ Ia. 40, 4.

Neby Belân 57°.

The road we had thus far followed, continues on apparently across the upper part of the tract of the Fâri'a, perhaps to the plain of Sânr beyond. We turned off at this point to the left; and taking a nearly northwest course proceeded towards Tüllûzah. Ten minutes brought us to the bottom of a deep side valley, going down towards the right to the one we had just left. We now climbed with difficulty, and almost without a path, a very steep and long ascent; and reached Tüllûzah on the top at 11 o'clock. The town is surrounded by immense groves of olive trees, planted on all the hills around; mostly young and thrifty trees. It lies high, as approached from the east; though it was very obvious that the way by which we had reached it was not the usual one. Towards the west one looks out over the high table land spreading out north from Mount Ebal; and on that side apparently is the ordinary road from Nâbulus.

Towards the east Tüllûzah overlooks the whole district drained by the Fâri'a and its branches, an extensive tract of arable and fertile land, but destitute of villages. The region called el-Kûrâwa at its mouth is cultivated by the Arabs Mas'ûdy, a nomadic tribe; who sometimes also visit the higher parts of the valley for pasture.¹ The main branch of the Fâri'a was seen coming down from the direction of Neby Bâ Yazid in the northwest; it passes at some distance north of Tüllûzah. The highest point of Mount Ebal bore S. 31° W. Jebel esh-Sheikh was also visible, like a white fleecy cloud, in the N. N. E.²

Here at Tüllûzah, if any where, is the "break down" between the upper table land and the Ghôr. But here it is the descent from the table lands of Ebal and Gerizim to the adjacent plains; and manifestly has no connection whatever with the precipitous regions south of Kûrn Sûrtabeh.

The town is of some size, and tolerably well built. We saw no remains of antiquity, except a few sepulchral excavations and some cisterns. We were admitted to the top of a Sheikh's house, in order to take bearings. The house was built around a small court, in which cattle and horses were stabled. Thence a stone staircase led up to the roof of the house proper; on which, at the northwest and southeast corners, were high single rooms like towers, with a staircase inside leading to the top.

In my former work the question was suggested,³ whether perhaps this Tüllûzah may not be the representative of the

¹ In April 1844, my companion found them encamped on the ridge between the upper Fâri'a and the plain of Sânr. *Ma Journ.*

² Bearings at Tüllûzah: Mount Hermou

28°. Tümmôn 80°. Neby Belân 139°. Beit Fûrik 164°. 'Asîreh 235°. Neby Bâ Yazid 303°. Yasîd 338°. Highest point of Ebal 211°. Burj el-Fâri'a 74°.

³ *Bibl. Res.* first edition, III. p. 158. n.

ancient *Tirzah*, the seat of a Canaanitish king ;¹ and afterwards the residence of the kings of Israel, from Jeroboam to Omri, who transferred the seat of the kingdom to Samaria.² The change of *r* into *l* is very common, the harder letter being softened, especially in the later Hebrew books and the kindred dialects.³ The place lies in a slightly and commanding position ; though the change of royal residence to the still more beautiful and not distant Samaria would be very natural. On the whole, I am disposed to regard Tüllûzah as the ancient Tirzah ; especially as there is no other name in all the region which bears the slightest resemblance to the latter. This also is doubtless the place which Brocardus speaks of as *Thersa*, situated three leagues or hours east of Samaria.⁴ He probably recognised the change from *r* to *l* ; if indeed it had then taken place. Tüllûzah had since been visited by no traveller.

We left Tüllûzah at 11.50, by way of Burj el-Fâri'a (N. 74° E.) for Tûbâs. We immediately began to descend the slope in a northeast direction, and then struck and followed a steep side Wady, which brought us at 12.15 to the main channel of the Fâri'a. This was here a narrow gorge between precipitous rocky sides, with an immense water-bed ; showing that a great volume of water passes down at some seasons. Its general course was here northeasterly. At 12.35, there was a large fountain bursting forth in it, called Râs el-Fâri'a. It sent a fine stream down the valley ; and the channel was now skirted with oleanders in blossom. These were said to be still larger and more frequent further down towards the Ghôr. In one place the stream suddenly disappeared, and then after some fifteen minutes broke out again larger than before. The rocky sides of the valley gradually became lower and grassy ; and the Wady becomes in this part a deep channel running through the rich, elevated, and cultivated plain above.

Our path now left the main channel, and led across the plain to a side Wady coming down from the northwest under Burj el-Fâri'a, and soon joining the main branch. This valley had also a fine stream, and a mill just below the Burj. This we reached at 10 o'clock, and stopped for lunch under the shade of the mill. Here were immense deposits from the water on the rocks, showing that a mill had probably stood here for ages. Nowhere in Palestine, not even at Nâbulus, had I seen such noble brooks of water. The Burj itself is an insignificant square tower, on a small Tell a few rods north, where a dry side Wady comes in

¹ Heb. תִּרְצָח, Josh. 12, 24.

Chald. lett. ל, p. 727. Heb. and English

² 1 K. 14, 17, 15, 21. 33, 16, 8-24.

Lexicon, p. 499.

See also Cant. 6, 4.

⁴ Brocardus c. 7. Breydenbach merely

³ See Gesen. Thesaur. Lingusæ Heb. et copies from Brocardus ; Reissb. p. 127.

from the northeast. It has no importance except as a landmark.¹

The day was warm; the sun poured his beams fiercely upon the broad basin; and notwithstanding the presence of water, we found our resting place sufficiently uncomfortable.

This tract of the Fâri'a, from el-Kürâwa in the Ghôr to the rounded hills which separate it from the plain of Sânr, is justly regarded as one of the most fertile and valuable regions of Palestine. In 1844, my companion had passed up through it from the Ghôr to Sânr; and found it in April every where full of the most luxuriant pasturage, where not covered with fields of grain. Yet, like the great plain of Esdraelon, it is without villages; and is mostly given up to the nomadic Arabs of the Mas'ûdy. Further down the valley is a beautiful basin of meadow land, two or three miles in diameter; through which the fine stream meanders between banks covered with a thick growth of oleanders. This spot is called Fersh el-Mûsa. Not far above it the stream again disappears for a time; and below the Fersh the valley is shut in by a spur of the hills on the north, and a projecting rock on the south, forming a narrow gorge or door. This point is more than an hour from the line of the Ghôr; and the general direction of the valley is S. 55° E. The extreme eastern point of the northern hills, forming the bluff in the angle between the Fâri'a and the Ghôr, is called Makhrûd; and appeared to have caves in it. This we afterwards saw from the northeast beyond the Jordan. In the broad plain between this and the ridge of Sûrtabeh, on the south of the stream and not far from it, is a Tell, with foundations around it, evidently the former site of a town. On the north side of the Tell is the white dome of a saint's tomb, called 'Abd el-Kâdir, which now gives name to the place.² This is not improbably the site of the ancient *Archelais*, built by Archelaus the son of Herod; which the Peutinger Tables place at twenty-four Roman miles north of Jericho, and therefore north of Phasaëlis; the two being several times mentioned together. Josephus speaks of it as a village in the plain, like Phasaëlis, and surrounded by palm trees.³ It is also mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny.⁴

¹ Mr Wolcott reports having taken on Mount Gerizim the bearing of Burj el-Fâri'a N. 42° E., and that of Tûbâs N. 41° E. But neither of these places can possibly be visible from Gerizim, on account of intervening mountains. And further, he gives the bearing of Neby Belân (on Jebel Bidân) at N. 53½° E., showing that the other two points marked by him lay much farther west than the true position.

² The above description is taken from the Ms. Journal of the Rev. Dr Smith, April 1844.—E. G. Schultz, in the autumn

of 1847, heard from some western Arabs the name Bassaliyeh applied apparently to this Tell. But he did not visit the spot; and that name would seem to be unknown to the Arabs of the Ghôr. Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Gea. III. p. 47. Ritter XV. i. p. 457.

³ Joa. Antt. 17. 13. 1. ib. 18. 2. 2. See Reland Palest. p. 576. The identity with Archelais is suggested by Schultz, l. c. Ritter l. c. p. 457.

⁴ Reland Palest. p. 462. Plin. H. N. 13. 9.

The whole of the Fârî'a is occupied by the Arabs Mas'ûdy, numbering in 1844 a hundred horsemen and a hundred foot. North of them, in the Ghôr, are the Ghûzâny, mustering three hundred horsemen and as many foot.

Setting off from the mill at 1.45, and passing up on the right of Burj el-Fârî'a, we followed up the dry and chalky side Wady about N. 70° E. with no very steep ascent, until 2.35; when we came out upon the top of the swelling ridge, and to cooler breezes. Here we looked down into the fine basin of Tûbâs. Turning now N. 20° E. we came at 2.50 to the large village of Tûbâs, on the western slope of the basin, with a beautiful plain in front, and large groves of olive trees; forming one of the prettiest tracts we had seen. It lies of course higher than the plain of the Fârî'a; and is drained (I believe) to the latter; though of this I am not certain. There are here only a few families of Christians; the rest being Muslims; and the whole population was said to be divided into three hostile parties. The village has only rain water in cisterns; and when this fails, they bring water from the stream of the Fârî'a an hour distant. In the southeastern part of the basin, S. 43° E. and less than a mile distant towards Tûmmôn, is a small Tell with a ruin upon it, called 'Ainûn.' Here is precisely the name Ænon; but unfortunately there is no Salim near, nor a drop of water.

There is little room for question, but that Tûbâs is the modern representative of the *Thebez* of Scripture; where Abimelech of Shechem, during a siege, was killed by a stone thrown down upon him by a woman.² Eusebius and Jerome place Thebez at thirteen Roman miles from Neapolis on the way to Scythopolis, now Beisân. Allowing for our circuit to Tûllûzah, it took us four hours to pass over the intervening distance; and this at a more rapid rate than usual, having sent our luggage ahead. This gives a very exact coincidence as to the distance; and we shall see evidence further on, going to show that a Roman road between Nâbulus and Beisân passed this way.—Berggren, in 1821, travelling by an unusual route from Nazareth to Nâbulus, spent the night at Tûbâs; but its relation to Thebez does not appear to have occurred to him.³ The first suggestion of the identity of the two, was made (I believe) in the *Biblical Researches*.⁴ Since then the place had apparently been visited by no traveller.

The Sheikh who met us and did the honours, was at once

¹ Gr. *Alôv* for the Aram. plur. ܐܠܘܝܬܐ, *fountains*, John 3, 23.

² Heb. ܐܝܢܐ. Judg. 9, 50. 2 Sam. 11, 21.

³ Berggren *Resor* etc. Del. III. *Bi-hang* p. 18. *Reisen* (Germa.) II. p. 266.

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This appendix of routes is not given in the German translation—The writer's specification of valleys on this route, I am not able to follow; it seems to me confused and incorrect

⁴ Vol. II. p. 317. [iii. 158.]

ready to furnish us with a guide to Teyâsir, the next village. The road led across the basin, and over the low ridge beyond, at a depressed point. Leaving Tûbâs at 3.10, we reached this point in twenty minutes; from which Tûbâs bore S. 75° W. and 'Ainûn S. 15° E. We immediately began to descend along a shallow open Wady about N. 5° E. At 3.50 there was close upon our right a sarcophagus hewn in a large rock, with a sculptured lid; and just by it a small edifice, apparently of quite ancient construction. It was a square building of hewn stones, each side measuring about twenty-two feet; with an ornamented marble portal towards the north, and square projecting pilasters at the corners and sides. Around the base also is an ornamental projection. The stones are not bevelled. The style of architecture and ornament reminded us of the Jewish works at Kefr Bir'im and Meirôn; and I have since been struck with its general resemblance to the sepulchres of Jewish saints, as rudely depicted in some of the Jewish itineraries.¹ The interior seems to show, that it was erected as a sepulchral vault, probably in memory of some Jewish saint, whose name has perished, and whose last resting place is now in ruins. I have not been able to identify the spot with any historical notice.

In five minutes more, at 3.55, we reached the little village of Teyâsir, of which we had never before heard. It stands close on the east side of the Wady, which here sweeps round northeast and then southeast towards the Ghôr. This was said to be the head and longest branch of Wady Mâlih (Salt), so called from the warm salt springs found in it below; and having near it a castle called Kûsr el-Mâlih. As the Wady sweeps around the village, it leaves on the east of the latter a fine and fertile plain of some extent. The hills around are rocky, but not high. The village is wholly dependent on rain water, and has no other resource nearer than Wady Fâri'a.

Here the Kûl'at er-Rûbûd, beyond the Jordan, which we had before seen so often, came again into view, nearly east. It is also called Kûl'at Ibn Fureih. Northwesterly from the village is a naked hill, with a ruin, called Selhab.²

Before reaching Tûbâs we had fallen in with a trace of an ancient Roman paved road; and likewise met with another on our way to Teyâsir. Just east of the latter village there lies also an ancient milestone. All this shows, that a Roman road passed this way from Neapolis to Scythopolis. The present road from Teyâsir descends northeast gradually through Wady Khushneh to the Ghôr, and then lies along the rich plain to

¹ So in the tract "Jichus ha-Abot," Carmoly p. 493 sq.

² Bearings at Teyâsir: Kûl'at er-Rûbûd $97\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Selhab N. 35° W. 3 m.

Beisân. This course is perhaps as short as any between Nâbulus and Beisân ; and has no steep ascents nor difficult places.

As Teyâsir was the last village on our route towards the Ghôr, and there was no good camping place beyond, we pitched our tent here, thus early, for the night.

Friday, May 14th.—We found ourselves in trouble this morning in respect to a guide. We had learned, that there were two roads by which we could reach the Ghôr ; one direct through Wady Khushneh, and so to Beisân ; the other, following down Wady Mâlih by the castle and salt springs, led also to Sâkût (Succoth), but was circuitous. We chose the latter ; but the Sheikh of the village succeeded in persuading us, that it was very long and very bad ; and then extorted from us a high sum for a guide by the direct way, and to the Ghôr only. The guide came, and proved to be a mere boy, the Sheikh's own son. Just at the last moment a Sheikh from Tûbâs came along, named Ibrahim 'Amâd, well mounted, and on his way to the Ghôr, where the people of his village were now harvesting. He was ready at once to take us down through Wady Mâlih to Sâkût, and thence to the harvest encampment of his people. We therefore sent off our muleteers with the boy guide through Wady Khushneh, to await us at the fountain where the people of Tûbâs had their head-quarters.

Starting at 6.20 we passed through the plain on the east of the village, covered with wheat, and having many olive trees, on a course S. 50° E. The wheat here was yet green, and not ready for the harvest. On the north and south were low mountains not far distant. The bed of Wady Mâlih was at some distance on our left. At 7.05 we were among low rolling hills beyond the plain ; here the Kûsr came in view.¹ At 7.15 we came down to the large channel of Wady Mâlih, which we crossed obliquely ; and at 7.25 were under the western side of Kûsr el-Mâlih. Turning short to the left we rode with difficulty up the steep acclivity, and reached the ruins at 7.35.

The castle is situated on the sharp point of a thin ridge running from northwest to southeast, just where it breaks down suddenly to a deep notch or saddle, from which then a lower ridge runs on southeast for two or three miles. The channel of Wady Mâlih lies along under its western side for perhaps a mile or more, and then breaks through the ridge at a right angle. Beyond, in the south, a Wady is seen coming down as if to meet Wady Mâlih ; but it turns east and probably joins the latter lower down. The fortress was only of moderate size ; and is now wholly in ruins. It was built of stones imperfectly squared

¹ Bearings at 7.5 : Kûsr el-Mâlih 91°. Kûl'at er-Rûbûd 95°. Yezah, a ruin marked by a tree, 170°, 1½ m.

and not large. A few bevelled stones testify to the antiquity of its substructions. There are also a few round arches ; but these seem to belong rather to the later dwellings, which had been erected within the walls. No cisterns were anywhere visible. The southern wall of the fortress (a later one) is built along the brow of the perpendicular rock. The spot affords a wide and fine view of the Ghôr and the adjacent region, including the southeastern part of the lake of Tiberias ; but not many definite places were to be seen.¹

The position of the castle is directly west of the Kûl'at er-Rûbûd ; the two being in full view of each other on opposite sides of the Jordan. There is a ford of the Jordan directly between them, near Sâkût. Had they ever, perhaps, a connection or relation with each other ? I have not been able to find any historical notice of either ; except that Abulfeda merely mentions the latter as the castle of 'Ajlûn, then recently built.²

We led our horses down the steep descent to the same point in the road, where we had turned off ; and set off again at 8.15. The road, instead of following the channel of the Wady, crosses over through the notch ; and strikes the channel again further down. Five minutes brought us to the notch, and in ten more, we were at the bottom of the descent ; our course being about E. S. E. Here was an open tract, with a small brackish fountain ; near which were a few booths of the people of Teyâsir, who were now here harvesting. At 8.35 the chasm by which Wady Mâlih breaks through the ridge was on our right, a quarter of a mile distant. We soon struck the channel, and came at 8.45 to the rather copious salt springs which give name to the valley. The water is warm, about blood-heat (98°) ; and so salt, that our horses, though thirsty, would not drink it. The Arabs told us, that animals do sometimes drink of it, and that the water is used for irrigation ; which, however, we did not see. A fetid odour is perceptible around the springs. Just by the springs, on the northern slope of the valley, are the ruins of a former town of considerable extent. They seem to be the remains of ordinary dwellings, except some large hewn stones in the eastern part. The site is called Khirbet Mâlih, but I have met with no historical notice connected with it.³

¹ Bearings from Kûr el-Mâlih : el-Hendekûk 1064°. Kûl'at er-Rûbûd 90½°. Kefr Abîl ? 66°. Yezah 226°. Selhab 294°. Jebel esh-Sheikh 21°.

² Comp. Vol. I. p. 445. [ii. 121.]—See Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 92. Schultens Excerpt p. 63 ; et Ind. geogr. art. *Ejlonum*.—Irby and Mangles visited the Kûl'at er-Rûbûd, and examined it fully. They describe it as entirely of Turkish [Saracenic]

architecture, with an Arabic inscription ; which according to Burckhardt records Saladin as the builder of the castle. It commands a most extensive view of the plain of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and lake of Tiberias, and a vast tract of country in every direction. Travels p. 306. [93.] See also Burckhardt p. 267.

³ Had this site and the adjacent Kûr el-Mâlih any connection perhaps with the

Setting off again after five minutes, we left Wady Málîh, and struck upon a course about N. E. over the low ridge. Entering immediately the head of a shallow Wady, called esh-Shúkk, we followed it down on the same course, till we came at 9.15 to a spring of pure though warm water; with the ruin of a village on the left bank, also called esh-Shúkk. Here we stopped for ten minutes. Proceeding down the valley, our course soon became E. by N. and the Ghôr began gradually to open before us; so that at 9.40 we stopped for five minutes for observation and bearings.¹ About 9.55 Wady Málîh again came in from the southwest under a low ridge like a windrow, after a long circuit among the hills. It here had a small stream of water, which seemed to flow on quite to the Jordan. The Wady esh-Shúkk is of course one of its tributaries.

The hills and ridges along the valleys had gradually, as we advanced, become lower and lower, and also grassy. There was nothing to be called a mountain; except perhaps the ridge at Kûsr el-Málîh. At about 9.50 the hills on our left (towards the north) terminated; but a broad swell runs down from them across the Ghôr almost to the Jordan. The hills on the right (on the south of Wady Málîh) keep on, at a greater elevation, and also run down to the Jordan, where they terminate in a bluff; the river in this part being driven quite to the eastern side of the Ghôr. Between this line of hills and the broad swell above mentioned, the deep channel of Wady Málîh runs to the Jordan. The eastern declivities of the mountains of Gilboa, as we afterwards saw, lie much further back; and these hills and this swell jut down beyond them into the Ghôr, rendering it here quite narrow.

We passed down along the southern slope of the swell, having the channel of Wady Málîh about three quarters of a mile distant on our right. On the very eastern point of the swell, which here forms a low bluff not far from the lower valley of the river, we came at 10.20 to Sákût. Here is seen merely the ruin of a common village, a few foundations of unhewn stones. The eastern bank of the lower Jordan valley opposite to us was precipitous, apparently nearly a hundred and fifty or two hundred feet high; and the river was running close under it about half a mile distant from us. The water of the river was not in sight, because of the bushes and trees; but we afterwards saw it from a point a little further north.

Coalis of the Pentinger Tables, situated on the military road between Jericho and Scythopolis, twelve Roman miles distant from the latter? The distance at least coincides well.

¹ Bearings at 9.40: Kefr Ablî ? 65°. Deir Abu Humeid 98½°. This is a summit of the eastern mountains, without buildings, and perhaps misnamed.

Quite a number of places and objects were visible from Sâkût; some of which were already known to us. Tabor and Dûhy we could see, as we looked up through the great valley of Zer'in; while in the north Kaukab was visible on its bluff, and far beyond, the snows of Hermon. In the eastern mountains, Wady Yâbis was overagainst us; and the great break of Wady Zerka or the Jabbok was also in view. Many Tells were scattered in the Ghôr. Thus, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh is near the Jordan, at a ford crossing over to 'Abu 'Obeida. Hendekûk is a hill near the east side of the Ghôr. Tell el-Mu'ajijeh is in the lower valley of the Jordan, which is there wide. In the plain, in the direction of Wady Zer'in, were Tell Um el-'Ajra and Tell Ridghah.¹

Near the foot of the low bluff of Sâkût, towards the east, there breaks out a beautiful fountain of pure and sparkling water, under the shade of a thicket of fig trees. Here we took our lunch, and enjoyed both the water and the shade. In this deep shade and by this bubbling fountain, the thermometer at 11½ o'clock stood at 92°.

Burckhardt was the first to hear of the name Sâkût in this region; but he did not himself see the spot.² So far as the name is concerned, it seems obviously to be the representative of the ancient *Succoth*, where Jacob "built him a house, and made booths for his cattle," on his way returning from Mesopotamia.³ But the ancient specifications as to the position of Succoth have in them so little that is definite, that interpreters are not yet agreed as to its true site.

Jacob with his family and flock, moving southwards, crossed the Jabbok, now Wady Zerka; and, having met his brother Esau, he "journeyed to Succoth."⁴ This seems at first sight to imply, that Succoth was on the south of the Jabbok; but does not determine on which side of the Jordan it lay, whether perhaps in or overagainst the Kurâwa. It belonged to the tribe of Gad; but this again does not settle its position as to the river, for the territory of Gad included the Jordan quite up to the lake of Tiberias.⁵ The same indefiniteness exists in respect

¹ Bearings from Sâkût: Tabor 843°. Dûhy 842°. Kaukab N. Jebel esh-Sheikh 19°. Tell el-Mu'ajijeh 27°. Deir Abu Humeid 108°. Hendekûk 141°. Mount Gilead, highest point, 162°. Tell es-Sa'idiyeh 170°. Tell el-Hûmra 836°. Rahâb 339°. Tell er-Ridghah 339°. Tell Um el-'Ajra 840°.

² Burckhardt forded the river opposite Beisan; and merely says: "Near where we crossed, to the south, are the ruins of Sukkot;" Travels in Syr. p. 845. n. Lieut.

Lynch and his party encamped just above Sâkût, opposite to Wady Yâbis; and heard of Succoth as "about five miles nearly due west from the camp;" Offic. Report, 1852, p. 25.

³ Heb. סֻכּוֹת. Sept. Σκηναι, booths, Gen. 33, 17. Josephus also Σκηναι, Antt. 1. 21. 1. So too Eusebius and Jerome, who merely refer to Genesis; Onomast. art. Σκηναι.

⁴ Gen. 33, 17.

⁵ Josh. 13, 27.

to Gideon's demand upon the inhabitants of Succoth ; for although it is first said that he came to Jordan and passed over, yet his demand on Succoth is narrated in the very same connection.¹ The mention by the Psalmist of the valley of Succoth seems merely to refer to the adjacent tract of the Ghôr.² Thus far, then, we have only the apparently definite fact, that Succoth was somewhere south of the Jabbok ; but on which side of the Jordan, is not said.

Other passages however seem to give it a more northern position, which might readily be identical with Sâkût. Thus, even as to the incidents of Gideon's demand, above referred to, his great battle took place in the valley of Jezreel ;³ whither the Midianites had come over by these fords from beyond Jordan ; and in their flight they would naturally seek again the nearest fords, as also Gideon in his hot pursuit. One or more of these is near Sâkût. Again, when Solomon prepared the vessels and utensils for the temple, he is said to have cast them "in the plain of the Jordan, in the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan."⁴ But Zarthan, as we learn from the same writer, was near by Beth-shean or Scythopolis, the present Beisân.⁵ From this passage, then, it would seem to follow, that Succoth was probably on the west of the Jordan ; and therefore might well be at Sâkût. The only other notice is by Jerome, who says that in his day there was a town called Sochoth in the district of Scythopolis.⁶ This too implies a northern position ; since the territory of Scythopolis cannot well have extended much further south than Sâkût, because of the ridges which there protrude into the Ghôr. On the other hand Jerome says expressly, the town was "beyond Jordan ;" by which is more generally understood a position east of that river. This is the only testimony, which at all goes to fix Succoth on the east of Jordan.

These seeming discrepancies in the testimony have led Ritter to assume two Succoths ; one south of the Jabbok, and the other near Scythopolis.⁷ But is this necessary ?

When it is said in Genesis,⁸ that Jacob, after his interview with Esau, "journeyed to Succoth," may it not be that he journeyed toward the north ? When his brother left him, it was with the distinct promise on Jacob's part that he would "lead on softly" until he came unto Seir, the abode of Esau. He thus deceived Esau ; and what more natural than that he should at once

¹ Judg 8, 5. 6, 14-16.

² Ps. 60, 8 [6]. 108, 8 [7].

³ Judg. 6, 33. 7, 1.

⁴ 1 K. 7, 46.

⁵ 1 K. 4, 12.

⁶ Quæst. in Gen. 33, 17: "*Sochoth*."

Est autem usque hodie civitas trans Jordanem hoc vocabulo in parte Scythopoleos.⁷
Opp. ed. Mart. Tom. II. col. 537.

⁸ Erdk. XV. i. p. 447.

⁹ Gen 33, 17.

¹⁰ Gen. 33, 14.

retrace his steps, and cross the Jordan by the ford near Sâkût? If this suggestion be admitted, then the whole question as to a Succoth south of the Jabbok falls away.

In respect to Jerome's phrase "beyond Jordan," we may bear in mind, that it is a Hebrew idiom, and must therefore be interpreted with the same latitude as in Hebrew.¹ It is no doubt true, that this phrase more commonly refers to the country east of the Jordan; inasmuch as the writers or speakers mostly lived in Palestine proper, on the west of that river. Yet in some passages it is also used to denote the *west* of the Jordan; either where the speaker was actually in the eastern country, or transports himself and readers thither in thought, or sometimes even without any such assignable reason.² The same remark holds true likewise in regard to the phrase "beyond the river," meaning the Euphrates; which is used also of provinces on the *west* of the Euphrates.³—In the present instance, Jerome had been commenting quite at length upon Jacob's wrestling with the angel and his interview with Esau, both of which took place on the east of the Jordan; he then turns to speak of the house and the booths which Jacob built; and immediately goes on to say, that in his day there was a town called Succoth (booths) on the other side of Jordan in the district of Scythopolis; that is, on the *west* of Jordan, the other side from that where the wrestling with the angel and the meeting with Esau had taken place, of which he had just been speaking.⁴

It may also be said, that the district of Scythopolis probably lay wholly on the west of the Jordan; since on the east of the river, and still nearer to it, was the city of Pella, which had its own district.

If the preceding views are correct, we may rest in the result, that the present Sâkût represents the name and site of the ancient Succoth.

We left Sâkût at 11.45, for the place where we were to meet our muleteers and baggage, on a course about N. 35° W. We now passed obliquely along the northern slope of the same broad swell; where the ground was covered only by a thick crop of

¹ Heb. צָבֵר הַיַּרְדֵּן. Sept. *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, Vulg. *trans Jordanem*, Gen. 50, 10. Deut. 1, 1. 5. al.

² E. g. Deut. 3, 20. 25, where Moses is east of the Jordan. So too 1 Sam. 31, 7; where no reason can well be assigned. Sometimes, in order to make the phrase definite, the word *westward* is added, Josh. 5, 1. 12, 7. 22, 7; also *eastward* Num. 32, 19. In all these passages we have Heb. צָבֵר, Sept. *πέραν*, Vulg. *trans*. See

Gesen. Thesaur. p. 986. Heb. Lex. art. צָבֵר.

³ E. g. 1 K. 5, 4 [4, 24], where the English version does not hesitate to render צָבֵר הַיַּרְדֵּן. on *this side the river*; and so in Ezra 8, 36. 4. 10. 16. Neh. 3, 7. See more in Gesen. Thesaur. p. 986. Heb. Lex. art. צָבֵר.

⁴ Hieron. Quæst. in Gen. 32, 24—33, 17. Opp. ed. Mart. II. col. 536, 537. See note 6, on the preceding page.

thistles. Here a large tract had been burnt over, probably during winter or early in the spring. On our right was a region of lower ground, to which we gradually descended; full of grass, wild oats, and thistles, with an occasional thornbush. The soil was like that of an Ohio bottom. The grass intermingled with tall daisies, and the wild oats, reached to the horses' backs; while the thistles sometimes overtopped the riders' heads. All was now dry; and in some places it was difficult to make our way through this exuberant growth. At last we came to the cause of this fertility, a fine brook winding along the bottom. We crossed it at 12.20; and passed up again obliquely over another like swell, covered as before only with thistles. Here was an ancient oil vat, very large and of a single stone; it was evidently brought hither, and indicates the former growth of the olive in these parts. At 12.35 we struck the same stream again at its source, called 'Ain el-Beida, a large and fine fountain, surrounded with gardens of cucumbers, and watering an extensive tract.'

We were here on the edge of the higher portion of the Ghôr; where low ridges and swells project out from the foot of the western mountains, and form a rolling plain or plateau; which is well watered, arable, and very extensively cultivated for wheat. The tract further east, which we had now crossed, may be said to extend to the high bank of the lower Jordan valley. It is less elevated; is more generally level, though crossed by low swells between the water-courses; and has little tillage.—The inhabitants of Tûbâs, as we have seen, are divided into three hostile parties; and they carry their divisions into their agriculture in the Ghôr. One party sows at 'Ain el-Beida, where we now were; another around 'Ain Mak-hûz, more in the north; and the third at Ridghah, Sâkût, and further south. The people of Teyâsir also sow on the south of the Mâlih; the water of which is used for irrigation. The whole tract north of Wady Mâlih was said to be farmed from the government by one of the Sheikhs of the Jenâr family, who live at Jeba' and in its neighbourhood. By him it is again let to the different villages.

Our guide, the Sheikh from Tûbâs, belonged to the party at 'Ain el-Beida; and supposed that, as our muleteers were sent down Wady Khushneh, they would follow its stream down into the plain. We therefore went on about northeast, and came at 1.10 to the water of the Khushneh, about a mile from where it issues from the mountains. Here, on both sides of the stream, are the remains of a considerable town, consisting of little more

¹ From 'Ain el-Beida we saw Tell el-Himmeh, a large high Tell at the foot of the western mountains, half a mile distant, bearing S. 45° W.

than the foundations ; and these mostly upon the southern side of the Wady. The site is called Berdela.¹ Here we stopped, hoping to find our baggage. In this we were disappointed ; and had no resource but to go on to the quarters of the other party from Túbás, at 'Ain Mak-hûz. We proceeded, therefore, at 1.35, on the same course ; passed the threshing floors of the northern party on a low brow overlooking the lower plain ; and reached 'Ain Mak-hûz at 1.55. Here again nothing had been heard of our muleteers ; and Rashid was therefore dispatched to seek for them at a fountain higher up, in the mouth of Wady Khushneh. There he found them ; the boy guide having left them there, instead of bringing them to this place. But ere they could reach us, and before we could obtain information to regulate our further plans, it had become so late, that we concluded to encamp for the night. The thermometer was now at 93°, with a strong northwest wind.

'Ain Mak-hûz is not as large as several of the other fountains ; but the water is good. It was the *seventh* fountain or stream, to which we had come to-day ; and all but two of them in the Ghôr itself. This abundance of water was quite unexpected to us ; and accounts perhaps sufficiently for the greater fertility of this region. Yet along with the supply of water may be taken into account also the warmer climate of this depressed valley. Without any great apparent descent, we had passed from the fields of wheat yet green at Teyásir in the morning, to the harvest home and threshing floors of the Ghôr at midday.

The people of Túbás encamped around 'Ain Mak-hûz were now in mid-harvest. They were dwelling in tents and booths, with their women and children, horses and donkeys, dogs and poultry ; the latter, probably, that they might thrive on the scattered grain. We pitched our tent by their side, and enjoyed the lively scene. The people were kind and hospitable.

We could here see Wady Khushneh coming down through the mountains, in a northeast course ; and thus forming an almost direct route from Túbás to Beisân. North of it, another valley, Wady Kûbôsh, comes down from towards the village Jelkâmûs in a like direction, just under the southeastern flank of the mountains proper of Gilboa. In its mouth is a fountain, and a ruin called Ka'ûn. About two hours south of Beisân, at the foot of the same mountains, is also a fountain and the ruin of

¹ Bearings at Berdela on the north side : 84°. Deir Abu Humeid 111°. Tabor Kaukab 15°. Tell el-Hümra 18°. Tell 350°.—Dühy was shut out from view by Um 'Ajra 18°. Rahâb 18°. Tell Ridghah Jebel Jelbôn. 80°. Kefr Abil ? 80°. Tell el-Mu'ajjijeh

Mujedda'.¹ Beisân and its dark Tell we had not yet been able to make out, because of intervening swells of land.²

In the course of the afternoon, Dr Smith was able to make an arrangement with two young Sheikhs of the party here encamped, the Sawâfita, to take us on an excursion for a day beyond the Jordan. They were vigorous, active, and intelligent young men; and agreed to accompany us for forty piastres each. We accordingly laid our plan to go to Kefr Abil, supposing we should naturally ascend along Wady Yâbis and so could search for Jabesh-gilead; and then return direct to Beisân, visiting on the way the ruins called Tûbûkat Fahil, described by Irby and Mangles. The main point was, to ascertain (if possible) the distance between those ruins and Jabesh-gilead, and thus determine whether the former are the remains of Pella; since, according to Eusebius and Jerome, Jabesh was six Roman miles distant from Pella on the way to Gerasa.³ At our invitation Mr Van de Vekle concluded to accompany us. His armed horseman decided not to go; lest, should anything adverse occur, he might be censured for going beyond the limits of his district, the province of Nâbulus. He was left therefore to accompany the muleteers to Beisân, there to await the return of our party.⁴

Saturday, May 15th.—We rose at half past 2 o'clock, expecting to start at 4 o'clock; but some delay on the part of the guide, who was to take the muleteers to Beisân, made it 4.20 before we set off. Our Sheikhs were well mounted, and in high spirits. Our course was about E. by S. towards a ford a little north of Sâkût; and at 4.50 we came to Tell Ridghah in the plain, with a few old foundations upon it. At its foot, on the north, is a pleasant fountain, and a Wely called Sheikh Sâlim, with a few huts around.⁵ As we advanced, the rays of the morning sun began to gild the tops of the mountains of Gilboa behind us. At 5.25 we crossed a large brook, coming from a fountain in the plain, called ed-Deir. Our path lay, as yesterday, for the most part, through a tall and rank growth of grass, wild

¹ This is mentioned by E. G. Schultz; Ritter Erdk. XV. i. pp. 423, 446. He speaks also of a Wady Mujedda'; probably a small one, or else perhaps another name for Wady Kûbôsh.

² Bearings at Ain Mak-hûz: Tell Hûmra 8°. Rahâb 10°. Tell Um 'Ajra 10°. Kaukab 12°. Wady Yâbis 103°. Deir Abu Humeid 116°. Tabor 348°. Wady Kûbôsh N. 75° W. Wady Khushneh S. 65° W.

³ Onomast. arto. *Asiroth, Jabis-Galaad.*

⁴ Circumstances render it proper to say here, that Mr Van de Velde simply accom-

panied us, at our invitation. He had nothing whatever to do either with the plan, the arrangement, the expense, or the results of the excursion.

⁵ Bearings at Ridghah: Tell Abu Feraj 2°. Kaukab 3°. Tell el-Mu'ajijeh 89°. el-Hujejeh, a Tell and ruin on the lower declivity of the eastern mountain, 135°. Wady Kûbôsh 284°. Tell Hûmra 382°. Tabor 343°.—Ridghah is also mentioned by Bertou; Bull. de la Soc. Géogr. de Paris, 1839, T. XII. p. 156. Ritter XV. i. p. 441.

oats, thistles, and other herbage. We came at 5.30 to the brow of the lower Jordan valley, here perhaps a hundred and fifty feet above the river ;¹ and began immediately to descend along a small Wady.

We now crossed the narrow alluvial plain forming the bottom of the valley ; which our guide said was never overflowed. In it are two former channels of the river, now full of tamarisks (*Tūrfa*), the most common tree just here ; and through these channels the river still sends its waters in the rainy season. It thus appears, that the river sometimes changes its bed ; and that the islands in its stream are variable. At 5.50 we reached the bank of the river at the ford ;² which proved to be over a long narrow island. The western and smaller channel was crossed without difficulty ; though the stream was very rapid. The island is of considerable extent, alluvial, with an exceedingly rich soil, covered with tall grass and the rankest vegetation. The many tamarisks upon it were full of birds ; and here, for the first time this year, I heard the song of the nightingale.

The eastern channel was twice as broad and deeper, with a swift stream ; the ford being on a bar, over which the water breaks into a rift or rapid. Here there was some need of preparation ; our saddle-bags were taken before us ; shoes and stockings were stripped off, and pantaloons rolled above the knees. We thus got over very well. The water came up high on our horses' sides ; it was quite warm, and had a bluish tinge.

At 6.20 everything was again in order, and we were off ; our Sheikhs telling us, for our comfort, that at the ford near Beisān the water was still deeper. We immediately began to rise along the high and steep bank of the lower valley, under which the river here flows ; and soon came out upon the more elevated Ghôr above, which is here narrow, and at first dry and desert. We struck across it obliquely, about E. by N. towards the mouth of Wady Yâbis, as it issues from the mountains. At 6.30 we crossed the road leading from Beisān to 'Abu 'Obeida and es-Salt ; being that travelled by Burckhardt.³ Nearer the hills the surface of the ground is lower ; and a small fountain, with a marsh and a brook, gives occasion for a fertile tract. Looking back, a single horseman was seen in the plain, apparently following us ; but our guides paid no regard to him.

At 6.45 we reached the foot of the first hills ; and, as we began to rise a little, found ourselves suddenly surrounded by twenty or thirty armed men. They proved to be Fellâhin from

¹ Bearings at 5.30: Wady Kûbôsh N. kab 856°. Sâkût 229°. These may serve to fix the place of the ford.

² Bearings at the ford of Jordan: Kau-

³ Trav. in Syr. p. 345.

Fārah, a village higher up in the mountain. The people of that village cultivate the arable ground at the mouth of Wady Yābis; and were now here encamped in booths to gather in the harvest. Along with the other inhabitants of Jebel 'Ajlūn, they had recently combined to prevent Muhammed Pasha from enforcing the conscription; and they had now been watching us, thinking we might perhaps be coming from the government on a like errand. They were acquainted with our Sheikhs; and finding all right, they took us to their encampment just by, on the south bank of Wady Yābis. Their booths stood on the site of a small ruined village; and, like our friends from Tūbās on the other side of the Jordan, they formed quite a colony, having brought with them all their households, including dogs and chickens. They invited us to breakfast, which we declined; but our guides accepted, and made their repast on bread, *leben*, and oil. Afterwards coffee was brought, of which we all partook. Here we got sight of the singular Tell of Beisān, to which all our bearings for that place refer.¹

Five minutes from the encampment brought us to the bottom of Wady Yābis, which we reached at 7.40; it has a stream of the finest water and a mill. Our guides were about to proceed up this valley, and so we had expected and desired; but a man at work in the fields told them the way to Kefr Abil lay up along another Wady. So we turned more north, and began to ascend by a smaller Wady called Raud Abu el-Khūraz; along the northern side of which our way went on winding and climbing steep grassy hills one after another. At 8.05 a small ruin, called el-Kurkumeh, was pointed out on the south of Wady Yābis, on a small green plain sown with wheat.² At 8.30 the hills became higher and greener; and oak trees began to appear, the oaks of Bashan, (Arab. *Mellūl*), scattered here like orchards upon the hills, much like the olive trees on the west of the Jordan.

At length, at 8.55 we came out upon a prominent point, affording an extensive view over the whole northern Ghôr, from Kūrn Sūrtabeh to the lake of Tiberias. Here, far below us, the eye took in the opening of Wady Fārī'a between the ridge of Sūrtabeh and the opposite lower bluff el-Makhrūd; Kūsr el-Mālih, and the Wadys Mālih, Khushneh, and Kūbōsh, as they left the western hills and extended to the Jordan; the picturesque mountains of Gilboa; while, looking up the broad valley of Jezreel, Carmel and then Tabor came into view. A large portion of the lake was visible, in its southern and western parts.

¹ Bearings at the mouth of Wady Yābis: Dūhy 322°. Tell Beisān 331°. Tabor Sākt 237½°. Tell Ridghah 280°. Tell el- 335°. Kaukab 348°. Mu'ajijeh 299°. Tell Abu el-Feraj 304°. ² At 8.5 Kurkumeh bore S. dist. 2 m.

It was a noble prospect ; and I rejoiced in being thus able to survey the whole Ghôr on the north of Kûrn Sûrtabeh, as fully as I before had viewed the portion on the south of that mountain. The day was fine, and the atmosphere perfectly clear.¹

This high point proved to be the brow of the first plateau of the mountain. Setting off again at 9.10 on a course about northeast, we continued to ascend quite gradually over a gentle slope, through a beautiful region of country. The fields were covered with a noble crop of wheat ; than which we had seen none heavier or better. It was not yet ripe for the harvest. The land not thus occupied, was covered with splendid pasturage. The orchards of oak were now more frequent. At 9.25 we saw the inhabited village of Helâweh about two miles distant, south of Wady Yâbis, bearing S. 50° E. At 9.40 Kûl'at er-Rûbûd came in sight in the southeast, still high above us ; it is also known as Kûl'at Ibn Fureih.² At 10 o'clock we were in sight of Kefr Abîl ; and here another less prominent brow afforded us still a wide prospect.³

We came to Kefr Abîl at 10.10 ; a mean village, without a trace of antiquity. It stands near the eastern part of the first plateau, not far from the next line of steep ascent ; from which it is separated by an open cultivated Wady, running south along the foot of the higher slope to Wady Yâbis. We found the village nearly deserted. When Muhammed Pasha recently came to take soldiers, the people all fled ; and now, having seen us Franks approaching at a distance, they had done the same. None showed themselves till it was known who we were. They were, however, not far off, and soon returned ; while some came from other villages to inquire our object. The people seemed to be much the same in character with those on the other side of the Jordan. We judged the village to be not much less than two thousand feet above the river. Three other villages were in sight a little higher up, Beit Îdis, Kefr 'Awân, and Judeita.⁴

In the higher ridge, towards the south-southeast and hardly a mile distant, we could see a deep glen, by which the Yâbis issues from that ridge, and then sweeps off more to the south, beyond

¹ Bearings at 8.55, on a high point : Kûrn Sûrtabeh 209°. el-Makhrûd, end 203°. Sâkût 243°. Mouths of three Wadys at Jordan, viz. W. Mâlih 236°. W. Khushneh 258°. W. Kûbôsh 282°.—Kûsr el-Mâlih 246°. Kurkumeh 218°. North foot of mount Gilboa 318°. North end of Carmel 311°. Dûhy 317°. Beisân 318°. Tabor 329°. Kankab 340°. Deir Abu Humeid 151½°.—Not in sight, but direction pointed out : Helaweh 138°. Farah 169°.

² Bearings at 9.40 : Kûl'at er-Rûbûd 146½°. Deir Abu Humeid 164°.

³ Bearings at 10 : Kûrn Sûrtabeh 211°. Kûsr el-Mâlih 247°. Dûhy 311°. Kankab 330°. Deir Abu Humeid 174°. Kefr Abîl E.

⁴ Bearings at Kefr Abîl : Kûl'at er-Rûbûd 156°. Beit Îdis N. 50° E. 1 m. Kefr 'Awân N. 70° E. ¼ m. Judeita S. 75° E. ¼ m.

a rather high hill in the south of Kefr Abil. In that glen, it was said, are the ruins of a town called el-Maklûb, as having been "overturned;" but there are no columns. Further west, on the south side of Wady Yâbis, beyond the high hill just mentioned, and on a similar hill, we were told of another ruin called ed-Deir, having in it columns, and situated on the road leading from Beisân to Helâweh and Jerash. We could hear of no other ruins in the vicinity; and of no place whatever bearing the name of Yâbis. That name now exists only as applied to the Wady.

Our main object in this excursion to Kefr Abil was to search for the site of Jabesh-gilead; in the hope of thus finding a definite point, from which to determine the position of Pella. In this we found ourselves partially disappointed; since it was not now in our power, for want of time, to visit the above sites of ruins. Had we possessed all this information beforehand, our proper course would have been, to have ascended by Wady Yâbis to ed-Deir and Maklûb, and thence have taken the direct route to Tûbûkat Fahil and Beisân. We might even now have visited these sites of ruins, had we known all the circumstances; but a long route was before us to Beisân through an unknown region; our guides were eager to return; and we now found, that they knew nothing of Tûbûkat Fahil.

It is difficult to arrive at any very certain conclusion in such a case, solely upon the testimony of Arabs; yet there seems here to be little reason for doubt, but that the ruin ed-Deir corresponds to the site of *Jabesh-gilead*. The name ed-Deir (signifying a convent) is often given to ruins of which the Arabs can make nothing else; while the existence of columns, and the position upon the road from Beisân to Jerash, are circumstances of great weight. The distance too of six miles from Pella, as specified by Eusebius and Jerome, seems entirely applicable to ed-Deir.¹

Jabesh-gilead is first mentioned in the book of Judges,² as the only city which did not join in the war against the tribe of Benjamin; for which reason the inhabitants were destroyed, and their daughters given as wives to the surviving Benjamites. Afterwards, when the city was besieged by Nahash king of the Ammonites, Saul hastened to its rescue.³ It was probably in grateful remembrance of this deliverance, that later, when the bodies of Saul and his three sons after the slaughter of Gilboa were fastened by the Philistines to the walls of Bethshean, the

¹ Onomast. art. *Jabis-Galaad*, "Nunc est vicus trans Jordanem in sexto miliario civitatis Pella, super montem euntibus Gerasam." See also art. *Asiroth*.

² Judg. 21, 8. Jos. Antt. 5. 2. 11 *ἰδβισος*.

³ 1 Sam. 11, 1-11. Jos. Antt. 6. 5. 1 *ἰαβίς*.

inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead "went all night" and carried the bodies away to their own city, and there burned them and buried their bones.¹ For this they received the thanks of David; who afterwards removed the bones.² Jabesh is not further mentioned in Scripture; but it still existed in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, whose testimony is cited above. But from that time onwards until now, no traveller had ever sought for its site. An ocular examination is still needed; may we not hope, that it will not be long delayed.

Having made up our minds with regret to go direct from Kefr Abil to Beisân, we computed, that if the remains at Tübûkat Fahil were those of Pella, the distance could not be much less than six Roman miles; and therefore we might expect to reach the spot in a time varying from an hour and a half to two hours. Setting off at 11.15, we struck down a deep ravine on the north of the road by which we came, on a general course about northwest; and kept along in the ravine, shut out from all view, until at 12.10 it turned more to the left, and we ascended the steep hill on the right, reaching the top at 12.15. Here we passed into another valley on the same general course, and followed it down till it also turned to the left, when we again turned up the ridge on the right, and were on its top at 12.35.³ Still ascending a gradual slope, there was on our left at 12.45, a higher point, with the appearance of ruins upon it. Our guides hesitated; but at last said this was Tübûkat Fahil. We went to the top, and had a wide prospect; but found no ruins.⁴

Starting again at 1.15, we descended continually and rapidly over open grassy hills. At 1.30 we were on what seemed to be the last brow or promontory towards the Ghôr. Below, on our left, on a low mound in a nook among these higher hills, we now saw, hardly a mile distant, (S. 35° W.) a site of ruins which our guides knew only as el-Jerm. We were at this time just an hour and three quarters from Kefr Abil, and this distance accorded well with Pella; but the ignorance of our Sheikhs, who were ever hurrying on, and the apparent insignificance of the ruins as here seen, led us to keep on our way and descend the hill. Here, however, we could hold out no longer; and at 1.40 turned short off to the left, followed by only one of the guides, through a narrow plain covered with rich fields of ripe wheat. Crossing a ravine in the plain, we came in fifteen min

¹ 1 Sam. 31, 8-14. Jos. Antt. 6. 14. 8
² *Ἰαβωσός*.

³ 2 Sam. 2, 4-7. 21, 12-14.

⁴ Bearings at 12.35: Sakût 225°. Kaukab 332°. Tabor 323°. Dûhy 309°.

⁴ Bearings at 12.45: Kankab 332°. Beisân 300°. Dûhy 309°. Sâmîriyeh 270°. Tell Um 'Ajra 276°. Zer'in 296°. Jebel Jermûk 346°. —Sâmîriyeh is a ruin on the west side of the Ghôr near the mountain.

utes to the ruins of Fahil ; for so the name was given to us by people on the spot.

The low flat Tell or mound on which the principal ruins are situated looks out westward upon the narrow plain, which also runs up on the north side, between it and the projecting hill from which we had descended. On the south is a ravine ; and beyond it the narrow plain extends somewhat further. Behind are the higher hills, which shut down and enclose the spot. One singular Tell is on the southeast quarter, just by the low neck which joins the mound to the hill back ; it looks almost as if cut away by art in order to form an acropolis for the city. Directly under its southwestern base is the head of the ravine, which runs off southwest ; and just there, in its head, is a large and noble fountain, which sends off a mill stream down the valley. This latter was now almost a marsh, overgrown with tamarisks and oleanders. The fountain is called *Jerm el-Mauz* ; and the valley breaks down, as *Wady Mauz*, to the bottom of the Ghôr and the Jordan, half an hour south of the ford to Beisân.¹ We could now understand the ignorance of our guides as to the name Fahil.²

The whole narrow plain, as we afterwards saw, which thus lies west of the ruins and along the hills, is in the nature of a high plateau, or terrace, standing out in front of the hills, several hundred feet above the valley of the Jordan below. Hence the name *Tübükat Fahil*, signifying 'Terrace of Fahil.' It is cultivated by the people of *Kefr 'Awân*, and needs little if any irrigation. The tract through which we descended is also theirs ; but is too rugged to admit of much tillage.³

As we approached from the north, there were in the low plain and on our left numerous foundations with many broken columns. Ascending the mound of the city from the east, we came at once to the remains of a building, of which the portal was broken down and scattered around ; within were three granite columns. Before it lay a sculptured slab of limestone, having the name ΘΩΜΑΣ (*Thomas*) rudely inscribed upon it ; apparently a later scrawl. The edifice may have been a temple, or perhaps a church. The surface of the hill is a level area of four or five acres in extent, covered with the foundations of houses, and with heaps of hewn stones intermingled with fragments of columns. We saw no bevelled stones. On the southern side the descent towards the ravine is quite steep ; and here the houses seemed to have been built on terraces one above

¹ Burckhardt *Trav. in Syr.* p. 345. From *Mauz*; *Trav. among the Arab Tribes* pp. 10, 138. *Wady Mauz* to *Wady Yûbis* is three quarters of an hour ; *ibid.*

² Bearings from *Fahil*: *Dühy* 311°. *Kaukab* 336°. *Beisân* 304°. *Tell Um 'Ajra* 278°.

³ Buckingham speaks of having heard both names, *Tübükat Fahil* and *Jerm el-*

another, quite to the bottom. The fountain is under the south-east quarter; and near it are still standing two columns, as of a small temple. Towards the west, also, in the plain, we saw foundations and ruins; showing that the city covered a large extent of ground. We noticed no traces of city walls.

The spot was first visited by Irby and Mangles, March 12th, 1818.¹ They approached it from the west; and found there in the plain "the ruins of a square building, with a semicircular end, which appears to have been surrounded by columns." On the hill, they speak of the ruins of a modern village. Of this we saw nothing; though it is possible, that occasional huts may have been constructed out of the scattered stones. Amongst the columns they discovered the three orders, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian; and at the fountain they speak of "a fine temple." Crossing the rivulet, and following a path to the southward, they came to a small plain very thickly set with herbage, and particularly the mustard plant, reaching as high as the horses' heads; here towards the east were several excavations in the side of the hills, which they supposed to be the sepulchres which they heard of in this vicinity. Finding no path in this direction, they recrossed the rivulet, and descended to their former road along the Ghôr.²

Such are the ruins and the main topographical features of Fahil; but on what grounds can the site be identified with the ancient *Pella*? In the *first* place, we know that Pella was one of the cities of the Decapolis,³ east of the Jordan, and on the northern border of Perea.⁴ Indeed, Pompey proceeding from Damascus into Judea, marches by way of Pella and Scythopolis.⁵ It follows that the two cities were not far distant from each other; and Josephus several times mentions them together.⁶ We now had Beisân (Scythopolis) in view beyond the river. *Secondly*, Eusebius and Jerome inform us, that from Pella to Jabesh-gilead was six Roman miles on the road across the mountain to Gerasa.⁷ We had now come from Kefr Abil, about a mile north of the ruin ed-Deir on Wady Yâbis, to a point the same distance north of Fahil, in an hour and three

¹ Travels, pp. 804, 805. [92, 93.]

² As early as Feb. 1816, Buckingham in passing this way from Nazareth to es-Salt was told of this place; but "as it was on an eminence difficult of access, we [he] did not go up to it." He again heard of it at Kefrenjy. Trav. among the Arab Tribes, pp. 10, 138.—In the summer of 1842, Rev. G. Williams, searching for Pella in the vicinity, heard of these ruins; but "could not turn aside to examine them;" Holy City I p. 201.

³ Euseb. et Hieron. Onomast. art. *Decapolis*. Plin. H. N. 5. 16. Reland Palæst. p. 203.

⁴ Jos. B. J. 3. 8. 3.

⁵ Jos. Antt. 14. 3. 4. B. J. 1. 6. 5.

⁶ Jos. Antt. 14. 4. 4. B. J. 1. 7. 7. ib. 2. 18. 1.

⁷ Onomast. arts. *Jabis-Galaad* and *Asiroth*; see above, p. 319. n. 1. The Onomasticon of these writers contains no further notice of Pella, except its name in the art. *Decapolis*.

quarters; a coincidence more than ordinarily exact. *Thirdly*, Pliny enumerating the cities of the Decapolis speaks of Pella as "abundant in waters;"¹ and the noble fountain within the precincts still testifies to the truth of the description. *Fourthly*, the names Fahil and Pella have a strong affinity; whether we regard the former as derived merely from the Greek Pella, or as representing an earlier Aramean form which the Greeks corrupted into Pella.

After completing our examination of the remains, in view of these considerations I ventured to express to my companions on the spot the opinion, in which they concurred, that we were standing amid the ruins of the long lost and long sought Pella. It is at such moments that the traveller has his reward.

The idea, however, that these remains mark the site of Pella, was not to me a new one. True, no such idea had been suggested to the minds of Irby and Mangles, the discoverers of the ruins; and no Frank traveller had since visited the spot. But as long ago as 1839 or 1840, when preparing in Berlin the manuscript of my former *Researches*, I had by me a copy of their volume;² and was struck with the probable identity of this site of ruins with Pella. The same idea was entertained by Kiepert; who likewise used the volume in making out the maps for my work. By which one the suggestion was first made to the other, it may now be difficult to determine. At any rate, Kiepert proposed to insert the name Pella in those maps in connection with this spot. It was not done, however; because I desired, that the maps should contain nothing, which had not been actually verified. But in Kiepert's own later map, published in 1842, Pella was thus inserted for the first time with a query; and from that time onwards the suggestion has been public property.³

A writer of the fifth century tells us, that Pella was also called *Bütis*.⁴ A much later assertion affirms, that the city was built, or at least inhabited, by Macedonian veterans, from the armies of Alexander the Great, who settled down here under his successors in the kingdom of Syria; and hence the name

¹ Plin. H. N. 5. 16 (18), "Pellam aquis divitem."

² From the library of the Royal Geogr. Soc. in London, through the kindness of the then Secretary, Capt. Washington, R. N. No other copy was known to be in Berlin at that time.

³ Ritter also fully assumes the identity of these ruins as those of Pella; Erdk. XV. ii. pp. 1023-28, Berl. 1851. In our former lists the name Kefr Abl was wrongly written *Kefr Bil*, and in this form was compared with Pella; Bibl. Res. edit.

1, Vol. III. App. p. 165. This supposed Kefr Bil Ritter takes to be the same with the "ruins of a modern village" spoken of by Irby and Mangles at Fahil; and thence argues the identity of the latter with Pella. His position is right; but is built upon erroneous premises.—On the same authority of Irby and Mangles, Mr Williams also is "disposed to think, that Pella must be looked for in this locality;" Holy City, 1st. edit. Lond. 1845, p. 127.

⁴ Steph. Byzant. Πέλλα πόλις κολησι Συρίας ἢ Βούτις λεγομένη.

Pella, in honour of the Macedonian Pella.¹ In support of this idea it is alleged, that Pella was one of the cities destroyed by the fanatical Jews under Alexander Jannæus, because the inhabitants refused to conform to the Jewish rites and customs; showing that these inhabitants were heathen and foreigners.² Whether all this, however, is anything more than a modern hypothesis to account for the name Pella, may be doubtful.³ But however all this may be, we learn from Polybius, that Antiochus the Great of Syria, after getting possession of Mount Tabor and other places in the year 218 B. C. crossed the Jordan and captured Pella, Kamûn, and Gephrtis.⁴ The more important notices given by Josephus have already been referred to. Pella with other cities was taken by Pompey from the Jews, and restored by him to their own inhabitants.⁵ Afterwards Pella became the head of a toparchy.⁶

The name Pella does not occur in Scripture; but the city is celebrated in ecclesiastical annals, as the place whither the Christians of Jerusalem withdrew, before the siege and destruction of the Holy City by Titus. Eusebius relates their removal; and that it took place in consequence of a divine admonition.⁷ The time of their return is nowhere specified.⁸ From the coins of Pella it appears, that the city continued to flourish under the reign of Heliogabalus, A. D. 217–222;⁹ and the language of Eusebius and Jerome, more than a century later, seems to imply that Pella was not then deserted.¹⁰ Indeed it is enumerated among the episcopal cities of the Second Palestine, along with Scythopolis; and the names of three of its bishops are recorded between A. D. 449 and 536.¹¹ The city would seem, therefore, to have remained nearly, and perhaps quite, until the time of the Muhammedan conquest.

Leaving Pella at 2.10, we returned northwards to the point where we had turned off from the road. Reaching this at 2.25, we kept on our course about northwest; and in five minutes were

¹ Adrichomius p. 92. Bonfrere in Onomast. ed. Cleric. p. 122. Ritter XV. ii. pp. 1025, 1027.—I do not find this idea broached much if any before the time of Adrichomius, in the sixteenth century.

² Jos. Antt. 13. 15. 4. B. J. 1. 4. 8. ib. 2. 18. 1.

³ Yet Strabo relates, that Apamæa on the Orontes (now Kül'at Müdik) was sometimes called Pella under the earlier Syrian kings, because many of the Macedonian veterans dwelt there; Strab. 16. 2. 10. p. 752.

⁴ Polyb. 5. 70. 12, καὶ προδῶν παρελάβε Πέλλαν καὶ Καμούν καὶ Γεφρούν.

⁵ Jos. Antt. 14. 4. 4. B. J. 3. 7. 7.

⁶ Jos. B. J. 3. 8. 5.

⁷ Euseb. H. E. 3. 5, κατὰ τινὰ χρησμὸν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δοκιμοῖς δι' ἀποκαλύψεως δοθέντα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου. The same is affirmed by Epiphanius, who alone speaks of their return; de Mensuris. et Pond. 15. p. 171. ed. Petav.

⁸ Comp. Vol. I. p. 371. [ii. 10.]

⁹ Eckhel Doctr. Nummorum. III. p. 350. Mionnet Méd. Antiques. V. p. 329. Suppl. VIII. p. 232.

¹⁰ Onomast. arts. *Asiroth, Decapolis, Jabis-Galaad.*

¹¹ Reland Palæst. pp. 215, 226. Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. col. 697.—Ritter has apparently overlooked these notices; Erdk. XV. ii. p. 1028.

at the brow of the steep descent from the *Tûbûkah* or terrace. As we descended, a small Wady, called Abu Seiyâd, was on our right. The whole descent is not less than some six hundred feet; we reached the bottom at 2.40. The declivity hence to the river, to which we came at 3.10, is gradual, without any high bank. There are strictly three fording-places leading to Beisân; we had come to the middle one. One of our Sheikhs, throwing off his light garments, waded in, and found the water deep and the bottom bad, because of many and large stones. Another ford is considerably further up the stream. We now turned down the river about S. S. W. and came in fifteen minutes to the lower ford, called Tûmra, at 3.35. A low Tell and Wely are on the opposite side, a third of a mile below, called Sheikh Dâtûd.¹ The same guide again waded through, and gave a favourable report. The two Sheikhs rode through first; the current was strong, and the water came up high on the horses' sides, and to the tops of their tails behind. We now made our arrangements for crossing, as in the morning. Sheikh Kasim, who had shown himself by far the most courteous and obliging, proposed to wade and lead our horses through one by one. To this we gladly assented; and so came safely over, with a slight wetting of some of the saddle-bags, but without injury to anything.—The ford, both here and above, lay across a bar in the stream, on the brow of a rapid, as in the morning. The river was deeper and broader, measuring one hundred and forty feet in width.²

We started again at 4.05; and at 4.10 reached the top of the high bank of the lower valley.³ Looking back, we had here a fine view of the *Tûbûkah*, a vast 'terrace' built up against the eastern hills, with the narrow but fertile plain on the top, and falling off suddenly and steeply to the Ghôr below. It seems to be the only one of the kind. At 4.20 we crossed a fine brook, said to come from the fountains at Beisân. The whole plain was now so full of fountains and rivulets, as to be in some places almost a marsh. It was everywhere fertile and well watered; in some parts cultivated, but mostly neglected. As we passed on, Mount Hermon was seen up the Ghôr, as if at its head, towering in majesty. All the way we had before us the black Tell of Beisân, rising alone in the distance near the north side of the broad opening of the valley of Jezreel. At 5.05 we came to the foot of the declivity, by which the plain of that valley drops down to the level of the Ghôr; and at 5.20 reached the village situated just on the brow of that declivity. We

¹ Mentioned also by Irby and Mangles, one hundred and forty feet." Travels p. 304. [92.] 304. [92.]

² Irby and Mangles crossed here. "We measured the breadth, and found it to be 304. [92.]³ Bearings at 4.10: Kaukab 348°. Tell Beisân 298°.

ascended along a full stream of water, which came tumbling down the descent, having a dark tinge and an odour of sulphur. Here we met apparently all the neat cattle of the village, some two hundred in number. Our tent was pitched in a breezy spot near water, on the south of the village ; and we were right glad to take possession of it.

We could hardly have had a more favourable day for an excursion across the Ghôr and Jordan. A fine northwest wind prevailed the whole day, with a pure and brilliant atmosphere ; so that the rays of the sun were at no time oppressive. It was our hardest day's labour in Palestine ; having been at work for thirteen hours, mostly in the saddle.

Our Sheikhs returned to the tents of their people. We paid to each his forty piastres ; and added twenty more as a *bakhshish*, mostly to Kasim, who had shown himself the most obliging. Such was the special expense of identifying Pella.

Sunday, May 16th. The day of rest and devotion was grateful to us all. The weather was warm, but not oppressive. Swarms of flies annoyed us, probably occasioned by the vicinity of so many cattle. We were a good deal interrupted by visits from the Sükr Arabs, who have possession of the Ghôr. The village was full of them. Our servants said there were not less than fifty horsemen there, living for the time upon the inhabitants. Several of them called on us, and sat long beneath our tent. I had been using my pocket-knife, and laid it for a moment by my side on the foot of the bed, near the door. It disappeared ; and has probably served a Bedawy as a memorial of his visit to the Franks.

In the course of the day we strolled out in various directions. I tried to trace the upward course of some of the streams ; but without success. In the afternoon we visited the Tell and adjacent remains, half a mile north of the village. We took no observations ; but mused among the ruins on the vicissitudes of human things.

I bring together here the results of our observations at Beisân, some of which were made on Monday morning ; and also what remains to be said of the Ghôr, of which we here took leave.

The village and ruins of Beisân are situated on the brow, just where the great valley or plain of Jezreel drops down by a rather steep descent some three hundred feet to the level of the Ghôr. This plain is here from two to three miles broad, between the northern hills and the mountains of Gilboa on the south. The northern hills reach quite down to the Ghôr, and are tame.

The southern mountains do not extend so far east ; and a strip of the plain of Jezreel runs down along their eastern base, there forming a higher plateau along the Ghôr. These mountains are bold and picturesque, and sweep off southwards in a graceful curve ; forming no projecting corner or angle where the valley meets the Ghôr. The village and ruins are near the northern hills.

Through the great valley comes down the stream Jâlûd, which has its sources at 'Ain Jâlûd and around Zer'in.¹ Just here it flows under the northern hills, and breaks down by a ravine to the Ghôr. This ravine is joined by another, much broader, from the southwest. Between the two, at the point of junction, rises the steep and sombre Tell, directly north of the village. South of the Tell is a low open tract in the last-mentioned valley, in which are many ruins. Between this low tract and the other ravine, there is on the west of the Tell a low saddle, which serves to isolate the Tell. On this also are important ruins. Going southwards from the low tract around the Tell, one ascends to the level of the great plain ; and here are other ruins and the modern village. The site in this part is not much less than three hundred feet above the level of the Ghôr. The Tell rises somewhat higher ; and standing out alone is visible for a great distance towards the east and west. We had formerly seen it from Zer'in.²

Not less than four large brooks of water pass by or through the site of Beisân. The first and northernmost is the Jâlûd, coming from Zer'in, and washing the northern base of the Tell ; its water is brackish and bad. The other three come from the southwest, in which direction there seems to be a marsh, and perhaps ponds. One flows through the side Wady into the Jâlûd just at the Tell ; another passes just on the south of the village and descends the slope eastward to the Ghôr, where we ascended ; while the third rushes down the same declivity still further south. Half way down it has a perpendicular fall of some twenty-five feet, and turns a mill. The water of both these southernmost streams has a slightly darkish tinge, and an odour of sulphur. This would seem to indicate a different source from that of the brook in the side Wady ; otherwise it would be easy to suppose, that they originally flowed down the same Wady, and were turned into their present channels for the purposes of irrigation.³

¹ See Vol. II. p. 323 sq. [iii. 167 sq.]

² See Vol. II. p. 320. [iii. 162.]

³ Burckhardt speaks here of a "river which flows in different branches towards the plain ;" Trav. in Syr. p. 343. Accord-

ing to Irby and Mangles, "two streams run through the ruins of the city ; almost insulating the acropolis" They perhaps examined only the northern portion of the site. Trav. p. 302. [92.]

The whole region here is volcanic, like that around and above the lake of Tiberias.¹ All the rocks and stones round about, as also the stones of the ruins, are black and basaltic in their character. The Tell, too, is black and apparently volcanic; it resembles much in its form and loose texture the cone of a crater.

The most important ruins are near the Tell; but the ancient city evidently extended up towards the south, and included the tract around the present village. Its circumference could not have been less than two or three miles. The whole brow round about the village is covered with ruins, interspersed with fragments of columns. Near by is the Kûsr, so called, which is merely a ruined Muslim fort. There is also a deserted mosk and minaret.

Scythopolis must have been a city of temples. One or more stood on the saddle on the southwest of the Tell; here I counted eight columns still standing together. Another temple was in the low area south of the Tell; and the traces of several are seen in various directions. There remain standing some twenty or thirty columns in all.² All the edifices were apparently built of black basaltic stones, except the columns. We saw no bevelled stones.

The most perfect of the ruins is the amphitheatre, described by Irby and Mangles.³ It is south of the Tell, near the opposite side of the low area; and in this fertile soil is overgrown with rank weeds. It is built of the black stones; and measures across the front of the semicircle about one hundred and eighty feet. All the interior passages and vomitories are in almost perfect preservation. According to the travellers just named, it has one peculiarity, which Vitruvius says was found in few of the ancient theatres, viz. oval recesses half way up, intended to contain brass sounding-tubes.

Over the chasm of the Jâlûd, just below the Tell and the junction of the other stream, is thrown a fine Roman arch, with a smaller one on each side, resting upon an artificial mound. The middle arch is too high for a bridge. Possibly the city wall was carried over upon the mound and arch; though for that, too, it appears too high. It would seem also quite problematical, whether the wall ever crossed the stream.⁴

The ascent to the Tell is from the saddle on the west; from which an easy path leads to the top. Here are seen traces of

¹ See also Vol. II. p. 416. [iii. 313.]

² Burckhardt says: "I saw only a single shaft of a column standing;" Trav. p. 343.

³ Trav. pp. 301, 302. [92.]

⁴ According to Irby and Mangles, these arches "appear to have formed a bridge; and on the outside the wall of the city was continued on the edge of the bridge;" p. 303. [92.]

the thick walls, which once surrounded the summit, a level plot of considerable extent. The heavy portal is still half standing. Connected with it are some quite large blocks of limestone, and also a beautiful Corinthian capital, built in among the common black stones. One of the large blocks is bevelled.

From the Tell there is a wide view. On the west it includes the whole great valley of Jezreel to Zer'in, with Kûmieh on the northern hills. In the plain, W. by N. we noticed a bridge with Roman arches over the Jâlûd; and beyond it, according to Irby and Mangles, may be seen the paved way which once led to 'Akka.' Just beyond the stream, and northwest from the Tell, is a large Khân on the road to Nazareth.² Towards the east the eye takes in the whole breadth of the Ghôr, including Sâkût and the various Tells; as also the eastern mountains, which we had just visited; on which the Kûl'at er-Rûbûd forms here too a conspicuous object.³

Beyond the stream and northeast from the Tell, in the face of the northern hill, which just there is high and steep, are the excavated sepulchres of the ancient city. They were examined by Irby and Mangles; who found sarcophagi remaining in some of them; also niches of a triangular shape for lamps; and some of the doors still hanging on the ancient hinges of stone, in remarkable preservation.⁴

The site of the ancient city, as of the modern village, was a splendid one, in this vast area of plain and mountain, in the midst of abundant waters and of exuberant fertility. There is no doubt but that the present Beisân represents the *Beth-shean* or *Beth-shan* of the Old Testament;⁵ a city which lay within the borders of Issachar, but belonged to Manasséh, though not at first subdued.⁶ After the catastrophe of Saul, when he and his three sons were slain upon the adjacent mountains of Gilboa, their bodies were fastened by the Philistines to the wall of Beth-shan. Thence they were taken by the men of Jabesh-gilead, who "went all night," and carried away the bodies to their own

¹ Trav. p. 303. [92.] This we did not see. The ancient Roman road led rather to Zer'in; whence it branched off in various directions.

² Mentioned also by Burckhardt, who says it is used by caravans which take the shortest route from Jerusalem to Damascus; Trav. p. 343. He probably refers to the route by way of Zer'in, Beisân, and the bridge el-Mejâmi'a two hours south of the lake. See also Vol. I. p. 538. [ii. 259, 260.]

³ Bearings from Tell Beisân: Kûl'at er-Rûbûd 137°. Deir Abu Humeid 141½°.

Tell el-Mu'ajjijeh 157°. Sâkût 169½°. Rahâb 190°. Tell Um 'Ajra 190°. Tell esh-Shâk 265°. Tell esh-Sheikh Hasan 293. Zer'in 294½°. Dûhy 305½°. Kûmieh 308°. Kaukab 4°. Roman bridge 288°. Khân N. 47° W. Beisân, village, S. ½ m. dist.

⁴ Travels p. 302. [92.]

⁵ Heb. בֵּית-שֶׁאֵן Josh. 17, 11; בֵּית-שֶׁאֵן 1 Sam. 31, 10; בֵּית-שֶׁאֵן 2 Sam. 21, 12. In the Arabic form *Brisân*, there lies a rather unusual contraction.

⁶ Josh. 17, 11. 16. Judg. 1, 27. 1 Chr. 7, 29.

city, and burned them and buried their bones.¹ Beth-shan is further mentioned in Scripture only as a part of the district of one of Solomon's purveyors.²

After the exile, under the Greek dominion, the city received the Greek name of *Scythopolis*, 'City of the Scythians;' by which it was known for several centuries.³ The origin of this name has not yet been satisfactorily accounted for. Many suppose that a colony of Scythians actually had possession of the place, and so gave occasion for the name. Herodotus indeed relates, that during the reign of Psammeticus, the cotemporary of Josiah, the Scythians made an incursion through Palestine into Egypt.⁴ Near the close of the eighth century, the historian George Syncellus also writes, that the Scythians entered Palestine and took possession of Bethsan, which they called *Scythopolis*.⁵ But this is very late authority for so definite a fact; and looks much more like an hypothesis to account for the name. Hence Reland and others regard *Scythopolis* rather as a compound from the name Succoth, as if for *Succothopolis*.⁶ But it is hardly probable, that the most important place in the region would take its name from one comparatively unknown; nor was it the habit of the Greeks to engraft foreign names into their compound words without translation. The Greek and Latin name for Succoth, was *Scenæ*; and the composite name thence resulting, would have been *Scenopolis*.⁷ Perhaps after all, the term *Scythians* is here to be taken, not in its literal application, but as put generally for any *rude people, barbarians*.⁸ In this sense it might well be applied to the wild nomadic tribes, who of old, as now, appear to have inhabited the Ghôr; and seem often to have had possession of this city, and to have made it their chief seat.

However this may be, the city was known as *Scythopolis* as early as the times of Judas Maccabæus; and was then not a Jewish city. Jews indeed dwelt there, but not as citizens; and

¹ 1 Sam. 31, 8-13; comp. 2 Sam. 21, 12.

² 1 K. 4, 12.

³ Βηθσάνη, καλουμένη πρὸς Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολις, Jos. Antt. 12. 8. 5. ib. 13. 6.

1. Written also Σκυθῶν πόλις Judith 8, 11. 2 Macc. 12, 30. Polyb. 5. 70. 4.—The Sept. likewise, in Judg. 1, 27, has Βαιθσάν, ἡ ἐστὶ Σκυθῶν πόλις, but this is justly regarded by Reland as a later gloss; Palest. p. 292.

⁴ Hdot. 1. 103-105. Comp. Chron. Paschale, p. 121 Par. p. 225 Dind.

⁵ G Syncell. Chron. p. 214 ed. Par. I. p. 405 ed. Bonn.—Pliny also says, H. N. 5. 16 "Scythopolin, (antea Nysam a Li-

bero Patre, sepu'ta nutrice ibi.) Scythia deducta." But he here manifestly alludes to the sacrifice of Nysa by Iphigenia in the Scythian or Tauric Chersonesus, ἡ Σκυθική Χερσόνησος, Strabo 7. 4. 1. p. 308. See Ritter Erdk. XV. p. 432.

⁶ Reland, Palest. p. 992. Gezenius, Notes to Burckhardt, II. p. 1058. Ritter XV. p. 432.

⁷ Gr. Σκηναί, Lat. *Scenæ*, Jos. Antt. 1. 21. 1. Onomast. art. *Scenæ*.

⁸ See the Greek Lexicons; also Rosenm. Bibl. Geogr. I. i. p. 272. Comp. Col. 3, 11 2 Macc. 4, 47. Joseph. c. Ap. 2. 37 Lucian, Tox. 5 sq.

they are expressly distinguished from the inhabitants proper.¹ Indeed, this held true at a much later period; and even during the Roman wars the Jews sacked Scythopolis; while, not long after, the inhabitants treacherously massacred the Jewish residents to the number of thirteen thousand, according to Josephus.² Hence it was not unnatural for the Talmudists to speak of Bethshan or Scythopolis as not a Jewish, but a heathen city; which their fathers did not subdue after their return from the Babylonish exile.³

According to Josephus, Scythopolis was on or near the southern border of Galilee. It was the largest city of the Decapolis;⁴ and the only city of that district lying on the west of the Jordan. Here Alexander Jannæus had his interview with Cleopatra.⁵ Pompey took Pella and Scythopolis in his way, on his march from Damascus into Judea; and he subsequently restored Scythopolis and several other cities to their own inhabitants.⁶ The city was rebuilt and fortified by Gabinius.⁷ It was long after this time, under Florus, the last Roman procurator, about A. D. 65, that the massacre of the Jews above referred to took place.⁸

In the fourth century Scythopolis is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome as still a 'noble' city.⁹ It was already the seat of a Christian bishop; and the name of Patrophilus, its earliest recorded bishop, appears at the council in Palestine in A. D. 318; and again in the first Nicene council, A. D. 325, as well as elsewhere.¹⁰ It was reckoned to Palæstina Secunda, of which it became the chief see; and the names of several of its bishops are preserved.¹¹ One or more convents had also been established, with many monks; and continued to flourish for several centuries. The monks of Scythopolis were represented in the council held at Constantinople, A. D. 536.¹² The city was the birthplace of Basilides and Cyril, each surnamed Scythopolitanus; the latter known as the author of a life of St. Sabas, and also of St. Euthymius, in whose monastery he resided, between Jerusalem and Jericho.¹³

According to the historian Sozomen,¹⁴ this region in the fifth

¹ 2 Macc. 12. 30. Comp. Jos. Antt. 12. 8. 5.

² Jos. B. J. 2. 18. 1, 3, 4.

³ Lightfoot Opp. ed. Leusd. fol. Tom. II. p. 418.

⁴ B. J. 3. 3. 1. ib. 8. 9. 7.

⁵ Antt. 13. 13. 2.

⁶ Antt. 14. 8. 4. ib. 14. 4. 4.

⁷ Antt. 14. 5. 3. B. J. 1. 8. 4.

⁸ B. J. 2. 18. 3, 4.

⁹ Onomast. art. *Bethshan*, "Nunc appellatur Scythopolis, urbs nobilis (*ἐπίσημος*) Palæstinæ."

¹⁰ Reland, Palæst. p. 996. Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. p. 683.

¹¹ Reland ib. p. 215, 216, 223, 225.

¹² Le Quien ib. 682-694.

¹³ Sergius, a monk and deacon of the monastery of St. John, subscribed in behalf of all the monks of Scythopolis, *ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθόπολιν μοναχῶν*. See Reland Pal. p. 976.

¹⁴ In Cotelerii Monum. Eccles. Græc. Tom. II, III.—Fleischer in Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges. I. p. 152.

¹⁵ Sozom. H. E. 8. 13.

century was full of palm trees ; of which there is now not a trace. The monks here (as well as in the monastery of St. Sabas) were accustomed to weave the palm leaves into cowls and habits for themselves, as also into baskets and fancy fans, which were sold at Damascus.¹

In the time of the crusades the city was known both as Scythopolis and Bethsan. It is described as a small place, with extensive ruins of former edifices and many marble remains.² The Franks transferred the episcopal see, as an archbishopric, to Nazareth ; which thus first became the seat of a bishop.³ Beisân, though weak, was gallantly defended by its inhabitants against Saladin in 1182 ; although the very next year it was deserted on his approach, and, after being plundered by him, was consigned to the flames.⁴ It is subsequently mentioned by other writers ; and R. Parchi resided there for several years, early in the fourteenth century.⁵ But it seems not again to have been visited by travellers ; until Seetzen in 1806 made an excursion thither from Jenin,⁶ and Burckhardt in 1812 took it in his way from Nazareth to es-Salt.⁷

Seetzen, whose journals have only recently been published, describes Beisân as the most wretched village he had seen. Even then its inhabitants were composed of Egyptians, Arab peasants, and Bedawin.⁸ Burckhardt speaks of the few inhabitants in his day as "in a miserable condition, from being exposed to the depredations of the Bedawin of the Ghôr, to whom they also paid a heavy tribute."⁹ Irby and Mangles in 1818 describe them as "a fanatical set ;" and to Richardson, the same year, the village is nothing better than "a nest of ruffians," containing about two hundred inhabitants.¹⁰

The village is now of considerable size, the population amounting perhaps to five hundred souls. The present inhabitants are a colony of Egyptians, who were said to have come hither before the time of the Egyptian rule, and to have received accessions since. Being strangers, they were the more exposed to the exactions and depredations of the neighbouring Arabs, especially the Bedawin of the Ghôr.¹¹ For this reason many had left the place, and gone to other parts of the country.

¹ See the authorities quoted in Reland Pal. p. 977.

² Will. Tyr. 22. 26 "nunc vero ad nihilum redacta raro incolitur habitatore."

³ Will. Tyr. 8. 4. ib. 22. 16. Jac. de Vit. 56. p. 1077. Both these writers wrongly assign Scythopolis to *Palæstina Tertia*.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 22. 16. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 210.—Will. Tyr. 22. 26. Bohed. Vit. Sal. p. 53. Wilken ib. p. 230.

⁵ Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 84. Brocardus c.

7. p. 176. Marin. Sanut. p. 247. Sir J. Maundeville, Lond. 1839, p. 111—Zunz in Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. pp. 261, 402.

⁶ Seetzen's Reisen, II. p. 159 sq. Berlin 1854.

⁷ Travels in Syr. p. 343.

⁸ Reisen ib. I. p. 163.

⁹ Travels in Syr. p. 343.

¹⁰ Irby and Mangles p. 303. [92.] Richardson's Travels, II. pp. 420-422.

¹¹ See above, p. 326.

SALIM AND ÆNON.—One of our main objects in visiting the Ghôr, as is said above,¹ was to make search after the Ænon and Salim mentioned in connection with John the Baptist. I regret to have to say, that our search was fruitless.

We learn from the Scriptural narrative, that John the Baptist was "baptizing in Ænon, near to Salim, because there was much water [many waters] there."² Salim therefore was the more important town; and Ænon, apparently, a place of fountains near by.

According to Jerome, both Ænon and Salim were situated in this part of the Ghôr, eight Roman miles south from Scythopolis.³ They were probably at a considerable distance from the Jordan; otherwise the Evangelist would hardly have mentioned the abundance of water. In another passage Jerome regards this Salim as the residence of Melchizedek; and affirms, that in his day the palace of Melchizedek was still shown, which by the magnitude of its ruins attested the ancient magnificence of the work.⁴

It was natural to infer, that of such extensive ruins, some traces might yet remain. Our inquiries were constant and persevering; but we could obtain no trace of corresponding names or ruins. As to names, the only approach to similarity was in the name Sheikh Sâlim, the Wely at the base of Tell Ridghah;⁵ but this is a circumstance in itself too frequent and trite to be taken into account. As to ruins, if there still exist any remains of Salim, they must probably be sought near the foot of the western mountains.

It may further be remarked, that so far as the language of Scripture is concerned, the place near which John was baptizing may just as well have been the Sâlim overagainst Nâbulus; where, as we have seen, there are two large fountains.⁶

THE GHOR.—This great valley is the '*Arabah*' of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the '*Ghôr*' of Arabian writers, extending from the gulf of 'Akabah to the lake of Tiberias, or strictly to Baniâs. These names have been fully treated of in a former volume.⁷ By

¹ See above, p. 300.

² John 3, 23 βαπτίζων ἐν Ἀνὼν, ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμ, ὅτι ὑδάτα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ. The name Ἀνὼν Ænon is the Chald. plur. ܐܢܘܢ fountains; Buxt. Lex. 1601. It was obviously a place furnishing an abundant supply of water, for the use of the crowds who followed John.

³ Onomast. art. Ænon: "Ostenditur usque nunc locus in octavo lapide Scythopoleos ad meridiem juxta Salim et Jordanem."—Art. Salem: "In octavo quoque lapide a Scythopoli in campo vicus Salumias appellatur."—See also Judith 4, 1.

⁴ Ep. ad Evang. Opp. II. 573. ed. Mart. "*Salem* autem non ut Josephus et nostri omnes arbitrantur esse Jerusalem, . . . sed oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quod usque hodie appellatur Salem; et ostenditur ibi palatium Melchizedek, ex magnitudine ruinarum, veteris operis ostendens magnificentiam."

⁵ See above, p. 315.

⁶ See above, p. 298.

⁷ See Vol. II. pp. 183–187. [ii. 594–600.] See also Gesen. Heb. Lex. Bost. 1854, art. ܐܪܒܐ.

Eusebius and Jerome it is called the *Aulon*;¹ and is described as stretching from Baniâs and Lebanon to the desert of Pharan, and containing Tiberias and its lake, Scythopolis, Jericho, and the Dead Sea. At the present day all the southern portion of the great valley, lying beyond the cliffs on the south of the Dead Sea, is called by the Arabs *Wady el-'Arabah*; while the northern portion, extending to the lake of Tiberias, bears the name of el-Ghôr. Above the Jisr-Benât Ya'kôb, the broad valley with its lake takes the name of the lake and plain *el-Hûleh*. The present 'Arabah is described as a desert in a former volume; the plain of the Hûleh, with its lavish fertility, I afterwards visited with Mr Thomson.²

The Ghôr proper is divided into two parts by the protrusion into it of Kûrn Sûrtabeh. The southern portion I had formerly traversed in its lower parts, and viewed it from the heights above 'Ain Dûk; and now I had again looked down upon it from Daumeh and Mejdel. My companion meantime had passed through its whole length. It is shut in on the west by a lofty wall of precipitous mountains; through which the lateral valleys break down in deep chasms. It is in itself a desert; except where large springs bursting forth at the foot of the mountains give fertility to the adjacent tracts. Such are the fountains at Jericho and Dûk, at 'Aujeh and Fûsâil, on the west; and in the Wadys Hesbân and esh-Sha'ib (Nimrin) on the east of the Jordan. The appearance of the Jordan and its border of trees in this part, has been already noted.³

North of Kûrn Sûrtabeh the character of the Ghôr is entirely changed; and the general sterility of the southern portion is succeeded by an abundance of water and luxuriant fertility. First is the Kûrâwa, described as extremely rich and productive; upon which issues the broad and meadow-like Wady Fâri'a with its beautiful stream. Between this and Wady Mâlih the western hills jut down and contract the valley; but further north it again spreads out into the broad and fertile plain or plateaus, which we had several times traversed during the last two days. This whole tract north of Kûrn Sûrtabeh we saw from the eastern mountains,⁴ stretching quite to the lake of Tiberias; much of it apparently cultivated and yielding rich crops; and the whole enlivened by the very many windings of the Jordan, as it meanders from side to side through the broad valley. The appearance of the river here, as seen from the

¹ Gr. Αὐλὼν, Onomast. art. *Aulon*. Jerome affirms that *Aulon* is not a Greek, but a Hebrew word. In this he is wrong; for the Hebrew contains no such word or form; while the Greek αὐλὼν signifies *any deep tract (or valley) between mountains*.

See the Greek Lexicons, e.g. Passow, Pape, Liddell and Scott, etc.

² See Vol. II. p. 183 sq. [il. 594 sq.] See also below, under May 26th.

³ See above, pp. 293, 294.

⁴ See above pp. 317, 318.

heights, is quite different in this respect from its lower portion. The wall of mountains on the west has also disappeared ; and the valleys descend to the Ghôr, not as deep and wild chasms, but as fertile plains or openings.

In the region of Beisân the Ghôr stands in connection with the great plain of Esdraelon, by means of the broad valley of Jezreel. In this part there may be reckoned three different levels or plateaus, as belonging to the Ghôr, viz. first, the low valley of the Jordan proper ; then, the broad luxuriant plain extending from the preceding to the slope which ascends to Beisân ; and lastly, the plain back of Beisân, which is the opening of the valley of Jezreel, and which also extends south in front of the western mountains for several miles. The Ghôr is here not less fruitful than the plain of Esdraelon ; and has a much more abundant supply of water. But it lies some five or six hundred feet lower, and has a hotter climate ; so that its harvests are earlier. Wheat also, we were told, would not grow well in it without irrigation ; which is not required in the plain of Esdraelon, nor even on the high terrace around Pella.

The fertile portions of the Ghôr are tilled, as we have seen, by the people of the villages situated in the higher districts on each side. The rest of the land is given up to the various tribes of Bedawin Arabs dwelling in tents. The Sheikhs of these Arabs are usually hired to take travellers across the Jordan ; but each tribe have their own limits, beyond which they ordinarily dare not venture. By taking Sheikhs from Tûbâs as our guides, we traversed the Ghôr and completed our excursion without seeing a single Bedawy. As we returned, there were a few tents at Sheikh Daûd, near the ford ; but we saw none of the people.

This broad valley, the Ghôr, Josephus sometimes speaks of as *the Great Plain* ; and describes it as extending from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea.¹ The same appellation, however, is more frequently given by him and others to the plain of Esdraelon.

¹ Μέγα Πεδίον, Jos. Ant. 12. 8. 5 ; calls it πεδιάς μεγάλη ἐπίμυκος, Onom. art. espec. B. J. 4. 8. 2, 3. Eusebius also *Aulon*. See Reland Palest. p. 360 sq.

SECTION VIII.

FROM BEISAN TO HASBEIYA.

REFRESHED and strengthened by the rest and quiet of a Sabbath spent in the midst of Scriptural scenes not ordinarily visited, we prepared to set off early, and press on rapidly to Hasbeiya.

Monday, May 17th. We rode this morning first to the Tell of Beisân, half a mile distant from the village, due north; and there completed our observations and took the bearings recorded above.

Leaving the Tell at 6.45, we turned our course towards the place called Beit Ilfa, at the foot of the mountains of Gilboa, N. 76° W. After ten minutes there were foundations on our right. As we advanced, we became entangled among many water-courses. If yesterday the region had seemed to us well watered, how much more now? We crossed not less than fifteen or twenty fine brooks, running north to the Jâlûd; all coming apparently from an extensive marsh on the southwest of Beisân; the border of which seemed to be close at hand, though hidden by the clumps of bushes. We now wished to obtain a guide, and tried some reapers on our right; but no one would go. At 7.30 we crossed the last and largest of the streams; the ancient bridge being now not far distant on the right. At 7.50 there was a low Tell by our path; this we ascended, losing ten minutes. Soon afterwards we crossed a small rivulet coming from a fountain on the left, near the foot of the mountains, and flowing to the Jâlûd. At 8.30 we reached the site of Beit Ilfa, at the very foot of the mountains, on a gentle slope running out in front of a small ravine.

The mountains of Gilboa, instead of running down from Zer'in to the Ghôr in a straight line, and then forming an angle with the Ghôr, here sweep round in an arc of a circle; so that

Beisân, although seeming, as seen from farther west, to occupy the middle of the plain of Jezreel, is in fact much nearer (indeed quite near) to the northern hills. It is just at this point, where the sweep of the mountains begins, that Beit Ilfa is situated. We first came upon two sarcophagi, hewn and sculptured on the outside, standing alone in the fields quite near the foot of the steep ascent. Just around and below them there are very few remains or marks of any place; but further down, below the present road, there is a considerable tract strewn with roughly squared stones, broken but not hewn, and none of them larger than a foot and a half in length. This is absolutely all.¹

On a small plateau of the steep mountain side, some two hundred feet directly above the sarcophagi, are the remains of a village called Judeideh. Just west of these in the ravine is a small fountain, called 'Ain Judeideh; but there was now no water in the ravine below. We did not ascend to these remains. From Beit Ilfa the village of Kûmieh on the north side of the valley bears N. 24° W.—We had supposed, that a road led from this place across the mountains direct to Jenin; but it needed only a glance at the rocky and precipitous acclivity before us, to show that no great travelled road ever passed that way.² Beit Ilfa was first visited by E. G. Schultz, in 1847.³

Schultz held Beit Ilfa to be the *Bethulia* (more properly *Betylua*) of the apocryphal book of Judith; and in this he has been followed by Ritter and others.⁴ But the alleged resemblance of the name seems hardly admissible;⁵ while all the topographical considerations are against the identity.

All that we know of Betylua is from the book of Judith; a book now very generally regarded as not historical, but rather as a Jewish romance; in which both the events and the topographical notices present insuperable difficulties.⁶ One place named in it is *Dothan*, the situation of which is now known; and as this is mentioned in connection with Betylua, it is important for

¹ Bearings at Beit Ilfa: Dûhy 332°. Tabor 355°. Kûmieh 336°. en-Na'ûrah 348°. Shûttah 5°. Khân 97°. Tell Beisân 104°. Kaukab 50°. Tell esh-Sheikh Hasan 313°.

² Yet Liebetrut appears to have ascended by this path to Jilbôn, half an hour beyond the highest point towards Jenin, and half an hour east of Fûkû'a; Reise I. p. 253 sq.

³ Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges. III. pp. 48, 49. Ritter Erdk. XV. p. 423 sq. From Jenin Schultz crossed the mountain, and descending on the eastern side, south of Mujedda', followed the base of the mountains to Beit Ilfa; and afterwards recrossed them by way of 'Arûbbûneh and

Deir Ghûzâl. Between these two routes, there would seem to be no feasible road.

⁴ Ritter l. c. Gross in Zeitschr. d. morg. Ges. I. c. pp. 58, 59.

⁵ The name is strictly *Beit Ilfa*; and is so written with Arabic letters by Schultz himself. Between this and the Greek *Betyloua*, it is hard to make out much similarity. But Schultz writes the name with Roman letters several times *Beitilua*; and thus creates a resemblance. This is wholly unwarranted; and belongs to the lic uses in which Schultz was too apt to indulge.

⁶ De Wette Einl. ins A. T. §§ 307, 308. Winer Realw. art. *Judith*.

determining the position of the latter.¹ It is quite evident, that Betylua is described as lying south of the plain of Esdraelion not far from Dothan; as commanding one of the passes from that plain into the hill country; and as itself situated on a mountain, with a fountain or fountains at the foot.² All these circumstances forbid us to seek for it at Beit Ilfa.

We had intended to strike from this point northwards, and cross the hills somewhat east of Kûmieh, leaving that village on our left. But the part of the plain which we should thus traverse, was now full of the black tents of three encampments of the Arabs Sükr. Among them our baggage might, or might not, have been safe; and we therefore chose rather to take the road for Kûmieh, which carried us further west and beyond all the Arabs.

Leaving Beit Ilfa at 8.40, we came in fifteen minutes to a fork in the road. Here Mr Van de Velde parted from us; he going to Zer'in, and we to Kûmieh. Soon afterwards we crossed a mill stream, coming down on the north side of Tell Sheikh Hasan, near the mountains, from a place with mills, called er-Rahhâniyeh, further west. It runs to the Jâlûd. Passing on through the plain or broad valley, and leaving a low Tell on our right, we came at 9.35 to the Jâlûd, which here flows in the northern part of the plain. The channel was in this part deep and narrow, with a muddy bottom full of flags and reeds; not differing in appearance from the canals drawn from it to water the valley. We got our riding horses over with some difficulty; and then called to a reaper near by, to point out the best spot for the loaded mules. After several attempts to cross, we had to unload them; and the baggage was carried over on the backs of the muleteers. All got safely through at last; except that the donkey stuck fast, and had to be dragged out by force, to the great amusement of us all. We were thus detained half an hour.³

The average breadth of the valley we estimated to be about two or two and a half miles. It is very fertile; and is mostly

¹ Judith 4, 6, 7, 8, 18.

² In Judith 4, 6 we read: Βετυλούα καὶ Βετομεσσαίμ, ἥ ἐστὶν ἀπέναντι Ἐσδρηλῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου πλησίον Δωδαίμ. In v. 7 these two places are spoken of as commanding the passes into Judea, τὰς ἀναβάσεις τῆς ὀρεινῆς. But when it is said that the pass was "strait for two men at most," this belongs to the romance. In c. 6, 11, 12, the servants of Holofernes bring Achior "out of the plain into the hill country," to the fountains under Betylua, which itself is on the summit of a mountain.—In c. 7, 1–3, Holofernes wishes

to besiege Betylua, in order to seize upon the passes to the hill country (ἀναβάσεις τῆς ὀρεινῆς); he encamps in the valley near Betylua, at the fountain; and his host is spread out in breadth unto Dothan and as far as to Belthem, and in length from Betylua to Kyamon, which is overagainst Esdraelion. Schultz assumes Κυαμών to be the present Kûmieh; which is doubtful. See Sept. ed. Tischendorf, Lips. 1850.

³ Bearings at the ford of the Jâlûd: Tell es-Sheikh Hasan 175°. Zer'in 157° Kûmieh 353°.

cultivated, even to the top of the northern hills eastward of the Little Hermon. The southern side is every where shut in by the bare rocky wall of Gilboa.

Starting again at 10.05, we passed up gradually through fields of ripe wheat, enlivened by companies of reapers, until we struck the straight path from Kûmieh to the Jâlûd; whence the people bring their supply of water. A large herd of neat cattle were going down to drink. At 10.30 we reached Kûmieh, on the summit of a hill or Tell southeast from Dûhy. This hill is quite isolated; on the north and east is a fine cultivated basin extending almost to Kaukab, and drained to the Jâlûd by a valley west of the hill of Kûmieh. The village is not large, and has no marks of antiquity. The people were harvesting in the fields below; and the threshing floors around the village were in full operation.¹

Several villages were here in sight.² Taiyibeh is in the basin northeast of Kûmieh. Murûssûs is on the line of hills which separate that basin from the valley of Jezreel. Shûttah is on lower ground north of the Jâlûd. Wezar was also in view, on one of the western peaks of Gilboa.³

Leaving Kûmieh at 10.45, we descended into the basin; and having crossed the water-bed running westwards at 11.05, we came at 11.45 to Na'ûrah, situated on a rise of ground in an angle near the northern hills. This range extends eastwards from the Little Hermon, and terminates at Kaukab. At Na'ûrah the threshing floors were in full operation; on one, two boys mounted on horses drove round before them three donkeys. Here, as well as at Kûmieh, the black volcanic stones continue; though less abundant and less black than at Beisân. Here we stopped to lunch.⁴

Mounting again at 12.20, and descending a little, we came in eight minutes to the well of the village, in a small valley. We now rose gradually upon the hills; which here were grassy or else covered with fields of wheat quite to the top. At 12.45

¹ Schultz held Kûmieh to be the *Kuamûn* of the book of Judith; Zeitschr. d. morg. Ges. III. p. 48. But this is hardly consistent with the right position of Bety-ha, south of the plain of Esdraelon and beyond Dothan. — This name *Kuamûn* (Judith 7, 3) is found no where else. May it perhaps be merely a translation of the earlier name (Heb. and Chald. כּוּמִיָּה, כּוּמִיָּה) corresponding to the Arabic *Fûleh*, on the eastern side of the plain of Esdraelon? All these forms (as also *Kuamûn*) signify *a bean, place of beans*. The crusaders speak of *Fûleh* as the castle of *Faba*; in French, *la Feve*. See in Vol. II. p. 328. [iii. 176.]

² Bearings at Kûmieh: Dûhy 327°. en-Na'ûrah 2°. Tabor 2°. Taiyibeh 53°. Shûttah 119°. Tell Beisân 127°. Tell Um 'Ajra 145°. Tell Sheikh Hasan 174°. er-Rahhâniyeh 190°. Zer'in 268°. Kaukab 78°. Murûssûs 98°. Wezar 223°. See the next note.

³ Not *Mezar*, as Schultz writes it erroneously; see Ritter XV. p. 422. My companion again verified the name at Kûmieh. See Vol. II. pp. 316, 319. [iii. 157, 160.]

⁴ Bearings at Na'ûrah: Kaukab 104° Kûmieh 183°. Wezar 202°.

we came out upon the summit of the ridge ; having the poor village of Tûmrah a few minutes distant on our right. This ridge lies between the basin of Na'ûrah and the northeastern arm of the plain of Esdraelon. Here the view of this noble plain burst suddenly upon us, looking green and variegated, like a carpet ; and wholly different in this respect from the Ghôr and the valley of Jezreel, which we had just left, where the hotter climate had already made all things dry. Beyond was Mount Tabor. On our left, a mile or more distant, was Endûr, the ancient *Endor*, now deserted ; it lies on the northeast shoulder of Little Hermon, which projects somewhat into the plain, and breaks down steeply below the village.¹

Our course now lay towards the eastern base of Tabor. The road kept high along the northern declivity of the ridge, with a very gradual descent, and having the glorious plain below us on the left. After some time we met here a party of about thirty Jews, men and women, on horseback, with bag and baggage, travelling from Tiberias towards Jerusalem. The women were all riding astride. This is probably the nearest route between Tiberias and Zer'in. Near the bottom of the descent a path went off to Debûrieh and the west side of Tabor.

At the southeastern base of Tabor, a deep Wady coming from the west, called Wady Sherâr, breaks down through what here appears as table land around the base of the mountain ; and runs off in a southeasterly direction. Its sides are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high ; while the apparent table land through which it thus breaks down, is strictly the level of the plain on the west and on the north. There was now a stream of running water in the valley, and a mill ; to which we came at 1.40. Rising upon the northern side, we expected to come out upon the high plain ; but found ourselves, after ten minutes, on the top of a ridge with another deep similar valley before us, coming down along the east side of Tabor from the Khân et-Tujjâr, and uniting just below with Wady Sherâr. We were merely crossing the ridge, which occupies the fork between the two. The united valley, as we could see, breaks down in a deep and sharp chasm to the Jordan valley ; which it enters not far below the Jisr el-Mejâmi'a. It is the Wady el-Bireh of our former journey ;² and is the boundary between the provinces of Jerusalem and 'Akka.

We now descended into this northern valley, and followed it up to the Khân ; which we reached at 2.40. A fine stream was flowing along the valley ; and the bottom and sides were cultivated

Bearings on ridge, near Tûmrah : 298°, 1 m. Iksâl 310°. Debûrieh 341°
 Wezar 202°. Nûris 202°. Kûmieh 189°. Tabor 357°.
 Na'ûrah 205°. Murûssûs 143°. Endûr ² Vol. II. p. 355. [iii. 217.]

The latter rose at first a hundred and fifty or two hundred feet ; but grew lower as we advanced. At the Khân it is an open shallow Wady ; which comes out from among the hills north of Tabor. The Khân itself is described in a former volume.¹—As we approached the Khân, the hills on the east were covered with the tents of the Arabs Subâih, who are enemies of the Sûkr. Wady Sherâr is the boundary between them.

We intended to proceed to Lûbieh by the direct road, which we had followed in 1838 ; but being misdirected by a man who was repairing a cistern, we kept on upon the Damascus road towards Kefr Sabt. Perceiving that we were wrong, we turned off at 3.10 short to the left ; and at 3.25 struck the direct road from the Khân to Lûbieh, as it enters the low fertile tract formerly described.² Crossing now the low plain and ascending the hill, (where the basaltic stones are no longer seen,) we came at 4.05 to Lûbieh on its elevated plateau. A Wady having its head on the north of Lûbieh runs off through the southern Bûttauf by Turân.³ We could here see, that the eastern end of the northern Bûttauf is shut in by a low ridge ; which causes the eastern part of the plain to become a lake in winter, as has been already described.⁴

Tuesday, May 18th.—An elderly intelligent man, of grave deportment, who appeared to be the Sheikh of the village, sat with us last evening, and gave us information respecting the country round about. Learning that we purposed visiting Khân Minyeh and Tell Hûm, he offered to accompany us, and be our guide to various places of interest.

As we were making our preparations early this morning, the Sheikh joined us on horseback. We sent off our muleteers by way of Mejdal to Khân Minyeh ; there to await our arrival. Starting at 5.45, we followed for a time our former road, N. E. by E. towards Hattin ; but soon diverged from it more to the right in order to visit the Hajar en-Nusrâny, or stone of the Christians. On our right was the lower tract of fertile land, formerly described, called Ard el-Ahmar ; which is cultivated by the people of the villages around it.⁵ It seems quite deep, though some hundreds of feet above the lake. At its opposite extremity, S. 40° E. appeared the opening of the valley, which drains it into the Jordan south of the lake. At 6.10 we were in a small Wady running to el-Ahmar. Five minutes later we crossed the road from Nazareth to Tiberias. At this point are two cisterns,

Vol. II. p. 368 sq. [iii. 236.]

¹ See Vol. II. p. 369. [iii. 237.]

² For Lûbieh and its environs, see Vol. II. pp. 369, 370. [iii. 236-238.]

³ See above, p. 109.—Bearings from Lûbieh : Nimrin, N. 2 m. Kefr Sabt, S.

1½ m. The former is on a declivity across lower ground, facing Lûbieh. For Kefr Sabt, see Vol. II. p. 369. [iii. 237.]

⁴ See Vol. II. p. 369. [iii. 237.] Burckhardt gives the name of this tract as Ard el-Hamma ; Trav. in Syr p. 333.

covered with large perforated stones, much worn by the friction of ropes. We were now south of the eastern summit of Kūrūn Hattin; and at 6.25 crossed a Wady coming down from just west of it, and forming one of the main heads of the tract el-Ahmar. Our path now kept along nearly parallel with the Tiberias road; and brought us at 6.55 to the Hajar, on the brow of the broad ridge between el-Ahmar and the plain of Hattin. Here is a cluster of large, black, basaltic stones; one of which the guide pointed out as especially venerated by the Christians. Here, according to legendary tradition, our Lord fed the five thousand.¹

The spot overlooks the plain of Hattin and the lake beyond; while Safed, Tell Hāzūr, and Mughār, which we had recently visited, were also in sight. The tract between Safed and Meirōn is drained by Wady et-Tawāhin, which nearer the lake is called Wady el-'Amūd. Wady Sellāmeḥ, south of Ramah, descends to the lake as Wady er-Rūbūdiyeh. A shorter Wady which takes its rise further south, in the hills east of 'Arrābeh and Deir Hanna, enters the plain of Hattin; and, at a point nearly opposite the village, breaks down through to the lower plain west of Mejdal, by the deep and singular chasm of Wady el-Hamām. The southeastern portion of the plain of Hattin is drained to the lake by a small Wady, called Abu el-'Omeir; down which the Damascus road descends to the fountains on the shore north of Tiberias.²

We had come to the Hajar, thinking it might possibly be the spot visited by Arculfus in the seventh century, as the place of feeding the five thousand. But that place, as shown to him, was a level grassy plain, with a fountain, and was on the way from Tiberias to Capernaum along the shore of the lake. It could not, therefore, have been the present spot.³

Leaving the Hajar at 7.25, we struck down through the fields direct towards Irbid, situated in front of the great chasm of Wady el-Hamām. After twenty minutes we crossed our former road from Hattin to Tiberias. The plain here is thickly strewn with black stones; but is fertile and well tilled. We reached Irbid at 8.10, on the brow overlooking the deep Wady el-Hamām and its chasm. Here are heaps of ruins of ordinary houses, the stones squared though not hewn; but nothing of special interest, except the remains of a single edifice. This was a Jewish structure, precisely in the same style of Jewish architecture, that we had seen at Kefr Bir'im and Meirōn.⁴ There

¹ See Vol. II. p. 371. n. 1. [iii. 240.]

² See Vol. II. p. 396. [iii. 276.]—Bearings at Hajar en-Nusrāny: Kūrūn Hattin (eastern) 295°. Safed 8°. Tell Hūm 45°. Mughār 328°. Wady et-Tawāhin 359°. Wady Abu el-'Omeir N. 65° E.

³ Adamnanus ex Arculfo, 2. 24, 25. Wright's Early Travels in Palestine, p. 3. See also in Vol. II. p. 371 sq. [iii. 240 sq.]

⁴ See above, pp. 70, 71, 74.

is a portal with sculptured ornaments towards the east. One of the interior columns is standing; as also a double or corner column, that is, two columns in one block, one in each direction, while the back is square. Several columns are prostrate; and there is likewise a fine Corinthian capital.¹ I have formerly presented the evidence, which goes to show, that Irbid is the *Arbela* of Josephus, and probably the *Beth-Arbel* of the prophet Hosea.²

In our wanderings among the ruins, we started a wild swine, which had made the place its home.

Leaving Irbid at 8.15, and descending steeply into Wady el-Hamâm, we reached the bottom at 8.30. Here was only space enough for a small brook, which disappeared and again appeared several times as we advanced. The sides of the chasm in this upper or southwestern portion are precipitous rock, from five hundred to six hundred feet in height. The length of the chasm is over a mile; its course about northeast; and it becomes gradually wider towards the lower end. About midway of the passage, there are caverns in the cliffs on each side, half way up the precipices; though fewer on the left. On the right, several of these caverns are walled up in front; and these our guide called Kûl'at Ibn Ma'an. We could perceive from below no way of approach to them; except perhaps upon a narrow projecting ledge of rock, which runs along from the southwest just below them; having much the appearance of an aqueduct, as if water might once have been brought by it, to the caverns. These appear to be the caverns described by Burckhardt, as quoted in a former volume. They were visited by Dr Wilson in 1843.³ Further down, at the mouth of the chasm, where the perpendicular precipices above sweep off in an arc of a circle to form the southwestern side of the plain, there are many smaller excavations in these upper cliffs on both sides of the ravine. Some of these, particularly on the south, are one above another, as if forming different stories; and some have been walled up in front, leaving doors and windows. These are "the curious old convents" of Irby and Mangles.⁴ The only path we could discover,

¹ Bearings from Irbid: Kûrn Hattin 257°. Hajar en-Nusrîny 174°. Safed 8°.

² See Vol. II. p. 378 sq. 398. [iii. 251, 280 sq.] This place is also mentioned as *Arbel* in several Jewish Itineraries; e. g. by R. Parichi, Asher's Benj. of Tud. II. p. 425. Carmoly pp. 131, 185, 384, 448. One writer in the fourteenth century, speaks of the ruins of the synagogue; ib. p. 259.

³ Burckh. Syr. p. 331. See Vol. II. p.

398. [iii. 280.] Wilson Lands of the Bible, II. p. 307 sq.—The fortification described by Irby and Mangles seems to be on the northwest side of the lower end of the chasm, and to have no connection with caverns; Trav. pp. 298, 299. [91.] Pococke mentions the same; and refers it with little probability to Fakhr ed-Dîn; Descr. of the East, II. i. p. 67.

⁴ Travels, p. 299. [91.]

led up to these last excavations, on the southeast side ; and from these Dr Wilson reached the other caverns.

At 8.50 we were at the end of the perpendicular cliffs ; which here are twice as far apart as at the upper end of the chasm. At 9.10 Wady el-Hamâm opened out wide into the plain. Here were extensive fields of cucumbers. At 9.25 we were at the southeastern point of the last projecting hill on our left. Our guide spoke of a ruin on the hills to the west, called Nûkb. Mejdal was now a mile distant, S. 15° E. situated just where the hills reach down to the lake. Here we struck again our path of 1838 ; and came at 9.30 to 'Ain el-Mudauwarah, "the Round Fountain," described in a former volume.¹ Besides the many oleanders in full bloom, there was now an abundance of purple morning glories.

Passing on along our former path, we came at 9.45 to Wady er-Rûbüdiyeh, the continuation of Wady Sellâmeh. A fine mill stream issues from it, which serves to water all the southern part of the plain ; a portion of it being actually carried along the slope above the Round Fountain, and so to the tract beyond.² —Further north the plain, which bears the name of el-Ghuweir, was at present without water. We now took a direct course to Khân Minyeh. At 10 o'clock a low Tell, called Serremân, was on our left, with a few black stones upon it. Five minutes later we crossed the dry bed of Wady el-'Amûd, the continuation of Wady et-Tawâhin, coming from the region between Safed and Meirôn. We did not now notice the lone prostrate column ; it being probably upon a different track.³ We came at 10.25 to Khân Minyeh ; and passing on dismounted on the green carpet around 'Ain et-Tin.

The ruined Khân is situated close under the northern hill, just where the Damascus road ascends ; some thirty or forty rods from the shore of the lake.⁴ The fountain, 'Ain et-Tin, is a beautiful one, with an abundance of sweet and pleasant water, and not warm.⁵ The lake when full, as now, sets up nearly or quite to the fountain. Around the latter and along the shore was a tract of luxuriant clover, of a freshness and verdure such as I saw nowhere else in Palestine. It was a luxury to rest in it. Burckhardt testifies to the same fertility : "Near by are several other springs, which occasion a very

¹ Vol. II. p. 400 sq. [iii. 283 sq.]

² See Vol. II. p. 400. [iii. 283]

³ See Vol. II. p. 402. [iii. 286.]

⁴ This place is mentioned under the same name, *Minyeh*, by Bohaeddin in the eleventh century ; p. 98 bis.

⁵ A singular typographical error in relation to this fountain occurs in the German translation of Burckhardt, published

under the name of Gesenius, p. 558. It is there spoken of as "eine Quelle *heissere* Wassers." The English original has : "a rivulet of *sweet* water ;" p. 319. The translator (Dr Kienecke) doubtless wrote *süsses* ; which in German chirography is not very unlike *heissere*. The error has never been corrected. Raumer makes it the basis of an argument ; Paläst. p. 118. 3d edit.

luxuriant herbage along the borders of the lake. The pastures of Minyeh are proverbial for their richness."¹

We here took our lunch. Before leaving, I rode out upon the site of ruins lying south of the Khân, and extending down to the little bay along the shore. They were now covered with a field of wheat nearly ripe. The remains are strewn around in shapeless heaps; but are much more extensive and considerable than my former impression had led me to anticipate. Indeed, there are here remains enough not only to warrant, but to require the hypothesis of a large ancient place.² That no definite traces of public edifices now appear, is readily accounted for by the neighbourhood of Tiberias, whither the stones may easily have been carried off by water; and also by the fact, that for centuries the place has been subjected to the plough.³

On the question, whether this is the probable site of ancient Capernaum, I shall have something more to say in the sequel.

We now sent forward our muleteers to await us at the Khân Jubb Yûsuf; and setting off at 10.55, we struck up over the rocky and precipitous point of the hill above the fountain, towards the northeast. There is no passage along its base, which is washed by the waters of the lake; and therefore in our former journey, we had made a circuit on the Damascus road. A path has been cut in ancient times along the rock, some twenty feet above the water; and we found no difficulty in passing. One feature of the excavation surprised us; namely, that for most of the way there is a channel cut in the rock, about three feet deep and as many wide, which seemed evidently to have been an aqueduct once conveying water for irrigating the northern part of the plain el-Ghuweir. There was no mistaking the nature and object of this channel; and yet no waters were near, which could be thus conveyed, except from the fountains of et-Tabighah. Descending and crossing the mouth of an open Wady, we reached the latter place at 11.10.

Here are the immense brackish fountains, and the mills, formerly described; as also the Tannûr Eyûb.⁴ The fountains issue from under the hill, just back of the village. We went thither, and found built up solidly around the main fountain an octagonal Roman reservoir, now in ruins. Like those at Râs el-'Ain near Tyre, it was obviously built in order to raise the water

¹ Trav. in Syr. p. 319.

² Quaresmius in speaking of Khân Minyeh (which he writes *Menich*), says: "in illius situ multæ ruinæ cernuntur." Vol. II. p. 868.—Lieut. Lynch, speaking of 'Ain et-Tin, says: "Upon the cliff above Dr R. places the site of Capernaum!" He

sought there for ruins; and of course found none. Narrative, p. 468.

³ For a fuller description of the plain, and the tract around Khân Minyeh, see in Vol. II. pp. 400-403. [iii. 282-288.]

⁴ See Vol. II. p. 405 sq. [iii. 296 sq.]

to a certain height for an aqueduct.¹ The head of water was sufficient to carry it to the channel around the point of the opposite hill into the plain el-Ghuweir; but whether this was done by a canal around the sides of the valley, or by a temporary aqueduct direct, or whether even it was done at all, there are now no further traces from which to form a judgment. The water has a saltish taste, but is not unpalatable.

Setting off again at 11.15, we soon had on our right an encampment of Arab tents upon the shore. The naked and half-naked children came out to gaze upon the Franks, and the women did the same from their doors. At 11.50 we came to Tell Hûm. At the time of our former visit the site was comparatively clear from obstructions, and some excavations had been made; so that access was feasible to all parts of the ruins. Now however the heaps of desolation, and indeed the whole site, were overgrown with tall grass and a luxuriant crop of thistles; so that we made our way with difficulty to the principal ruin, which had puzzled us so much on our former visit, and which had never yet been explained.²

Indeed, it was mainly on account of this structure, that we had again come to Tell Hûm. Ever since we had seen the Jewish remains at Kefr Bir'im and Meirôn, and now again at Irbid,³ the idea had arisen in our minds, that very probably we had found the key to the structure at Tell Hûm. And so it proved. It needed but a glance to show us, that we had before us here a building of the same kind, though of far greater dimensions; exhibiting the same profusion of like sculptured ornaments, the same double columns on a single block, and indeed the same general architectural features throughout. The portal and some of the friezes were entirely covered with such sculptures. The edifice therefore was once a Jewish synagogue, apparently of unusual size and magnificence; surpassing everything of the kind, which we saw elsewhere; though some of the structures at Kedes equalled it perhaps in splendour.

Our Sheikh had told us last evening of a site of ruins not far from Tell Hûm, called Kerâzeh; and a main object of his accompanying us to-day was to conduct us to that place. Accordingly we now turned our horses' heads that way; and at 11.55 began to follow up a shallow Wady, which comes down from the northwest just beyond the ruins. A path scarcely perceptible led up the valley, crossing and recrossing the water-bed, and often lost among the large volcanic stones and rank grass. As we were slowly picking our way, the guide being in advance,

¹ Our attention had been drawn to this reservoir by the Rev. W. M. Thomson, who had visited it.

² See Vol. II. pp. 406-408. [iii. 298-300.]

³ See above, pp. 70, 74, 342.

a man met us and began to demand *bakhshish*. No notice being taken of him, he suddenly seized hold of the bridle of Dr Smith's horse. This drew down upon him the wrath of Rashid, under which he slunk away.

After about forty minutes the valley bent more to the left; and we ascended obliquely the northern slope on the same course as before. Here was no path, and our progress among the volcanic stones was more difficult than ever. On the hills around were seen clusters of larger black volcanic rocks; which, at a distance, bore a striking resemblance to sites of ruined towns. We reached at length the top of the ascent, and looked down before us into a shallow side valley descending southwest to the main Wady. In this side valley, in a little basin, we came at one o'clock to a small fountain of bad water, called Bir Kerāzeh. The ruins we had been told of lie on the west side of this same valley, a quarter of a mile southwest, near its entrance into the main Wady. They consist simply of a few foundations of black stones; the remains evidently of a poor and inconsiderable village. They are known as Khirbet Kerāzeh. We did not go to them, as there was no path; and because they were in full view. Their distance from Tell Hûm must be reckoned at about three miles.

We had come to this spot, because the name Kerāzeh bears a degree of resemblance to the *Chorazin* of the New Testament; and we hoped to find, in the ruins or the situation, something which might determine the position of that ancient place. In this we felt ourselves disappointed. The remains are too trivial to have ever belonged to a place of any importance. Chorazin, too, according to Jerome, lay upon the shore of the lake; ¹ but this site is an hour distant, shut in among the hills, without any view of the lake, and remote from any public road whether ancient or modern.²

Here we parted from our Sheikh, who returned to his home; while we proceeded on our way.

Having thus completed our re-examination of the western shore of the lake, let us pause for a few moments, to consider how far the facts and circumstances, as also the historical notices, aid us in determining the position of Capernaum, Bethsaida, and

¹ Hieron. Comm. in Esa. ix. 1. p. 83 ed. Mart. "Lacum Genesareth, in cujus litore Capernaum et Tiberias et Bethsaida et Chorozaïn sitæ sînt"

² Pococke, inquiring for Chorazin, seems

to have heard the name Kerāzeh, which he writes *Gerasi*; Vol. II i. p. 72. The place was visited in 1843 by the Rev. Mr Keyes, then one of the American missionaries at Beirut.

Chorazin. Of these Capernaum was the most important, and demands our chief attention.

It is worthy of remark, how rarely the Evangelists connect the narrative of our Lord's life and actions with the mention of any definite place; except generally Galilee and Jerusalem. In the interior of Galilee only Nazareth, Cana, and Nain, are named; the former as the place where Jesus was brought up, and the two latter as the scenes of special miracles. On the shore of the lake, we hear only of Capernaum, where Jesus dwelt; of Bethsaida and Chorazin, where many of his mighty works were done; of Magdala, as the residence of Mary Magdalen; and incidentally of Tiberias, which only just then had been built up by Herod Antipas, and was beginning to rise into importance and notice.¹ It was doubtless for this reason, that other towns along the lake became more conspicuous than Tiberias, for the frequent presence, the teaching, and the miracles of our Lord.

CAPERNAUM.—In a former volume, after an attentive consideration of the subject, I expressed the opinion, that the site of Capernaum was most probably near to Khân Minyeh.² This opinion has been controverted by Dr Wilson, who fixes Capernaum at Tell Hûm.³ In this he has been followed by Ritter.⁴ In reviewing the subject, I have endeavoured, for years, to hold my mind open to conviction, whatever might seem to be the balance of evidence. But after a further examination of the ground, and a careful weighing of the historical notices, I see no valid reason for recalling my former judgment. On the contrary, that judgment appears to me to be strengthened by several considerations not formerly taken into the account. Let me be permitted to give here a brief statement of the evidence, in the form of a few propositions.

I. The land of Gennesaret,⁵ so called, was, in the days of our Lord and Josephus, a definite and well known district.

From the New Testament we learn only that this tract was on the west side of the lake.⁶ Josephus describes it as extending along the lake, and as being of wonderful fertility. It had all kinds of trees, as walnuts, fig trees, olives, and also palm trees. It likewise produced the principal fruits all the year round, and grapes and figs during ten months of the year.⁷

Making all due allowance for a touch of exaggeration in this description, no one has ever questioned the identity of this Gennesaret with the present plain el-Ghuweir. According to the latest observations, the level of the lake is at least six or

¹ See Vol. II. p. 889. [iii. 266.]

² See Vol. II. p. 403 sq. [iii. 288 sq.]

Lands of the Bible, II. p. 143 sq.

³ Erdk. XV. p. 339 sq.

⁴ Gr. ἡ γῆ Γεννησαρῆτ, Matt. 14, 34. Mark 6, 53.

⁵ Matt. 1. c. Mark. 1. c. comp. John 6, 24.

⁷ B. J. 3. 10. 8.

seven hundred feet below that of the Mediterranean;¹ and the climate therefore, like that of the Ghôr, is somewhat Egyptian. Even now the little plain "has every appearance of fertility; and, when kept in order and properly laid out, would be truly beautiful and delightful. At present it has some rich pasturage and cultivated fields, bearing luxuriant crops of corn [grain], and rice, and vegetables. Wild figs and quantities of the Nûbk tree are still found growing in it in several places. Various lines of oleanders, particularly along the streams which run through it, add to its beauty. The soil is much of a dark alluvial loam; and contains the debris of the basaltic rock in the neighbourhood."²

This tract is definitely bounded by the hills which run down to the lake on the south and north of it, at Mejdél and at Khân Minyeh. Josephus says: "The length of this tract extends along the shore of the lake for thirty stadia; and its breadth is twenty;"³ that is, three Roman miles and three quarters in length by two and a half in breadth. Travellers of the present century give the length of el-Ghuweir at one hour with horses, or about three English geographical miles; a very exact coincidence.⁴ Dr Wilson remarks: "It struck us, that the account which Josephus gives of the dimensions of the valley [plain] is tolerably correct."⁵

II. The cities of Capernaum and Bethsaida were situated in, or adjacent to, the tract of Gennesaret.

The truth of this proposition appears clearly from incidental notices in the Gospels. After the violent death of John the Baptist, our Lord withdrew with his disciples by water to a solitary place on the northeast part of the lake of Tiberias, in the region of Julias, the northern Bethsaida.⁶ Hither the people followed them; and here our Lord miraculously fed the five thousand in the afternoon.⁷ Towards evening Jesus directed the disciples to enter the boat, and pass over the lake before him to *Bethsaida*, as Mark says; but to *Capernaum* according to John.⁸ The wind was high and contrary; they toiled in rowing, and the boat laboured.⁹ During the whole night they made little progress; until in the fourth watch, (after daybreak,) Jesus came to them walking on the water. They took him into the

¹ Lynch Official Report, Transverse Section, opp. p. 43.

² Wilson *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 137. —The Talmudists likewise speak of the great fertility of Gennesaret, and place it near Tiberias. See Lightfoot *Opp.* ed. Leusd. II. p. 227.

³ Jos. B. J. 3. 10. 8 fin.

⁴ Burckhardt p. 320. Wilson *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 138.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 138.

⁶ Matt. 14, 13. Mark 6, 32. John 6, 1. For the neighbourhood of Bethsaida, see Luke 9, 10.

⁷ Matt. 14, 15 sq. Mark 6, 35 sq. Luke 9, 12 sq. John 6, 5 sq.

⁸ Mark 6, 45. John 6, 16. 17. Comp. Matt. 14, 22.

⁹ John 6, 18. Mark 6, 48. Matt. 14, 24.

boat ; and immediately, John says, "the boat was at the land whither they went ;" while, according to Matthew and Mark, "they came into the land of *Gennesaret*." The next day, the people whom they had left behind, "took other boats, and came to *Capernaum*, seeking for Jesus." They found him at *Capernaum*, where he immediately teaches in the synagogue.¹

This testimony shows, that the disciples left the northeast quarter of the lake to go to Bethsaida or *Capernaum* ; that by the violence of the wind and waves they were driven out of their course, and landed early next morning in the tract of *Gennesaret*, or, as John says, "the land whither they went ;" and that during the day Jesus repaired to *Capernaum*, where the people who had followed, found him.² It follows as a necessary conclusion, that *Capernaum* and *Bethsaida* were situated near to each other, on the shore of the lake, and in or adjacent to the plain of *Gennesaret*. It follows also, from the circumstances, almost as conclusively, that they were on the northern border of this tract.

This conclusion I hold to be incontrovertible. It is likewise urged with brevity and force by Lightfoot.⁴ Dr Wilson likewise gives his assent to the conclusion ;⁵ though with a reservation, which I shall notice further on. Singularly enough Ritter makes no allusion whatever to this whole argument.

III. The fountain *Kapharnaum* of Josephus, in the tract *Gennesaret*, was probably the 'Ain et-Tin ; and the village *Kepharnome*, mentioned by him, was apparently at the site of ruins near by.

Josephus, after describing the fertility of *Gennesaret*, as above, goes on to say : "It is also watered by a most potable [or fertilizing] fountain, which the people of the region call *Kapharnaum*. This some have thought to be a vein of the Nile ; because it produces fish similar to the *Coracinus* of the lake near Alexandria."⁶

There are in the *Ghuweir*, as we have seen, two large fountains, 'Ain et-Tin and the Round Fountain. In a former volume I have related, with what eagerness I sought on the hill adjacent to the latter for traces of ruins, in the vain hope that it might turn out to be the site of *Capernaum*.⁷ Besides these fountains,

¹ John 6, 21. Matt. 14, 34. Mark 6, 53.

² John 6, 22-25. 59.

³ During the early part of the day, Jesus healed many, apparently before reaching *Capernaum* ; Matt. 14, 35 sq. Mark 6, 54 sq. The people from the other side would hardly reach *Capernaum* before afternoon ; as the boats came first from *Tiberias* ; John 6, 23.

⁴ Opp. ed. Leusd. II. p. 227, "Nam

urbem hanc in Gennesaritide sitam fuisse clarum faciunt Evangelistæ collati.

⁵ Vol. II. p. 145.

⁶ Jos. B. J. 3. 10. 8, καὶ πηγὴ διὰ δόταν ποτιμωρᾶται [αἱ γονιμωρᾶται], Καφαρναούμ αὐτῇ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καλοῦσι κτλ.—Both Pliny and Strabo speak of the *Coracinus* as found in the Nile. Plin. H. N. 32. 19. Strabo 17. 2. 4. p. 823.

⁷ See Vol. II. p. 401. [iii. 284.]—Yet

the plain is also watered by streams from the Wadys el-Hamâm, er-Rübüdiyah, and at some seasons el-'Amûd ; the stream from Wady er-Rübüdiyah, being much the largest.¹ Josephus therefore, in mentioning the fountain Kapharnaum, could hardly refer to it as the main source of fertility to the plain ; for this is true only of the streams from the Wadys. More probably, he intended to speak of it as a source of sweet and potable water, as contrasted with the other warm and brackish fountains along the shore.² This consideration removes the objection raised against 'Ain et-Tin, as not irrigating the plain. It does however occasion a luxuriant verdure in its vicinity and along the shore ;³ while the northern part of the plain, further back, was apparently fertilized by water brought by the aqueduct around the point of the northern hill.

More decisive, however, is the circumstance, that the fountain Kapharnaum was held to be a vein of the Nile, because it produced a fish like the *Coracinus* of that river. This might well be the popular belief as to a large fountain on the very shore ; to which the lake in some seasons sets quite up, so that fish could pass and repass without difficulty. Not so however with the Round Fountain, which is a mile and a half from the shore ; and which could neither itself have in it fish fit for use, nor could fish of any size pass between it and the lake. These considerations seem to me to establish the identity of the fountain Kapharnaum with 'Ain et-Tin.

Josephus further speaks of a village *Kepharnome*⁴ in this vicinity ; which in all probability, and according to all analogy, must have been adjacent to the fountain.⁵ This at least is the *prima facie* view, and seems to me the correct one. During a

notwithstanding my vain search and the absence of all traces of a site, M. De Saulcy, without any personal examination, authoritatively pronounces that spot to have been the site of Capernaum ! *Credat Judæus*. Narrat. Vol. II. p. 471.—M. De Saulcy also finds ruins all the way from the Round Fountain to Abu Shûsheh. There are indeed many large volcanic stones ; but no ruins.

¹ Dr Wilson says the stream from Wady el-Hamâm is the most important ; II. p. 138. As we saw them, that from Wady er-Rübüdiyah was at least ten times larger than the other.

² Hence in Jos. B. J. 3. 10. 8, the reading *ποταμόν* is to be preferred, and is given in the earlier editions.

³ See above, pp. 344, 345. Dr Wilson also says: "'Ain et-Tin . . . which, with several attendant rills rising from less copious sources in the neighbourhood, sup-

ports a profuse herbage, especially near the shore ;" II. p. 138.

⁴ Gr. *Κεφαρνόμη*, Jos. Vit. § 72. Here Josephus gives the name a Greek form ; but in *Καπαρναούμ* he merely writes the Hebrew form in Greek letters ; B. J. 3. 10. 8.

⁵ The language of Ritter implies too much, when he says: "The name of the fountain Kapharnaum is not necessarily connected with the name of the city, which might lie in a wholly different place ; since such appellative names are often repeated in Palestine ;" Erdk. XV. p. 339. It would be difficult, I think, to find in Palestine a town and fountain both bearing the same name, which are not connected and adjacent to each other ; and especially so, as would be the case here, (if the city were at Tell Hûm,) to find them an hour apart and with other fountains and a town between.

skirmish near the Jordan, at the north end of the lake, the horse of Josephus had sunk in a marsh, by which he was injured in the wrist, and was therefore conveyed to the village Kepharnome. There he remained the next day in a feverish state; and at night, with the consent of the physicians,¹ was conveyed to Tarichæa at the southern extremity of the lake.

Josephus at this time was the leader of the Galilæans, who were in a state of revolt against king Agrippa and the Romans. His head-quarters would seem to have been at Tarichæa; at least he was frequently there, and once escaped thither by water as to a place of security.² Tiberias vibrated between the two parties.³ A detachment of the king's troops under Sylla, had pitched five miles from Julias, the northern Bethsaida. Against these Josephus had sent two thousand of his followers, who intrenched themselves near the Jordan, a furlong distant from Julias. These were joined by Josephus himself with three thousand troops; and the next day the skirmish took place, during which occurred the accident to their leader, as above related.⁴ Subsequently other troops were sent by water from Tarichæa to Julias.⁵

The troops of Josephus, hearing of his accident, turned back from the pursuit. It would seem that both he and they feared, that his injury was much greater than was actually the case. It was not unnatural, therefore, that he should desire to be conveyed, probably by water, to his quarters at Tarichæa; nor that, wearied and feverish, he should stop for the day at Kepharnome; whence, after consulting the physicians, he proceeded the next night.⁶—I have said he was probably conveyed by water, since, as we have seen, boats were frequently passing upon the lake, and would be at his command. But even if we supposed him to have been carried by land, we can conceive of many reasons, why he might prefer to proceed to Kepharnome at two hours' distance, rather than stop an hour short at the place now known as Tell Hûm. At the former he may have had warmer adherents, more friends and acquaintances, better physicians, greater security from an attack of the enemy, or other like reasons. If the object in conveying him after his injury to Kepharnome was merely to bring him to the nearest place of covert, why was he not rather carried to Julias, which was but a furlong distant? The circumstances seem to show, that he was on his way to Tarichæa.⁷

¹ Vita § 72, *δὸς αὖτε τοῖς ἰατροῖς*.

² Vita 54 bis, 59.

³ Ibid. 62, 68, 69.

⁴ Ib. 71, 72.

⁵ Ibid. 73.

⁶ The opinion of the physicians referred

of course, not to the place whither he should be conveyed, but to the propriety of removing him at all.

⁷ "The object of carrying Josephus to Capernaum was not . . . to carry him a stage on his way to Tarichæa; but to con-

I see no difficulty, therefore, in regarding Kepharnome as adjacent to the fountain Kapharnaum in the plain of Gennesaret.

IV. The circumstances which fix the site of Capernaum within the tract of Gennesaret, show conclusively that it could not have been situated at Tell Hûm.

The limits of Gennesaret, as we have seen, are definitely assigned by Josephus, and assented to by Dr Wilson as "tolerably correct."¹ Its northern border is at Khân Minyeh; while Tell Hûm is situated an hour distant northeast.—Remarking upon my former conclusion drawn from a comparison of the Evangelists, "that Capernaum lay on that part of the western shore known as the region of Gennesaret,"² the same writer says: "With this inference I agree; though I beg to remark, that it throws no light on the extent of the region of Gennesaret, or the exact situation within it of the town of Capernaum."³ This is indeed true in the literal sense of the words; but when the extent of the region is definitely settled by other testimony, and assented to by the objector himself, I submit, whether it is anything more than an evasion of the argument, to suggest (without venturing to affirm) a wider extension of the region. Yet such is all the notice and all the reply, which that main argument has ever received.⁴

Again, there is at or near Tell Hûm no fountain whatever; the ancient town upon that spot having had its supply of water solely from the lake. This too is incompatible with the testimony of Josephus.⁵

An argument in favour of Tell Hûm has been drawn from the language of Mark, when narrating that Jesus and his disciples departed in a boat to the desert place where he fed the five thousand: "And the people saw them departing, and many knew him, and ran afoot thither out of all cities, and outwent them, and came together unto him."⁶ Here, it is said, "it is much more difficult to see, how they could get on foot to the east of the lake, before the arrival by ship of Christ and his apostles, after a passage of which no adverse circumstance is related, if we suppose them to start from the Khân Minyeh, than it is if we suppose them to start from Tell Hûm."⁷ This

vey him after his injury to a place of covert;" Wilson Lands etc. II. p. 146. This is the main argument to those who find Capernaum at Tell Hûm.

¹ See the first proposition above, pp. 348, 349.

² See the second proposition above, pp. 349, 350.

³ Lands of the Bible II. p. 145.

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⁴ Ritter, as we have seen, passes over this chief argument without notice; see above, p. 350.

⁵ See above, p. 350, also p. 351. n. 5.

⁶ Mark 6, 33. Comp. Matt. 14, 13. Luke 9, 11. John 6, 2.

⁷ Lands of the Bible II. p. 145. Ritter Erdk. XV. p. 341.

again is true in the letter ; but I must confess myself unable to see its bearing upon the present question. It *assumes*, that our Lord and his disciples set off from *Capernaum*, which is neither said nor intimated by any Evangelist. The circumstances make it more probable, that Jesus and the twelve were² on the north-western part of the lake ; and that, wishing to retire to a solitary place on the northeastern shore, where there would be no boat,¹ they preferred to take with them a boat, in which they might afterwards pass over directly to Capernaum. They naturally rowed along near the northern shore ; and the people were able to keep pace with them, and even to outgo them.³

V. A train of historical notices, extending down to the seventeenth century, seems to fix continuously the site of Capernaum at Khân Minyeh.

The earliest mention is by Eusebius and Jerome ; from which we only learn, that Capernaum in their day was still a town on the lake of Gennesaret.⁴ In another place Jerome says, that "Capernaum, Tiberias, Bethsaida, and Chorazin, were situated on the shore of the lake."⁵ Of course he does not here name the towns in their order, for Tiberias was the southernmost of all. The church mentioned by Epiphanius must have existed at that time.⁶

Antoninus Martyr visited Capernaum about A. D. 600. His mention of it is very brief. From Tabor he went to Tiberias ; then to Capernaum, where was a *Basilica* including the house of Peter ; and from thence through encampments, or villages, or cities, to the two sources of the Jordan.⁷ All this is of little importance for determining the specific site of Capernaum ; but it shows, that the town as mentioned by Jerome, and probably the church spoken of by Epiphanius, still existed some two centuries later.

The next notice is more important. Arculfus the French bish-

¹ John 6, 22.

² Another supposed coincidence urged in favour of Tell Hûm, I cannot but regard as fanciful, viz. that in the name Tell Hûm we have a trace of the ancient name *Caphar Nahum*, i. e. Nahum's village ; so Roediger in *Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* April, 1842, p. 581. Ritter XV. p. 341. The first syllable of *Nahum* might indeed possibly be dropped ; although there is no analogy for it. We might also admit the substitution of Tell for Caphar, if there were any probable grounds for it ; just as in the case of 'Ain Shems for the Egyptian Bethshemesh, where the fountain remains though the city is destroyed ; see Vol. I. p. 25. [i 37] But here at Tell Hûm there is nothing to lead to such a change. The place indeed

is in ruins ; but there is no trace of a Tell. The name, too, is first heard of in the seventeenth century.

³ Onomast. art. *Capharnaum*. Eusebius calls it a *village*, κώμη ; Jerome, *oppidum*.

⁴ "Lacum Genesareth, in cujus litore Capernaum et Tiberias et Bethsaida et Chorazaim sitæ sînt ;" Hieron. in *Esa.* ix. 1. p. 83. ed. Mart.

⁵ See in Vol. II. p. 391 sq. [iii 290, 292.]

⁶ "Deinde venimus in civitatem Tiberiadem. . . . Deinde venimus in Capharnaum in domum beati Petri, quæ est in Basilica. Inde venientes per castra, vel vicos, vel civitates, ad duos fontes venimus scilicet Jor et Dan;" Anton. Mart. 7.

op visited Palestine towards the close of the seventh century, and related his observations to Adamnanus. In connection with the lake of Galilee, he speaks of "the level and grassy plot, where the Saviour fed the five thousand; where was also a *fonticulus* or small fountain; the place was on this side of the lake, looking towards the city of Tiberias, which was in the south."¹ He then goes on to say, that "those coming from Jerusalem, who desire to go to Capernaum, proceed by the direct way through Tiberias; thence along the lake of Galilee, and through the place of benediction before described; from whence, along the margin of the same lake, by not a long circuit, they arrive at Capernaum upon the shore."² Here "the place of benediction" can only be the place of feeding the five thousand just before mentioned; which is thus definitely fixed, as we have seen above, upon the shore of the lake.³ The term *fonticulus* could hardly be applied in strictness either to 'Ain el-Bārideh or to the Round Fountain; and might seem rather to refer to some small source on the shore, not far perhaps from Mejdol. But no such fountain is reported by modern travellers; and, so far as we now know, the plot around 'Ain el-Bārideh best corresponds with the circumstances described. From that plot, wherever it was, a circuit along the lake brought the traveller to Capernaum; obviously the first town upon the shore, and therefore answering to Khān Minyeh.

Arculfus did not himself visit Capernaum; but he describes the place as he saw it from a neighbouring hill: "It had no wall; and being confined to a narrow space between the mountain and lake, it extended a long way upon the shore from west to east, having the mountain on the north and the lake on the south."⁴ The hill or mountain, from which Arculfus had this prospect, is unknown. It was, however, not the mount of the Beatitudes so called, nor the Hajar en-Nusrāny; for he nowhere makes the slightest allusion to either of these.⁵ But as he actually visited the place on the shore north of Tiberias, where the five thousand were supposed to have been fed, the probability

¹ At that time, as now, the popular belief held the miracle to have been wrought on the west of the lake: "Qui locus citra mare Galilee est, respiciens civitatem Tiberiadem ab australi plaga sibi occurrentem;" Adamnan. 2. 24. The site of the miracle was later changed to the Hajar en-Nusrāny.

² "Qui ab Hierosolymis descendentes Capharnaum adire cupiunt, per Tiberiadem via vadunt recta: deinde secus lacum Galilee, locumque superius memorate benedictionis pervium habent: a quo per marginem ejusdem stagni non longo cir-

cuitu Capharnaum perveniunt maritimam;" Adamnan. 2. 25.

³ See above, p. 342.

⁴ "Quæ, ut Arculfus refert, qui eam de monte vicino prospexit, murum non habens, angusto inter montem et stagnum coartata spatio, per illam maritimam oram longo tramite protenditur, montem ab aquilonali plaga, lacum vero ab australi habens, ab occasu in ortum extensa dirigitur;" Adamnan. 2. 25.

⁵ The sermon on the mount had not yet been connected with the Kûrûn Hattin see in Vol. II. p. 371 sq. [iii. 240 sq.]

is, that he ascended an adjacent hill near the lake for the very purpose of gaining a better view of Capernaum. From that quarter the view would be as he describes it; embracing the mountain behind the town, and the little bay on the south of the promontory; by reason of which, and of the general curve by which the shore here trends northeast, the lake appears to lie, and actually does lie, on the south of the promontory. The correctness of these remarks will be apparent on consulting not only Kiepert's map, but more especially those of Lieut. Lynch and of M. Isambert.¹ All these considerations seem to me to render it more than probable, that the Capernaum of Arculfus was at Khân Minyeh.

This again is strongly confirmed by the narrative of St. Willibald, who visited the Holy Land about the middle of the eighth century, some fifty or sixty years after Arculfus. From Tiberias he proceeded along the lake by Magdala to Capernaum, where was a house and a great wall. Thence he went on to Bethsaida, where was a church; and remaining there one night, he came in the morning to Chorazin, where also was a church. His next stage was the sources of the Jordan.² This narrative gives us distinctly the order of the towns along the lake; and thus fills out and confirms the accounts of Jerome, Antoninus, and Arculfus. The Capernaum of them all was obviously at Khân Minyeh.

No further notice of Capernaum occurs until late in the time of the crusades, when the Kûrûn Hattin had now become the mount of the Beatitudes, and is usually mentioned in connection with Capernaum. Thus Eugesippus, who wrote not earlier than about the middle of the twelfth century, says that "the descent of that mountain, where our Lord preached to the multitudes, was two miles from Capernaum."³ Here he understates the distance between Khân Minyeh and the mouth of Wady el-Hamâm; yet in so doing he leaves no doubt but that he regarded Capernaum as situated at the former spot.

Of the like tenor is the language of Brocardus near the end of the thirteenth century. Having spoken of the mount of the

¹ The latter in the *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr.* Janv. 1854.—It is true, that Tell Hûn, as seen from a distance, seems to have a mountain behind it; but it is only a very gradual acclivity, which reaches its elevation a mile or two beyond. At Khân Minyeh the steep wall rises immediately, and leaves but a narrow space between it and the bay.

² "Et inde (sc. Tiberiade) ibunt circa mare, et pergebant secus vicum Magdalenæ. Et veniebant ad illum vicum Capharnaum

... ibi fuit domus et murus magnus... Et inde pergebant ad Bethsaidam... ibi est nunc ecclesia. Et illic manentes unam noctem, mane pergebant ad Corozaim... ibi fuit ecclesia Christianorum, etc." Vita St. Willibaldi §§ 16, 17. See also in Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 16 sq.

³ "Secundo milliario a Capharnaum, descensus illius montis est, in quo sermo cinatus est ad turbas;" Eugesipp. in L. Allatii Symmicta p. 109

Beatitudes, he goes on to say, that "at its foot rises a fountain, which some dream to be a vein of the Nile." He regards it as the source mentioned by Josephus; but whether he has in view the Round Fountain or 'Ain el-Bârîdeh, it is difficult to say; for he immediately adds, that at twenty paces from the fountain and by the lake, is the place where Jesus appeared to his disciples after his resurrection. "From that place easterly after one league (hour) is the city of Capernaum; formerly glorious; but now a humble village, containing scarcely seven fishermen's huts."¹ This again is decisive as to the position of the Capernaum of that day at Khân Minyeh.

Nearly forty years after Brocardus thus wrote, Marinus Sanutus (A. D. 1321) presented to the pope his plan for the recovery of the Holy Land, including a description of the country. He copies almost literally what Brocardus says of the mount where our Lord preached; and of the fountain at its foot, which Marinus says was thirty paces from the lake.² Then, referring to his map, he proceeds: "In no. xxi. is Capernaum, near the northern side of the lake of Galilee, at two leagues' (hours') distance;" meaning obviously two hours from the northern end.³ This again fixes the Capernaum of his day at Khân Minyeh.

The testimony of Quaresmius, about A. D. 1620, is brief, but decisive; since he names the place. On the site of Capernaum, he says, are many ruins, and a miserable *diversorium* (Khân), called in Arabic *Menich* (Minyeh), six miles distant from the place where the Jordan enters the lake.⁴ This explains also the "two leagues" of Marinus Sanutus.

It is not necessary to proceed further. The amount of all this series of testimony, fairly considered, is to show, that from the time of Eusebius and Jerome down to Quaresmius, the site of Capernaum was regarded as known; and, by the better class

¹ "Ab hoc fonte si ieris per viginti passus supra mare Galilææ, est locus ubi Christus, etc. . . . Ab eo loco orientem versus per unam leucam est Capernaum, civitas quondam gloriosa, sed nunc vicus humilis, vix septem habens casas piscatorum;" Brocardus c. 4. p. 173.

² "Ad pedem ejus oritur fons, juxta mare Galilææ ad xxx. passus, quam dicunt regam Nili." Marin. Sanut. 3. 14. 3. p. 247.

³ "In xxi. est Capharnaum, propè latus æquilonare maris Galilææ, ad duas leucas;" *ibid.* 3. 4. 7. p. 247. The phrase "ad duas leucas" here refers to *propè*; just as in the preceding note "ad xxx passus" refers to *juxta*. It is against the laws

of language to place the *terminus à quo* at the base of the mountain or near it; if so meant, the clause would have been preceded by *inde* or the like, as elsewhere.—Dr Wilson appeals to the map of M. Sanutus. This is rather unsafe ground; since on his map he puts the mount of Beatitudes at quite a distance *north* of the lake. It seems very doubtful whether Sanutus ever saw the lake.

⁴ "In præsentia in illius (sc. Capharnaum) situ multæ ruinæ cernuntur, et miserabile diversorium . . . A loco unde Jordanis influit in mare Galilææ distat ad sex milliaria. Arabice *Menich* nuncupatur." Quaresm. II. p. 868.

of pilgrims at least, was held to be in the northern end of the plain el-Ghuweir.

In conclusion, let me recapitulate the points which I have endeavoured to maintain, viz.

That Gennesaret was a known and limited tract.

That, according to the Evangelists, Capernaum was situated in or near that tract.

That the circumstances mentioned by Josephus go to fix it near 'Ain et-Tin.

That down to the seventeenth century it was recognised there by all the more intelligent travellers.

It was apparently during the same seventeenth century, that the tradition began to waver, and to transfer the site of Capernaum to Tell Hûm. The latter is first mentioned by Nau, about A. D. 1674.¹

BETHSAIDA. Besides the general inference from the name and other circumstances, that Bethsaida was on the shore of the lake, not far from Capernaum, we have (I think) already discovered some *data*, by which to assign for it a more specific position.

When our Lord sent away the disciples from the place where he had fed the five thousand on the northeast quarter of the lake, Mark relates that they entered into a boat in order to cross the lake to Bethsaida; while John says, they departed for Capernaum. Being driven out of their course by the wind and waves, after daybreak Jesus comes to them walking on the water; they land in the tract Gennesaret, and repair to Capernaum.²

Here the apparent discrepancy between Mark and John disappears at once, if Bethsaida lay near to Capernaum, and if the disciples perhaps intended first to touch at the former place, before landing at the latter. As they were driven out of their course towards the south, and came to Capernaum from that quarter, it would seem most probable that Bethsaida lay *north* of Capernaum.

This view is strengthened by the language of Jerome, where he says that "Capernaum, Tiberias, Bethsaida, and Chorazin, were situated on the shore of the lake."³ He probably here names Capernaum first, as the most important; and then Tiberias, the southernmost, as more important in his day than the two remaining places; one of which, at least, was then deserted. As neither of these two towns are ever spoken of, in

¹ Nau, Voyage p. 572. See above, in Vol. II. p. 408, [iii. 300.]

² Mark 6, 45. John 6, 17.—Mark 6, 53. Matt. 14, 34. John 6, 24. 25.

³ See above, p. 354. n. 4.—Onomast. art. *Bethsaida*: "Civitas est Galilææ . . . propè stagnum Genesareth." Eusebius says: πρὸς τῇ Γεννησαρίτῃ λίμνῃ.

Scripture or elsewhere, as in any connection with the tract of Gennesaret, they are more probably to be sought as before, on the north of Capernaum.

To all this comes the direct testimony of St. Willibald already quoted.¹ He passed from Tiberias along the lake by Magdala to Capernaum; and thence to Bethsaida, where he remained over night. This accords with and confirms the inference above drawn from Scripture and the language of Jerome.

We have found Capernaum at Khân Minyeh; and the problem now is, to find a place corresponding to Bethsaida, on the shore north of the Khân, and not far distant from it. Such a place is et-Tâbighah, situated on the shore about two thirds of a mile north of the Khân, and presenting the evidence of its antiquity in the massive Roman reservoir above described, and in other less important remains.²

There seems good reason, therefore, for fixing upon et-Tâbighah as the ancient Bethsaida of Galilee.³

CHORAZIN.—I have already related the circumstances, which forbid me to regard the trivial remains at Kerâzeh as representing the site of the ancient Chorazin.⁴

On the other hand, both Bethsaida and Chorazin appear to have been places of importance. Bethsaida is expressly called *a city*.⁵ Chorazin is mentioned but twice in the New Testament; and, on the first occasion, it is said that our Lord "began to upbraid *the cities* wherein most of his mighty works were done."⁶ These cities, both there and in the other passage, were Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum. In the same connection, Chorazin and Bethsaida are contrasted with Tyre and Sidon; showing not indeed that they were large cities like those, but that at any rate they were not merely inconsiderable villages. It would seem, that the three, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin, were at that epoch, and before the building up of Tiberias, the chief towns along the lake; and our Lord, residing in Capernaum, showed forth his mighty works chiefly in those three places, lying in the neighbourhood of each other.

¹ See above, p. 356.

² See above, pp. 345, 346.

³ Ritter places Bethsaida at Khân Minyeh; chiefly on the authority of Seetzen, who is supposed to have heard there the name Bât-Szaida from his guides; Erdk. XV. pp. 333-335. See above, Vol. II. p. 405. n. 3. [iii. p. 296. n.]—The suggestion, that the testimony of those guides, who came from the eastern side of the lake, might rest on ancient tradition, which had been for centuries lost among the people on the west of the lake, is too fanciful to

be of much weight. And further, it does not appear from Seetzen's narrative, that he learned this name from his guides at all. More probably he obtained it from the Greek bishop of Tyre and Sidon, with whom he lodged at Hasbeiya; from whom too, doubtless, he learned that Tell Hâm was Capernaum, and that Chorazin was east of the lake; Reisen, Berl. 1854, Bd. I. pp. 344, 345, comp. pp. 323, 327.

⁴ See above, p. 347.

⁵ John 1, 45.

⁶ Matt. 11, 21; comp. Luke 10, 13.

Eusebius and Jerome merely speak of Chorazin in their day as deserted; it lay two Roman miles from Capernaum, but the direction is not given.¹ But Jerome elsewhere says expressly, that all these towns lay *upon the shore* of the lake; and he apparently names Chorazin as the northernmost.² To the same purpose is the testimony of St. Willibald already quoted above.³ He passed from Tiberias by Magdala to Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin in succession; and thence to the sources of the Jordan. The slight mention of Chorazin by Brocardus likewise places it on the northeast of Capernaum, towards the entrance of the Jordan into the lake.⁴

In view of all the preceding considerations, and regarding the site of Capernaum as at Khân Minyeh, I am unable to resist the conclusion, that the site of Chorazin is to be sought at Tell Hûm. It was a Jewish city; and the remains of its splendid synagôgue testify to its ancient importance, even as contrasted with Tyre and Sidon.

Thus with the remains of the three ancient sites still seen along the shore, Khân Minyeh, et-Tâbighah, and Tell Hûm, we are able, on something more than merely probable grounds, to connect the names of the three lost ancient cities, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin.⁵

Should any one still be disposed to lay weight upon the name Kerâzeh, as having some possible connection with the ancient Chorazin; let him consider, whether, after the destruction of the town upon the shore, a portion of the inhabitants may not have retired to that spot, and there built up a village bearing the same name. A complete analogy for such an hypothesis exists in the case of the ancient Zarephath or Sarepta, on the shore between Tyre and Sidon. The remains of the ancient site are still seen on the plain near the sea; while its modern representative, the

¹ Onomast. art. *Chorozaïm*. As in the case of Capernaum, Eusebius here calls Chorazin a *village*, *κώμη*; Jerome, *oppidum*.—The reading of the Greek is erroneously *twelve* (ἰβ') miles; while that of Jerome, on any of the various theories, can only be regarded as an approximation to the truth.

² Hieron. Comm. in Esa. ix. 1, p. 83, ed. Mart. "Lacum Genesareth, in cuius litore Capernaum et Tiberias et Bethsaida et Chorozaïm sitæ sint"

³ See above, p. 356.

⁴ "Proinde à civitate Corozaim et ostio fluvii Jordanis contra aquilonem," etc. Brocar us c. 4. p. 173.

⁵ M. De Saulcy assumes, that Tell Hûm was the site of Julius, the northern Bethsaida; Narrat. II. p. 489 sq. But Josephus places Julius in lower Gaulonitis,

which is not Galilee, but was beyond Jordan; B. J. 2. 9. 1, 'Ο μὲν (Φίλιππος) . . . κτίσει Καισάρειαν, κέν τῇ πότι Γαυλαντικῇ Ἰουλιῖδα. In like manner Pliny and Jerome both speak of Julius as east of the Jordan; e. g. Plin. H. N. 5. 15, "Jordanes in lacum se fundit . . . amœnis circumseptum oppidia, ab oriente Juliade et Hippo." Hieron. Comm. in Matt. xvi. 13, "Philippus . . . ex nomine filiæ ejus (Augusti) Juliadem *trans Jordanem* extruxit." But M. De Saulcy in a slashing style of criticism extends Gaulonitis to the west of the lake; thinks Pliny was mistaken; and refers the Julius of Jerome to Herod's Julius in Perea, although Jerome is expressly speaking of that built by Philip. See more above in Vol. II. p. 313. n. 3. [iii 308. n. 3.]

village Sūrafend, lies at a distance upon the hills back of the plain.¹

We set off from Bir Kerāzeh at 1.40, taking a course about N. 30° W. in order to strike a road leading from the north end of the lake to Safed. This was said to pass not far from Jubb Yūsuf, where our muleteers were to wait for us. We would gladly have taken the route by the ruins, and so up along the main valley; but there was no trace of a path in that direction. We rose gradually as we advanced; and at 1.55 came out upon the higher open region.² At 2.10 we came to our former road (in 1838) from the lake to Safed, and turned into it on a course about N. 70° W. At 2.25 we crossed one of the heads of the valley we had ascended from Tell Hām, here running about S. 20° E. and ten minutes later descended into the other and main head, coming down from the very base of the higher Safed hills. Rising upon the other side we came at 2.55 to the Damascus road, which comes up from Khān Minyeh by Khān Jubb Yūsuf, and passes on to the bridge below the Hūleh. Here we waited fifteen minutes, while a messenger brought up the muleteers from the Khān, some half a mile distant.

At 3.10 we set off again on the northern road. The path to the bridge soon diverged on the right. We kept along on a direct course near the higher hills; and, recrossing the main head of the valley above mentioned, had it upon our left as we gradually ascended. It here has the Safed mountain for its western bank.³ As we reached the higher tract, we had again traces of a limestone formation; almost the only stones not volcanic, which we had seen since Lūbieh, except the precipices of Wady Hamām. Near the highest point we fell in with a large black snake, three feet or more long, the only one I saw in the country.

On coming in view of the lake of the Hūleh, the road descends gradually to the plain along its shore. After following this road for a time, we turned more to the left, and ascending reached at 4.20 the village of Ja'ūneh. It lies nearly midway up the declivity of the western mountain; and is one of the four villages, which occupy this declivity, overlooking the Ard el-Khait and the lake of the Hūleh beyond. Here, indeed, we could overlook both the lakes; and could see that the Hūleh was the highest by some hundreds of feet, as it seemed. The village of Ja'ūneh

¹ See Vol. II. pp. 474, 475. [iii. 412, Hattin 223°. We were now upon high table land.]

² Bearings at 1.55: Tiberias 195°. Bir Kerāzeh 217°, ¼ m. Mejdal 212°. Kūrn

³ Bearings at 3.45: Tiberias 184°. Khān 192°.

is still south of the upper lake. A Wady with a small stream descends on the south of the village. Another village, Fir'im, lies on the north, about a mile distant, with a Wady of the same name just beyond, which descends to the lake. Jebel esh-Sheikh was here seen in all his majesty. The snows and ice upon his crown were much diminished, since we last saw him in April.¹

In one of the lanes of Ja'ûneh I came upon the broken shaft of a granite column, still standing. On a garden wall near by was a capital of limestone, of the Jewish type, that is, a sort of Doric with parallel rings. It once belonged, probably, to a synagogue.

In the Khait there is an encampment of Turkmâns, chiefly at el-Müntâr; they are said to have remained here from former times, and keep themselves distinct. There is also an encampment of Kurds. Besides these, there are the various tribes of Arabs dwelling in tents.—The Jisr Benât Ya'kôb seemed to be about five miles distant. It was not here visible, nor its Khân; but we could see the road passing up from it, and leading across the country beyond the Jordan.

Both yesterday and to day we passed several fields of grain in the process of harvesting, while others near by were yet quite green. This was said to be in consequence of the earlier sowing of the former. The earlier the seed-time, the earlier the harvest.

During the day I had found myself quite unwell, and reached Ja'ûneh in a state of great exhaustion. The complaint increased from day to day; and afterwards detained me for several days at Hâsbeiya.

Wednesday, May 19th.—We sent off the muleteers by the road along the plain; intending ourselves to take a route lying above the foot of the mountains along the line of villages. Our object in this was to visit a site of ruins, called Kasyûn, of which we had several times heard, even as far back as at Kefr Bir'im.

Leaving Ja'ûneh at 6.20, we came at 6.45 to the channel of Wady Fir'im; the village being above us on the left, about a quarter of a mile distant. On the way we started up an immense hawk or vulture, with yellow breast and black wings, as large as a middle sized dog. Our Arabs called it *Atab*. At 7 o'clock we were at Mughâr, the third village; and passed directly under it. We saw here columns in a wall, and sepulchral excavations. Here Jebel Sünnîn came in sight; having on it apparently more snow than Hermon.* At 7.15 was the fountain of the village;

¹ Bearings at Ja'ûneh: Fir'im 5°. Mughâr 25°. South end of lake 54°. Tell el-Feras, beyond the Jordan, 95°. Jebel esh-Sheikh 36°. el-Müntâr 88°.

² Bearings, from Mughâr: el-Mankûlîbeh 155°. el-Müntâr 109°. Tell el-Feras 100°. South end of lake 60°. North end of lake 30°. Jebel esh-Sheikh 36°. Jeb-

lying nearer indeed to the next village, but used only by Mughâr.

We came at 7.25 to Kûbâ'a, the largest of the four villages, situated on a projecting point between two small Wadys. We passed back of it, where on the ridge was a small pond of water collected from a fountain. At 7.37 was the fountain of Kûbâ'a, and a sepulchre in a large rock near by. We now came to the deep Wady Lauz, and descended its steep grassy declivity, crossing the water-bed at 7.45. It seemed to be connected with a ravine, which was seen crossing the plain towards the south end of the lake. After ascending the northern bank, we almost immediately descended again into Wady 'Amûkah, a deep ravine coming down from S. 70° W. and uniting just above us with another one on the north. On its northern side, a little east of us, was a Tell called Mughr'en-Namar, from caves near it. Crossing the water-bed at 8.07, we ascended and kept along as before, over low spurs and shallow Wadys. At 8.35 we reached Marûs, the ruin of a small village built of unhewn stones, like those behind us, with a tank now dry. A few olive trees and fig trees around it seemed to show, that it had not been long desolate. There was here also a small arable tract. We were now nearly opposite the south end of the lake, which bore N. 87° E.

Passing on and crossing another ravine, we saw at 8.50 two sepulchres hewn in the rocks; and came at 9 o'clock to the site called Kasyûn. Having so often heard of these ruins, we were disappointed in finding only the remains of a common town, larger indeed than Marûs, but like it built of unhewn stones, and now thickly overgrown with thistles. There was also a tank now without water. The declivity in front descends to Wady Hendâj, here coming out from the W. N. W. of which indeed it forms the high southwestern side. The Hendâj is joined not far above by Wady 'Ûba, which is just north of Kasyûn.¹—I afterwards learned from the Rev. Mr Porter of Damascus, that he and Dr Paulding once passed up from the mouth of Wady Hendâj to Safed. After ascending for nearly half an hour, they came to a site of ruins on the southern side, for which they heard no name; but found columns as of a temple, and also an upright stone three feet high with a Greek inscription, which they did not copy. This spot could only have been Kasyûn; though we saw there no columns nor inscriptions. The columns, not improbably, may have been those of a Jewish synagogue.

Around Kasyûn is an arable tract larger than that at el Sûnnîn 20°. Tell el-Hürrâweh, just over 'Ain Mellâhah, 13°.

¹ Bearings at Kasyûn: Marûs 191° South end of upper lake 95°.

Marts. Our ride thus far to-day had been quite an uncomfortable one, mostly without a path and through tracts rendered almost impassable by the many thistles. The region is one of hills and spurs, considerably elevated above the plain, but having much higher mountains towards the west.

There being no road to the north across Wady Hendáj, we now, at 9.10, turned down eastward into the mouth of that valley, descending first over a gentle cultivated slope and then by a very steep declivity; in all not less than from three hundred to four hundred feet. We came to the bottom at 9.35, and found a fine limpid stream of water. Farther up, the Wady is called el-Mu'addamiyeh, and has its beginning near el-Jish.¹ We followed down the brook to the plain. A travelled road passes up the valley, coming apparently from the Jisr Benát Ya'kób. Crossing the point of the left hand hill at 9.55,² we turned to the left on a northern road; and at 10 o'clock came to a fork where it is crossed by a road from the Jisr to Kedes. Here our muleteers were waiting. We followed the Kedes road; and at 10.10 began to ascend the hills, which here again ran quite down to the lake.³ Our course was about northwest. The plain along the lake is fertile, and differs from the Ghôr in being productive without irrigation.

In ascending the hills, we rose first to a small fertile plain; and then again to another larger; forming two steps of the ascent. The second is drained by a Wady, which breaks down to the Hûleh through a gap; this at 11 o'clock bore east, and is a little south of Mellâhah. Here we began to climb the still higher hills in the northwest; from which, as we ascended, there was a fine view of the southern part of the lake. At 11.15 we came out upon the high plain or plateau of Kedes; and had on our left, S. 60° W. a prominent Tell with ruins, called Khuraibeh. We turned off, without a path, to visit it.

On approaching the foot of the Tell we came upon an impress of former days. We ascended from the north; and here, not far above the base, was an ancient sepulchre in good preservation. The lower (northern) side of a sunken rock had been laid bare, and hewn so as to form a perpendicular surface; in this was a door, with an inclined plane leading down to it; while upon the rock above was a cyclopean wall. We saw no other tombs. We reached the top at 11.40. The place is high and sightly; overlooking the deep and rugged Wady

¹ See Vol. II. p. 446. [iii. 370.]

² At 9.55, el-Hürriweh bore 12°.

³ Bearing at 10.10: Chiftli 144°, 8 Wükkas 172°, 2 m. These are two

Bedawy ruins along the low hills which bound the bottom land of the plain on the south.

Hendāj on the south, and the plain of Kedes towards the north, with a fine view of the lake and the plain of the Hūleh north of it. Wady Hendāj breaks down just above between lofty precipices. At the foot of the Tell on the north, is a strip of lower plain, about a quarter of a mile wide, and some fifty feet or more below the plain of Kedes. It has on the north a rocky eminence, and is drained to the Hendāj by a Wady on the west of the Tell.

On the summit of the Tell are many large heaps of stones. Some of the stones are large and squared, but not hewn. We saw neither bevelled stones, nor columns. Most of the stones, apparently, had often been built up into houses of different epochs. Here also were two oil-presses; or, rather, one of them was perhaps the vat for receiving the oil; it was round and deep, and lower and smaller than the press. These presses show, that the olive was once extensively cultivated here; while now not an olive tree is seen. Many oaks (*Balūta*) are scattered round about.¹

This Tell had been seen and noted by Dr Smith when at Kedes in 1844; and I had formerly suggested the inquiry, whether it might not possibly be the site of the ancient Hazor of Naphtali.² We had now come hither to examine this point upon the spot. The Hazor of Naphtali³ was obviously the Hazor of Jabin; who gathered many kings together against Joshua to the waters of Merom, the present lake of the Hūleh; but was discomfited by that leader, and Hazor burned with fire.⁴ This account presupposes that Hazor lay in the vicinity of the lake; and Josephus says expressly, that it "lay over the lake Semechonitis," as he names it.⁵ At a later period another Jabin of Hazor oppressed Israel, whose armies were discomfited by Deborah and Barak.⁶ The same Hazor, apparently, was fortified by Solomon.⁷ We read, further, that under Pekah king of Israel, "Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria came and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria."⁸ Tiglath-pileser came from the north, and Ijon, Abel, Kedesh, and Gilead, are mentioned in the order in which they are known to lie, from north to south. Hence arises a very strong presumption, that Hazor, being mentioned next to

¹ Bearings from Tell Khuraibeh: Kedes 4°. el-Hūrrāweh 67°. Tell el-Feras 117°. North end of lake 87°. South end of lake 116°. 'Alma 242°. Wady Hendāj, course above, 242°.

² See Biblioth. Sacra, 1847. p. 403. Comp. Biblioth. Sac. 1846. pp. 212, 213.

³ Josh. 19, 86.

⁴ Josh. 11, 1-13.

⁵ Jos. Antt. 5. 5. 1, ἐξ Ἀσάρου πόλεως . . . αὐτὴ δὲ ὑπερκείται τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης.

⁶ Judg. c. 4.

⁷ 1 K. 9, 15.

⁸ 2 K. 15, 29.

Kedesh, was not far distant from it towards the south. This again is strengthened by the enumeration of the fenced cities of Naphtali in the reverse order, from south to north, viz. "Ham-math, Rakkath, and Chinnereth, and Adamah, and Ramah, and Hazor, and Kedesh."¹ There is no further mention of this Hazor after the invasion of Tiglath-pileser, except historically by Josephus as above cited.

So far as the situation is concerned, no spot could correspond more completely to the *data* above collected, than this Tell. It overlooks the lake and plain of the Hüle, being nearly opposite the northern extremity of the former; it is distant one hour from Kedes towards the south; and is in itself a position of great strength. The present indefinite name 'Ruins,' affords no clew. The main objection is perhaps the absence of all appearance of fortifications and of large structures; but it should be borne in mind, that the place was destroyed before the Jewish exile, and never afterwards built up; except, according to what now appears, as an agricultural village. That it was once a large place, is evident. The sepulchre marks high antiquity, wealth, and probable rank; while the structures which now give distinction to Kedes are of a far later date. I am therefore led to lay no great stress upon this objection; and am disposed to rest in the conclusion, that this spot was the site of the Hazor of Naphtali.

Should any one object, that in this way the regal cities of Hazor and Kedes would be brought too near each other, let him remember the analogous cases of Taanach and Megiddo, Gibeah and Ramah, Bethel and Ai.

We had already examined two places, bearing names somewhat similar to Hazor, and we afterwards visited a third on the east of Bâniâs.² But neither of them correspond at all with the historical notices, which must determine the site of Hazor.

Leaving the summit of the Tell at 11.55, we descended towards the northwest, and continued on in that direction till we struck a road to Kedes on the west of the rocky eminence above mentioned. We now kept on through the plain, and at 12.50 dismounted at the northern fountain of Kedes. The village was west of us, on its hill; and we did not ascend to it.

Kedes is situated upon a rather high ridge, which juts out about E. S. E. from the western hills. Towards the south this ridge is separated from the high plain by a Wady or strip of lower plain; in which, under the village, is a copious fountain of limpid water. The village stands upon the highest part of the

¹ Josh. 19, 35-37.

81. For the Wely of Sheikh Othman el-

² See above for Hazzûr, pp. 62, 63. For Khirbet Hazûr and Tell Hazûr, see p.

Hazûry, see under May 27th.

ridge, a sort of Tell. East of this there is an offset in the ridge, and then another lower Tell; and still a low ridge runs out from the foot of the latter, ending in a rocky bluff in the middle of the plain further east. The whole plain north and east of the village, and for some distance also towards the southeast, is lower than the plain further south by some fifty feet or more. The fountain at which we stopped is north of the ridge, on a tract a little elevated above the lower plain. The latter is shut in by low hills on the east. At a point nearly east of the village, a Wady seems to break down through them to the Hûleh; but my companion, who was here in April 1844, passed that way, and found that the plain has no outlet. That portion of it was then covered with water, which seemed to be fast drying up.¹ This line of hills shuts out Kedes from any view of the Hûleh; but we could see over them the extensive table land of Jeidûr beyond the Hûleh; while Jebel esh-Sheikh rose in full grandeur before us.²

The whole eastern declivity, from the high region east of Bint Jebel to the Hûleh, is understood to descend by four steps, with three intervening plateaus. The first of these latter is the valley or plain at the head of which is 'Aitherûn, and which is drained to the Litâny. The next is the plain north of Mâlikiyeh, said to be drained to that of Kedes. The third is the plain of Kedes itself; from which there is a great and steep descent to the Hûleh.

The site of Kedes is a splendid one, well watered and surrounded by fertile plains. But there seemed to be a general impression among the people of the region, that the water of both the fountains is unwholesome. At the time of our former journey, in 1838, the village was said to be deserted. In 1844 Dr Smith found it occupied by people from Haurân, who had moved over a few months previously. In the village he saw one or two prostrate columns; but it seems to contain no other traces of antiquity.³

The remains of antiquity lie mainly on the plain below the village, in the vicinity of the northern fountain. Round about the fountain itself are quite a number of sarcophagi, some of which are used as drinking-troughs. They are all hewn smooth, both inside and outside, but not sculptured. East of the fountain are the remains of two ancient structures, built of hewn stone, and of good workmanship. The easternmost is the largest. Its walls are standing; and in its eastern front is a

¹ E. Smith in *Biblioth. Sac.* May 1849, p. 376. 53°. Tell el-Feras 122°. el-Khuraibeh 186°. Benit 195°.

² Bearings from Kedes, taken in 1844: *Biblioth. Sac. ib.* p. 375. Jebel esh-Sheikh 50°. Castle of Bânias

large portal, with smaller side portals. We saw no columns, but noticed Corinthian capitals among the ruins. The whole character of this structure and of its architecture is decidedly Jewish ; resembling entirely that of the edifices we had seen at Kefr Bir'im, Meirôn, Irbid, and Tell Hûm. It was once a synagogue.

The western edifice is smaller, and built on a different plan. It is square, perhaps twenty-five feet on each side, with an ornamented portal towards the south. From this portal a vault with a round arch runs through the building to the north wall ; and another similar one crosses it at right angles. Whether there was once a dome, we could not determine. At the side of the portal is a small niche. This structure, too, I was led to regard as probably Jewish ; both from the general style of the architecture, and from its resemblance to some of the delineations we have of Jewish tombs.¹

Between these two structures are several large and remarkable sarcophagi. They stand parallel to each other on a raised pedestal or platform, five or six feet high. That on the west is double ; that is, two sarcophagi are excavated side by side in one huge block, having a single cover for both, which is sculptured to represent scales. That on the east is precisely similar in its general form. The third is single ; and probably a fourth once occupied the space now vacant. The outside of these sarcophagi was once elaborately sculptured with figures ; but the action of the weather has so worn upon the stone, that the figures cannot now be made out. I cannot resist the conviction, that these likewise were Jewish tombs.

Kedesh is first mentioned as the city of a Canaanitish king, subdued by Joshua ; it was assigned to the tribe of Naphtali, and became one of the cities of refuge.² It was the birthplace of Barak ; and being captured by Tiglath-pileser, the inhabitants were carried away into captivity.³ After the exile it is mentioned in the apocryphal books, as still existing ;⁴ and Josephus speaks of it, under the name Cydoessa, as a strong and populous inland town of the Tyrians.⁵ Eusebius and Jerome call it Cydissus ; and place it twenty Roman miles from Tyre and near to Paneas.⁶

We hear no more of Kedesh until the times of the crusades, when it was visited by Benjamin of Tudela. He found here no Jews ; but several sepulchres of Jewish saints ; and among them that of Barak.⁷ Later Jewish itineraries place here also the

¹ Especially in 'Jichus ha-Abot,' Carmoly p. 433 sq.

² Josh. 12, 22.—Josh. 19, 37. Joseph. Antt. 5. 1 24.—Josh. 20, 7. 21, 32. 1 Chr. 6, 76.

³ Judg 4, 6.—2 K. 15, 29.

⁴ 1 Macc. 11, 63. 73. Tob. 1, 2.

⁵ Gr. *ἡ πόλις Κυδοισσῶν*; Jos. B. J. 4. 2. 3

⁶ Onomast. art. *Cedes*.

⁷ Benj. of Tud. I. p. 82.

tombs of Deborah and Jael.¹ Brocardus speaks of Kedesh in terms appropriate to the present day.² I am not aware that it has since been visited by Frank travellers, until the present century. We heard of it in 1838, when at Benit; and were told, that it had been visited by Lady Hester Stanhope a few years before.³ Bertou was there the same year, soon after we left Syria.⁴ Major Robe passed this way in 1841, and Dr Smith in 1844.⁵ But none of these, except the latter, have given any description of the place.

Setting off from the fountain of Kedes at 2.20, we went north through the low plain, by a road much obstructed by thistles. We came at 2.40 to the hills, among which we entered by a Wady coming from a little west of north. Five minutes within the Wady was a well with water. At 2.55 the main branch of the valley came down from the left; and at a bend, on its high western side, facing us, was the village of Buleida. This branch was said to drain the whole tract lying east of the valley descending from 'Atherûn. We now ascended out of the valley, very steeply, on the west of a smaller branch; and came out at 3.05 upon a fine arable tract of table land, near to several very large and fine Butm trees.⁶ We continued ascending gradually through this tract towards the north; and then descending a little came at 3.40 to the extensive village of Meis, called also Meis el-Jebel. The road from 'Akka to Hâs-beiya passes through this place, falling into ours a little on the south of the village.

The village is separated into two parts, west and east, by a shallow depression, in which we pitched our tent. Southwest of the village was a fine pond of rain water, at which the herds were drinking. This water is used also by the inhabitants; though there was said to be a good fountain in a valley north of the village. The whole region is a beautiful tract of country, lying east of the district around Tibnin, and connected with it. The village too is large, and looked thrifty; and the people seemed comparatively comfortable.

Thursday, May 20th.—We left Meis at 6.10, going down immediately into a small plain or basin on the north, extending from west to east; which was said to have no outlet, and to become a lake in winter. It was now under cultivation. The

¹ Carmoly, pp. 264, 378, 450.

² Brocard. c. 7. p. 173, "Cedes Neph-talim, quæ . . . abundat omnibus bonis. Monstrantur illie magnæ ruinæ, et sepulchra pulcherrima antiquorum."

³ See Vol. II. p. 439. [iii. 855.]

⁴ Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. Sept. 1839, p. 144.

⁵ Biblioth. Sacr. 1843. p. 11.—Ibid. 1849, p. 374 sq.

⁶ Bearings at 3.05: el-Hürrâweh 154°. Tell el-Feras 127°. Kedes 180°. Khuraibeh 183°. Muheibib 305°. Buleida W. † m.—Bearing at 3.20: Muheibib W. —At 3.35, Khuraibeh bore 181°.

region here is high, and too cold for the raising of cotton. The hills before us were covered with oak trees. At 6.30 and 6.35 we passed the heads of two Wadys, going westward to another, called Wady el-Jemal, which runs to the Litâny. At 7 o'clock we had an extensive prospect towards the west, including the fortress of Tibnin.¹ Continuing to ascend, we came at 7.15 to the brow south of Hûnin, commanding a wide and noble view of the Hûleh below us on the right.²

The prospect was a splendid one. In the far distance Jebel Sûnnin was visible, with much snow still upon it. Near at hand, overagainst us in the northeast, was Jebel esh-Sheikh, having strips of snow and ice running down from the summit, apparently in ravines.

The whole plain of the Hûleh was before us, cultivated quite down to the marsh; and more extensive than both marsh and lake together. We thought we could here trace clearly the various streams flowing through the plain, and distinguish accurately their points of junction. These I carefully noted; but the subsequent result taught me a lesson in respect to judgments formed under such circumstances; I mean, when looking down from a lofty point of view upon an extensive tract of country below. A few days afterwards, when I came to traverse the Hûleh, and follow the streams to their junction, most of my notes proved to be entirely wrong. Here too, Hûnin, Âbil, and Mutûlleh, were in sight before us on the western hills.

Setting off again at 7.30, and descending, we reached Hûnin at 8 o'clock. Here are the ruins of a large fortress, with a poor village adjacent to it on the south. The place is in a notch of the mountain, running northwest and southeast, and cleaving the mountain nearly half way to its base. In this notch is a low and broad Tell, on which the ruins and village are situated. The narrow valley towards the northwest runs to the Litâny. On the east there is a small shallow Wady descending steeply towards the Hûleh. Hûnin belongs to the district of Belâd Beshârah; and a branch of the family of the ruling Sheikhs formerly resided here. But since the great earthquake of January 1837, no part of the castle has been habitable; and these feudal chiefs have all settled in and around Tibnin.³

The more ancient fortress occupied a large area, including the greater part of the ground now covered by the village on the south. The later Turkish fortress, also now in ruins, with nine or ten round towers, took in only about a third part of the

¹ Bearings at 7: Tibnin 274°. MArôn 225°. Muheibb 219°. el-Malikiyeh 200°. tûlleh 25°. Kûl'at es-Subeibeh, near Bâ-niis, 74°. Âbil 82°.

Meis 211°.

³ W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sacra*,

² Bearings at 7.15: Hûnin 5°. el-Mu- 1846, p. 203.

same area on the north. At the northwest corner and along the whole of the northern side, the solid rock of the foundation is cut away, forming a fosse in some parts twenty feet deep and nearly as many broad ; close upon the inside of which the wall is built. On the east the wall is carried along the brow of the Tell. In this northern and later portion no remains of antiquity are visible, except a few small bevelled stones on the eastern side, and also near the Turkish portal in the south side. Here is a bevelled stone of larger dimensions. A few other bevelled stones are found in different parts ; and some are built into the walls of the houses of the village. In the village, outside of the later fortress, is a fine ancient portal nearly complete, built of large bevelled stones still in their place, with grooves for the doors ; it is the finest fragment among all the remains. A peculiar feature of this ruin consists in several pieces of ancient wall built of unhewn stones ; that is, of stones broken to a smooth face, but not squared, and laid up in this rude irregular manner. Such fragments of wall are found in several parts of the fortress. I do not remember to have seen the like elsewhere. The fortress must anciently have been a place of great strength ; but its present appearance disappointed us, as not equal to the reports we had heard respecting it. From it the northeastern part of the lake is visible.¹ The place was visited in 1843 by the Rev. W. M. Thomson.²

It is difficult to account for the position of this ancient fortress, except as commanding the plain of the Hùleh below. That it must have existed in the days of the Israelites, seems hardly to admit of question. Yet I am not aware of any place named in the Old Testament, with which it can be regarded as corresponding, with any degree of probability ; unless it be *Beth Rehob*, called also *Rehob*, a city and perhaps a district not far from the city Dan. Six hundred Danites, it is said, came to Laish, to "a people quiet and secure," far from Sidon, and in the valley (deep plain) "that is by Beth-Rehob ;"³ there they built a city, and called it Dan. But the city Dan, as we shall see, was situated at Tell el-Kady.⁴ The same Rehob is probably meant, when it is said of the spies sent from Kadesh-barnea, that they searched the land "unto Rehob, as one goeth to Hamath."⁵ It is hardly probable that the spies went beyond the usual northern limit of Palestine at Dan ; and from that point the direct way to Hamath is up through the Wady et-

¹ Bearings from Hânin : Kûfat Baniás 81°. Tell el-Kady 77°. Tell el-Feras 138°. N. end of lake 154°.

² See Biblioth. Sacra, 1846, p. 201 sq Ritter Erdk. XV. p. 242 sq.

³ Heb. בֵּית־רְחוֹב אֶחָד לְבִית־רְחוֹב Judg. 18, 28 ; comp. v. 11. 29.

⁴ See under May 26th.

⁵ Heb. עֲרֵי־רְחוֹב לְבָא חָצֵר, Num. 13, 21.

Teim and the Būkā'a.¹ To all these circumstances the position of Hūnin well corresponds; and we shall perhaps not greatly err, if we regard it as representing the ancient Beth-Rehob.²

We set off again from Hūnin at 8.35; and crossing a depression we struck up northeast between the mountain and a lower hill on the right through a wooded tract. We came at 8.50 to the top of the ascent; and then descended for a time in the same direction, through a narrow valley with green bushes and strips of wheat not yet ripe. Afterwards we kept on at the same level along the declivity, considerably above the plain; the trees having ceased as we descended. We crossed several spurs and Wadys; one of the latter descending towards Ābil, to the Derdārah. Climbing the steep northern declivity, we had Ābil on our right at 9.30, a little below us. It lies on a marked Tell; which, below the summit, has an offset towards the south. It is situated upon the east side of the Derdārah, the stream coming from Merj 'Ayūn. Ābil is inhabited by Christians. We could here see the chasm by which the stream comes down, very narrow and deep, almost as if artificial. It issues from the Merj on the east of el-Mutūlleh; then makes a deep turn westward between the two villages; and continues down on the west of Ābil. The latter is called also sometimes, on account of its fine wheat, Ābil el-Kamh.

This Ābil may well be regarded, as representing the ancient Abel or Abel Beth Maachah of this region, known to us in Scripture. It probably had the latter name, as lying near Beth Maachah; from which it is also distinguished.³ Once it is called Abel-maim.⁴ It is twice mentioned with other places in the order from north to south; once, "Ijon (Heb. 'Iyōn, Arab. 'Ayūn), Dan, Abel, and all Cinneroth;"⁵ and again, "Ijon, Abel, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead."⁶ These notices all correspond well to the position of Ābil.—That this place is the true Abel of Scripture, rather than Ibl el-Hawa, situated on the ridge between Merj 'Ayūn and Wady et-Teim, is probable for two reasons. The former lies on a Tell like most of the ancient strong cities; and, further, its situation is such, that the series "Ijon, Dan, Abel," as above, is not unnatural; which would

¹ So too "the Syrians of Beth-Rehob," spoken of in 2 Sam. 10, 6, are in v. 8 called "the Syrians of Rehob." Comp. Ritter XV. p. 218.—The phrase לְבוֹא חֲסִיר seems in Num. 13, 21, to be taken in its strict meaning, "as men come [go] to Hamath;" so the English version. In all other passages the phrase refers to a point in the extreme northern border of Palestine; so Judg. 3, 3. 1 K. 8, 65, etc. See below, at the end of Sect. XII.

² There was another Rehob in the tribe of Asher, further west; Josh. 19, 28, 30, 21, 31. Judg. 1, 31.

³ 2 Sam. 20, 14, 18.

⁴ 2 Chr. 16, 4; comp. 1 K. 15, 20.

⁵ 1 K. 15, 20. Joa. Antt. 8, 12, 4. Josephus has here the corrupted form 'Aβελ-αδμ.

⁶ 2 K. 15, 29.

not be the case with Ibl el-Hawa, lying as it does northeast of Ijon.¹

The village el-Mutülleh is inhabited by Druzes; and is the most southern spot occupied by that portion of the sect which clusters around Jebel esh-Sheikh. It and Ábil are also the most southern villages of the district Merj 'Ayún. Mutülleh lies upon the hill bordering upon the Merj, through which the Der-dârah breaks down; and enjoys a commanding view of the great basin of the Hûleh. Hence its name, which signifies 'a look out,' or rather 'a look down.' But from most of the Merj itself the village is not visible. Its site is more than two hundred feet above the Merj.

While thus in view of Ábil and el-Mutülleh, we were upon a small elevated plain, drained towards the northwest by a Wady in that quarter. We were now approaching the end of the mountain on our left, and at 9.40 could look across the Litâny and up Wady Jermük to the high region around Jerjû'a. Very soon also the castle esh-Shükif came out from behind the mountain, perched high upon what appeared from this side like a lofty wall. The Wady which drains the little plain soon opens out into a broad valley or cultivated tract, extending to the Litâny at a point not far south of the castle. It was full of wheat fields and olive groves; and in it on the southern side was the large village of Kefr Kily, which at 9.50 bore N. 35° W. half a mile distant. Further down, on the same side, where the higher ground descends towards the Litâny, stands the larger village of Deir Mimâs, which we had before seen from the castle.—At this valley the mountains on the south terminate; further north are only the lower hills around the Merj.

There was now a gentle descent; and at 10 o'clock we reached the brow of the Merj, and looked down upon it in its whole extent. It is a beautiful oval plain, surrounded by not high hills; its longest diameter being from N. N. W. to S. S. E. about three miles, with a breadth of about two miles. It is separated from Wady et-Teim on the east, and from the valley of the Litâny on the west, only by these lines of hills. The whole plain is level like a floor; and is well watered and mostly under cultivation. A portion of it is pasture ground, to which we came afterwards; and beyond the middle is a grove of trees and bushes.—Here we stopped some twenty minutes for rest.

We now, at 10.25 descended into the Merj; and at 10.40 crossed the great road leading from the Hûleh by Mutülleh to the Jisr el-Khûrdela near the castle. The road we were following led directly to Khiyam on the northeastern hills. At 10.55

¹ The like view is given by W. M. comp. 213, 214. E. Smith in *Ms. Jour. Thomson*, in *Biblioth. Sacr.* 1846. p. 204, April 25, 1844. Ritter *Erdk.* XV. p. 241.

we crossed a small stream coming from the west ; and at 11.10 came to the principal stream of the Merj. It was now stopped by a dam just below the path, for the purpose of irrigation ; and men were washing sheep in the pond thus formed. The water was too deep to be forded at the road ; and we therefore struck up along the west bank of the stream, through fields in which many people were ploughing. We found at last a good crossing-place ; the stream was not large, but the channel is in many places miry. We came into our road again at 11.30, having lost ten minutes by our circuit ; and stopped immediately at a small fountain for lunch, under fig trees.

Opposite to us, on the left, were the pastures of the Merj ; where at this time many horses were tethered, belonging probably to the government. There were several tents for their keepers. We had crossed a portion of the tract, and admired the luxuriant pasturage ; the white clover being in some parts eight inches high. We had seen the same yesterday around Kedes. In this region, for the first time, we fell in with the tall silver poplars, so common in the neighbourhood of Damascus.

Setting off again at 12.30, we soon diverged from the Khiyam road towards the left, on a road leading to Judeideh, in order to visit the large Tell at the northwestern extremity of the Merj. In ten minutes we were opposite, as we supposed, to the great fountain of the Merj, situated (as we had heard and as Dr Smith had been told on a former journey¹) in the northern part of the grove of trees on our left. But at 12.50 there was on our left a large reservoir, or rather a solid wall or dam, now broken, below large fountains issuing from under a low bank ; and evidently intended to raise the water to a sufficient height for mills or for irrigating the whole plain. When I passed this way again the next week with Mr Thomson, we understood that this was the main fountain, the true Birket Derdârah.

In a few minutes more we struck across the fields without a path, directly towards the Tell. At 1.05 we crossed with some difficulty a rivulet from a narrow arm of the plain running up northeast ; and at 1.10 reached the foot of the Tell. It is usually known as Tell Dibbin, from a village not far distant ; and is also called Tell Nâma. In the plain, on the north and northeast, at the foot of the Tell, are traces of ruins ; among which we found fragments of columns. The ascent of the Tell is very steep on this side. The top is a level tract of considerable extent, under good cultivation, with a few traces of heaps of stones, as of former buildings ; and perhaps of walls on the east and west. The height of the Tell above the plain is one hundred and ten feet, according to the measurement of Dr De

¹ *Ms. Journ.* April 25, 1844.

Forest.¹ Along its eastern foot runs the great road from Sidon to Hāsbeiya and Damascus, coming up from the Jisr el-Khūr-dela. This is the most level and feasible of all the routes between Damascus and the coast ; and perhaps the only one on which a carriage road could well be constructed.²

The plain of the Merj at this upper end is 1822 feet above the sea, according to Dr De Forest. Although the plain appears so level, it yet declines greatly towards the south ; being some 330 feet lower in that part, towards Mutlilleh.

This Tell Dibbin is a noble site for a city ; overlooking as it does, the whole plain of the Merj, and commanding one of the great roads between the seacoast and the interior. Unmistakable traces likewise show, that in very ancient times the place was occupied by a city. Shall we perhaps be wrong in regarding it as the site of the ancient *Ijon* (Heb. *Iyôn*), the name of which has been perpetuated in the Arabic '*Ayûn*' ?³ We have a like analogy in the case of Jabesh-gilead ; where its name as a city has perished, but has been handed down in connection with the valley, Wady Yâbis. *Ijon* is twice mentioned as the northernmost of the cities in this region ; once where Benhadad, at the call of Asa, ravages "*Ijon, Dan, Abel, and all Cinneroth ;*"⁴ and again when Tiglath-pileser invaded the land, and carried away into captivity the inhabitants of "*Ijon, and Abel, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor.*"⁵ After the captivity *Ijon* is no more heard of ; and its Tell and a few fragments are all that remain to mark its probable site.⁶

We left the foot of the Tell at 1.15, by the Sidon road and hastened on towards Hāsbeiya ; passing up northeast through the long narrow arm of the plain, before mentioned. In it was the brook we had crossed ; which seemed at one place on our right to have once had a large dam, now broken. At 2 o'clock we rose from the extremity of this arm upon a small higher plain.⁷ This we now crossed towards the ridge which separates it from Wady et-Teim. The plain terminated at 2.15 ; and

¹ Bearings from Tell Dibbin : el-Judeideh N. Taum Nihā 11°. Khiyam 137°. el-Hürriweh 189°. Meshhad 211°. el-Khureibeh 228°. Kulā'ât 241°.—Meshhad is a summit with a Wely north of Hûnin, overlooking the Merj.

² Comp. W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1846, p. 207.

³ Heb. יָיוֹן pr. 'a ruin,' 1 K. 15, 20. 2 K. 15, 29. 2 Chr. 16, 4. Sept. *Alôv* 2 Chr. 16, 4. Josephus *Alôv*, Antt. 8, 12, 4. The Arabic '*Ayûn*' has changed the *Alôv* to '*Âin*, and signifies 'fountains.'

⁴ 1 K. 15, 20. 2 Chr. 16, 4.

⁵ 2 K. 15, 29.

⁶ The possible identity of *Ijon* and '*Ayûn*' was suggested by the reviewer of Raumer's Palästina in the Münchner Gel. Anzeigen, 1836, p. 902. He writes however *Adschun*. The same suggestion was made independently in my former work, edit. 1, Vol. III, p. 346, and App. p. 136. The identity is assumed by W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1846, p. 204 ; comp. p. 214. Ritter Erdk. XV. p. 241 sq.

⁷ Bearings at 2 o'clock : Khûlwât el-Biyâd 72°. Ibl 135°. Tell Dibbin 224°. el-Khureibeh 226°. Kulā'ât 231°. el-Judeideh 262°. Neby Sijad ? 324°.

just there a Wady breaks down through the ridge to the Nahr Hasbány. Its high southern declivity is prettily wooded.¹ The path keeps along high on the northern side; and at 2.30 we turned north around the shoulder of the mountain.

The Hasbány was now deep below us in its narrow dell; while immediately overagainst us Jebel esh-Sheikh towered in grandeur. Here for the first time I became aware of the lower parallel ridge along the western side of Hermon, perhaps two thirds as high as the main ridge; and separated from the latter by lofty and almost inaccessible valleys. This lower ridge has been mentioned by no traveller.² Opposite to the point where we now were, an enormous gorge, Wady Shib'a, breaks down through this parallel ridge; and, crossing an open slope at its foot, cleaves again the line of rocky hills which border the stream of Wady et-Teim. Further north, this valley of the Hasbány, here so narrow, opens out into a fine basin of cultivated land; the bottom of which is covered with olive and mulberry trees, and the western slope tilled to the top; while the eastern side is too rocky for tillage, except in patches.

We now descended very steeply towards the north into this basin; and reached, at 2.45, the large ruined Khân at the foot of the hill. This was a quadrangle eighty paces square; with ornamented entrances from the east and west. It is now only a place for holding a great weekly fair on Tuesdays; at which the peasantry collect from all the region round about, to buy and sell whatever they have need of, or wish to dispose of. The Khân, it seems, was not sufficiently capacious for the venders to expose their wares; and hence some sixty stalls, arranged in rows, have been erected for that purpose on the slope of the hill south of the Khân.³

Keeping the road on the west side of the stream, we had at 3 o'clock the village of Kaukaba high above us on the left hand slope, three quarters of a mile distant. At 3.25 we reached the northern part of the basin, where the valley again becomes narrow. Here we forded the river, a fine large full stream from the great fountain not far above; and having at this point a mill-race and mill on its western bank. From the ford we proceeded up the valley eastward to Hásbeiya. The valley is called Wady Büsis; it is at first quite open and broad; then narrow

¹ South of this wooded tract, on the top of the ridge, lies Ibl; from which the following bearings were taken in 1844: Judeideh 291°. Khiyam 210½°. Meshhad 222°. Tell el-Hürraweh 196°. Kefr Shûba 118½°. Kefr Hamâm 108°. Rasheiyet el-Fukhâr 95½°. 'Ain Jurfâ 65°. Abu Kamhah 52°. Neby Sijud 325°.

² It is described in the valuable Geological Report of Dr Anderson, published later in the same year, appended to Lieut. Lynch's report; see Lynch's Official Report, 1852, p. 112 sq.

³ See W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1846, p. 186.

and rocky, and the road everywhere most execrable. The stones are volcanic. At 3.55 we were opposite the western part of the town ; and passing still up the valley around the projecting hill on which the city lies, we came at 4.05 to the mission house in the eastern part.

Here we found the Rev. Mr Thomson of Sidon, who had been awaiting our arrival for two or three days. The house was occupied by John Wortabet, a pupil of the missionaries ; who already had charge of the recently formed Protestant church in Hasbeiya, of which he has since been ordained and installed as pastor. His mother and sister were residing with him ; the latter likewise educated in the missionary schools. In this welcome home I was detained for four days, by the illness which still hung upon me. To the inmates of that home I owe many thanks for their kind offices and unwearied hospitality.

We paid off our muleteers, who had been hired only until we should reach this place. They had often quarrelled among themselves, so that I had no desire to retain them longer ; more especially as there was a prospect of being detained here for several days. One only was kept to accompany Dr Smith to Beirût.

Friday, May 21st. Dr Smith and Rashid left very early for Sidon, which they reached at evening ; and arrived at Beirût early in the afternoon of the next day. Of all our former company, only Beshârah was now left to me ; and he remained faithful, active, and obliging to the end. Mr Thomson took henceforth the place of Dr Smith, and had brought with him his head family servant ; so that all our travelling arrangements continued as before.

Both this day and the following I remained quiet, and mostly in bed. Mr Wortabet had studied medicine under the three missionary physicians then in the country ;¹ and to his advice, coupled with rest, I owe my speedy recovery. The time did not pass heavily ; as I was interested in this near view of native manners and customs, and also of the daily experience of the missionaries in their intercourse with the people.

A cage with a pair of cream-coloured pigeons from Damascus hung in the piazza. They were of the species called by the Arabs *Ya Karim*, from the reputed sound of their cooing ; but this sound is very difficult to be made out by Franks. The swallows too made themselves quite at home ; and built their nests even in the kitchen.

Sunday, May 23d. Public worship was held forenoon and afternoon in the large parlour of the mission house, which

¹ He has since received the honorary degree of M. D. from Yale College.
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served as a chapel. Mr Wortabet preached in the morning, and Mr Thomson in the afternoon. The audience numbered from thirty to forty; and sometimes amounts to a hundred. I tried to be present; but a faintness coming over me, I was compelled to retire to my bed.—A subscription was already on foot for erecting a Protestant church in Hásbeiya; and a building sufficiently large for the wants of the community has since been completed.

This missionary station has long been under the supervision of Messrs Thomson and Van Dyck, who reside at Sidon, but frequently visit Hásbeiya for days and weeks at a time. The history of the Protestant movement in Hásbeiya is one of great interest; but is too well known to be repeated here.¹

Monday, May 24th. Having regained my strength in part, I rode out towards evening with Mr Thomson to visit the fountain of the Jordan. The road leads down along the northern side of the valley to the bridge over the stream, a strong stone structure, nearly half a mile north of the ford by which we crossed on Thursday. The fountain is some thirty rods north of the bridge. Here, at the end of the ridge running down on the north of Hásbeiya, is a volcanic bluff called Rás el-'Aujeh; at the foot of which the fountain bursts forth in the very channel of the valley.² It sends forth at once a large volume of water; and is called Neba' el-Hasbány, or also Rás en-Neba'. A strong and permanent dam is thrown across just below the fountain. A head of water is thus raised and a small pond formed, from which the water is turned into a wide mill-race. In this way all the beauty and romance of the spot is destroyed. The fountain, as such, is not visible; except that just above the dam the water is seen boiling up on the surface of the pool, and quite across it. There are a few trees along the bank, and a large rock rises on the east side of the pool.

This fountain is the furthest perennial source of the Jordan. We passed on up the valley for some distance; but found at this season only a small stream coming down from above, said to be the product of small fountains higher up. Indeed, when we crossed the valley a few days afterwards not far above, there was at first no stream visible. Yet during the rainy season a great body of water descends from the upper part of Wady et-Teim and the heights of Jebel esh-Sheikh around Rasheiya, causing a formidable torrent along the valley. For some miles above the

¹ See the Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for several years past; also the volumes of the Missionary Herald.

² Bearings from Rás el-'Aujeh, above the great fountain, 1844: Ibl 225°. Khi-

yam 221°. Meshhad 228½°. Kaukaba 257°. Hasbeiya 156°. 'Ain Künyeh 121°. Mimis 76°. Kufeir 69°. Dhuneibeh 51°. Libbeiya 35°. Course of the Wady above, 58°.

fountain the valley is narrow, with a rocky bed ; but still higher up it again spreads out into a broad rolling basin.

We now proceeded to the famous bitumen pits, situated on the western declivity, opposite the ford and about a quarter of an hour distant from the latter. The surface at the wells is a gentle slope of indurated marl, with nodules of flint ; but nothing to indicate bitumen. There are some twenty or thirty wells ; some of them fifty feet deep. New ones are often opened ; and old ones, which have been abandoned, are sometimes sunk deeper. The strata of mineral at the bottom are then worked horizontally, and the product drawn up by a windlass. The bitumen is hard, and is regarded as of the finest quality. The tract and the wells belong to the government, and are farmed by those who desire to work them. The working for the year had ceased a few days before. The bitumen is sold chiefly at Damascus. It is mainly used on vines, to keep off insects which destroy the grapes. It melts with a strong heat, and being then mixed with a little oil, is daubed upon the vine near its root.¹

From the bitumen pits there is a good view of the west side of Jebel esh-Sheikh, and of its lower parallel ridge. The lofty main ridge, as here and elsewhere seen from the side, has two summits ; of which the northeasternmost is much the highest, perhaps by a thousand feet. Both of these were now marked with strips of snow and ice radiating down their sides.² The parallel ridge is some two or three thousand feet lower ; and runs the whole length of esh-Sheikh, from near Râsheiya to the southern end over Bâniâs. It is unbroken, save once near the village of Shib'a ; where the high upper valley beginning near the northeastern end breaks down through to Wady et-Teim.³ Not far south of that point is a water-shed in the high valley ; which then again declines towards the southwest, and descends to the southern plain, not far west of Bâniâs, through the deep gorge of Wady el-'Asal, on the east of a high conical peak.

From the wells there is a view of the higher parts of the town of Hasbeiya. We returned home by way of the ford.

¹ See also Seetzen's *Reisen*, I. pp. 324, 325, 329, 330. Burckhardt *Trav. in Syria* p. 34. Dr Anderson's *Geol. Report*, in Lynch's *Official Report*, 1852, p. 116.

² The Rev. J. L. Porter of Damascus visited the summit of Hermon in the autumn of 1852. He describes the highest peak as composed strictly of three peaks, so near each other as to appear only as one

from below. He speaks of the ridge running out towards Bâniâs as much lower than that summit. Probably in looking down upon it longitudinally, the lower summit mentioned in the text did not prominently strike the eye. See *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, p. 55.

³ See above, p. 376.

The important valley, 'Wady et-Teim, was the refuge of Derazy, the founder of the Druze religion, early in the eleventh century ; and is therefore connected with the earliest history of that singular race.¹ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the valley is mentioned by Abulfeda and edh-Dhâhîry.²

The short valley, in which Hâsbeiya almost lies hidden, commences at no great distance east of the town.³ The head of it is in a remarkable amphitheatre, enclosed on three sides by high hills, terraced and covered with vines, fig trees, and olive trees, to their top. The western part is formed by the rocky hill on and around which the city is built, projecting from the southern hills, and confining the valley to a narrow dell along its northern side ; thus almost completing the circle of the amphitheatre. The hills on the north and south of this head of the valley rise not less than six or seven hundred feet above it. The eastern side is still higher ; the western much lower. The top of this lower projecting hill, above the narrow valley, is occupied by the palace (so called) of the Emir and its appurtenances. Below the palace, on the western declivity, is the Jewish quarter. Back of the palace, towards the south, are the houses of the town rising far up along the side of the higher hill, and covering a large space. They extend also down the northeastern side of the lower projecting hill, quite to the bed of the valley. Indeed, they have already begun to spread across the channel towards the northeast ; where, on account of the steepness of the ground, the buildings stand as high as in the old part of the town. The Bûsis, after leaving its dell, soon expands ; and its channel, passing through a wide open tract, enters the Hasbâny a little above the ford.

A good view of Hâsbeiya is obtained from the northern hill, on the road leading to the bridge, which we followed on Monday. This is the near view, looking down upon the whole town. The houses are seen extending far up towards the south and southwest of the Emir's palace ; and then on the east down to the water-course and across it. This last is the Protestant quarter. Another beautiful view of the town and amphitheatre is from the little village of 'Ain Kûnyeh, directly east of Hâsbeiya,

¹ See De Sacy *Exposé de la Relig. des Druzes*, I. p. cccixxiii, sq. *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1843, p. 220 sq.

² Abulf. *Tab. Syr.* ed. Köhler, p. 20. edh-Dhâhîry speaks of Wady et-Teim as a district in the province of Damascus, containing 360 villages ; see Rosenm. *Analect. Arab.* III. p. 22. Lat. p. 46.

³ In describing Hâsbeiya and the region around, I have the benefit of a manuscript journal by Dr E. Smith ; who spent seven

weeks in the place in 1844.—The earlier travellers seem not to have visited Wady et-Teim. Fürer von Haimendorf passed along it from the Hûleh to th Bûkâ'a and Ba'albek in 1666 ; p. 280, Nürnberg. 1646. Seetzen visited and described the region in 1806 ; *Reisen*, Berlin 1854, I p. 323 sq. Zach's *Monat. Corr.* XVIII. pp. 340-344. Then followed Burckhardt *Trav. in Syr.* pp. 32-43. *Comp. Ritter Erdk.* XV. p. 152 sq.

and half an hour distant, on the very brow of the amphitheatre. A third and more distant view is in the opposite direction, from the high ridge west of Wady el-Teim. Looking from this point about E. S. E. up the Wady Bûsis, the eye takes in the whole valley and amphitheatre with the town. Here especially the amphitheatre is seen to be a deep basin sunk in the midst of a broad ridge descending from Jebel esh-Sheikh westwards ; which basin the narrow valley drains to the Hasbâny. The latitude of Hâsbeiya, as determined by Lieut. Lynch, is N. $33^{\circ} 25' 13''$.

Large quantities of grapes are raised around Hâsbeiya ; the southern hill is covered with vineyards. The grapes are mostly eaten or made into raisins ; while some are trodden and the juice boiled down to form the syrup called *Dibs*. Walking out one afternoon with Mr Wortabet, along the upper water-course in the northeast quarter, we came upon a press for the preparation of Dibs. There were two shallow vats side by side, in which the grapes were trodden. From these the juice was drawn off into a small channel outside, and conducted into three smaller and deep vats, where it was left to settle and become clear. All these vats were excavated in the solid rock. The juice was then conveyed to a large boiler just below, where it was boiled away to the proper consistence ; and then, lastly, was put to cool in two or three still smaller vats.

The Emirs of Hâsbeiya are a Muslim branch of the house of Shehâb ; distinct from those who have so long ruled in Mount Lebanon. The head of the house is the hereditary governor of the district of Hâsbeiya ; but dependent of course upon the Pasha of Damascus. The palace, so called, is a shabby concern ; but covers a large plot of ground, and is the dwelling of various branches of the family. The present Emir was regarded as a weak and faithless man, blowing hot and cold with the same breath. He was at this time rather favourably disposed towards the missionaries, and Mr Wortabet was acting as his family physician. Yet he was ever ready to vex the Protestants ; and was even now refusing to let them pay their taxes except as members of the Greek church ; directly in the face of the law and of the practice every where else.

The highest point of the hill above Hâsbeiya on the south, is crowned by a Druze place of worship, or collection of chapels, called Khûlwât el-Biyâd. These Khûlwehs are generally situated quite alone, on the top of a hill, on the brink of a precipice, or the borders of a forest ; and from this their solitary position they take their name, signifying 'solitude.' They are hardly distinguished in size and structure from common dwelling houses. The Khûlwât el-Biyâd is the most celebrated of all the sacred places of the Druzes. It was plundered in 1838, after

the decisive battle of Shib'a ; the secret adytum was entered ; and the sacred books contained in several chests were scattered throughout the country and the world.¹

The Khülwât el-Biyâd is distant about twenty minutes from Hâsbeiya ; and is situated a few rods west of the road leading to 'Ain Jûrfa and Hibbâriyeh. The position commands a view over the Merj 'Ayûn and the district of Shûkîf, nearly to the sea ; and the view towards the south takes in the Hûleh. For extent and beauty of prospect few places equal it.²

The little village of 'Ain Kûnyeh, half an hour east of Hâsbeiya, has been already mentioned. From a fine fountain there, a small aqueduct conveys water to the palace of the Emirs below. Hence the name of the village.³

Another village, Shuweiya, lies fifteen minutes from 'Ain Kûnyeh higher up, in nearly the same direction from Hâsbeiya. It is inhabited by Druzes, and is about half an hour distant from the Khülwât el-Biyâd. It lies on another peak among this amphitheatre of hills. This point is higher than either of the preceding, and the prospect more extensive, but less interesting. Towards the north the village of 'Ain 'Ata, marked by a white dome, is seen high up near the base of Jebel esh-Sheikh, in the district of Rasheiya. From it a high ridge extends down to the Hasbâny, and forms the boundary between the two districts of Rasheiya and Hâsbeiya ; or, as they are called, upper and lower Wady et-Teim. Between this ridge and the Bûsis, two Wadys descend to the Hasbâny. The northernmost has the large Christian village of Kufeir on its northern declivity ; and the village called Khûlwet el-Kufeir on its southern. The southern Wady is much the broadest ; and indeed may perhaps be regarded as divided into two by a low ridge, on which stands the village of Mimis. Higher up, on its northern side, is the village of 'Ain Tinta. Kaukaba, Libbeiya, Neby Sûfa (or Thelthâtha), and Muhaiditheh, are places on the eastern declivity of the ridge which borders the valley of the Hasbâny on the west. Above Shuweiya, towards the east, only a narrow ridge separates the valley of Mimis from that of Shib'a ; and connects the hill of Shuweiya

¹ E. Smith in Miss. Herald, 1845, p. 46. The same writer says further ; " Women are universally excluded from residing in Khûlwehs ; but the occupants often have their families in some adjacent building. At Khülwât el-Biyâd, we were told, that women only came up from the town [Hâsbeiya] in the morning, to cook and clean and keep house for the men, and went down again to their houses in the city in the evening, not being allowed to lodge on the hill ; " *ibid.*

² Bearings at Khülwât el-Biyâd, 1844 :

Tell el-Hürâweh 203°. Khyam 229°. Ibl 238°. Judeideh 256°. Kû'at esh-Shûkîf 249°. Kaukaba 298°. Neby 'Aly et-Tâhir 264°. Neby Sijud 301°. Libbeiya 27°. 'Ain Kûnyeh 67°. 'Ain 'Ata 63½°. Shuweiya 80°. Hibbâriyeh 147°. 'Ain Tannûrah N. el-Muhaiditheh 38°.
³ Bearings at 'Ain Kûnyeh, 1844 : Muhaiditheh 34°. Khülwât el-Biyâd 245°. Kû'at esh-Shûkîf 248°. Hâsbeiya 270°. Neby Sijud 292°. Taum Niha, S. peak 329½°.

with the mountain back. Along this ridge passes the road from Hâsbeiya to Shib'a ; from which also there branches off a summer road to Damascus.¹

The ridge extending down from 'Ain Kūnyeh, on the north of Hâsbeiya, separates Wady Būsis from the valley of Mîmis ; and has at its lower extremity the bluff called Râs el-'Aujeh, already mentioned. The elevation of several points in and around Hâsbeiya was determined by Dr De Forest the same year, with the aneroid barometer, as follows :

	Eng. Feet
Khân,	1609
Ford,	1654
Fountain of the Hasbāny,	1700
Hâsbeiya, Palace,	2160
Road near Khūlwât el-Biyâd	2711

¹ Bearings at Shuweiya, 1844 : 'Ain 278½. Judeideh 257°. Kū'at esh-Shūkif 56°. 'Ain Tinta 35½°. Libbeiya 11½°. 251°. Ibl 246½°. Khiyam 239°. Mesh-Dhūbeh 20½°. Mîmis 5°. Neby Sūfa had 233½°. Hibbārtiyeh 214°. el-Ferdīs 20½°. el-Muhaiditheh 32°. Kaukaba 247°. 'Ain Jūrfa 251°. Hâsbeiya 281°.

SECTION IX.

FROM HASBEIYA TO BANIAS, AND BACK.

THE state of agitation and disquiet among the Druzes of Lebanon, already alluded to, had not yet been wholly allayed. Straggling bands of that people, or of those acting under colour of their name, were often heard of in these regions, as committing deeds of violence and robbery. Such rumours reached us almost daily at Hâsbeiya ; lying as it does on one of the main roads between the Druzes of Lebanon and those of Haurân ; and itself too numbering many Druzes among its inhabitants, some of whom are men of influence.¹

What more directly affected our plans was the report, that a party of fifteen or twenty Druzes from the Metn had posted themselves in a wood near Bâniâs, and were robbing whomsoever they pleased ; though not all that passed that way. A Jew had been robbed on Saturday, and several peasants on Sunday. But on Monday, an English gentleman with his family, including three ladies, came through from Bâniâs to Hâsbeiya without seeing any one. It was said the party had sent defiance to the Emir of Hâsbeiya, as the governor of the district. At any rate, that functionary was cowed, and took not a single step against the marauders. All the roads to Damascus were regarded as unsafe.

As we purposed to set off for Bâniâs, if possible, on Tuesday, we took the precaution to obtain a letter from the chief Druze Sheikh of the region, residing in Hâsbeiya.² He gave it with readiness ; and also agreed to send with us two of his own people armed. We engaged likewise three Druze muleteers for the excursion.

¹ See more on this subject, p. 8, above. translation is subjoined in Note V, end of

² As this letter is a model in its way, a the volume.

Tuesday, May 25th.—This morning, to the astonishment of every one, the weather threatened rain; and two slight showers actually fell. As my strength was now partially restored, we concluded to set off and travel leisurely. Our party consisted of Mr Thomson and myself, our two servants, the three Druze muleteers, and the Sheikh's two armed retainers. An active young man, desiring to go to Bâniâs on business, asked permission to join us; and made himself quite useful during the excursion. We sent forward the muleteers and baggage to Judeideh, with one of the armed men; we ourselves proposing to go with the other by way of Bûrghûz and the chasm of the Litâny.

We left the mission house at 11 o'clock; reached the ford of the Hasbâny in forty minutes; and turning to the left, came, at 11.50, to the fork of the road to Kaukaba. We passed in sight of the Khân, where there was this day a regular fair. This is much frequented by the people of Lebanon, the Hûleh, Wady et-Teim, and even from Haurân. The light showers to day had thinned the number somewhat; yet we saw and fell in with many. At 12.05 we passed just under Kaukaba lying high on the western slope; and stopped five minutes under the olive trees on account of another sprinkling of rain. The village, as usual, looked much the best when seen from a distance.

A broad and deep valley, well cultivated, extends up westwards from the Khân, breaking through the western ridge and cleaving it more than half way to its base. The ascent in it from the Hasbâny is gradual and gentle; but on the western side, towards the Litâny, it descends suddenly and steeply to the river just below the bridge of Bûrghûz. Through this notch passes the road from the Khân to that bridge; and thence up the side of Lebanon along Wady Sifsâf to Kefr Hûneh and Jezzîn.¹ The valley of this notch is understood to separate Merj 'Ayûn from the district of Hâsbeiya; and is of course the dividing line, in this quarter, between the Pashaliks of Sidon and Damascus.

We kept along from Kaukaba high up around the shoulder of the northern hill; and then descended gradually to join the road from the Khân upon the water-shed. This we struck at 12.30, and began immediately the steep descent towards the bridge. At 12.50 we stopped on the plateau of the little Druze village of Bûrghûz; the latter being about forty rods north of us, and the river and bridge still two hundred feet or more below us. The bridge is said to be Roman. We here could see the character of the river and its chasm for some distance above and below.

Immediately north of Bûrghûz, a broad low spur or swell of

¹ Comp. Wilson *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 192 sq.

ground is thrown off from the base of Lebanon across the river to the eastern ridge. This swell is a mile or more in width. The river breaks down through the whole distance by a singular chasm, very narrow and winding, with banks from three hundred to five hundred feet high and often approaching the perpendicular. Much of this chasm we were here, or afterwards, able to overlook. It makes many short turns and sharp angles. We could see the river at the bottom, like a small mountain brook, tumbling, foaming, and roaring along its steep rocky bed. South of Bürghüz, for a short distance, the ground is lower, and the valley of the river broader; and advantage is taken of this for a road down the steep banks, and a bridge over the stream. Just below the bridge the river turns westwards for a little; and then again towards the south.

We stopped here near Bürghüz for twenty minutes, partly on account of another slight shower. But this was the last; and the afternoon was clear and cool.

We set off again at 1.10, for Belât; not by the usual road, but keeping along through the fields, without a path, as near as possible to the chasm, which the river has here cut through another ridge extending out from Lebanon towards the south. This ridge is obviously a prolongation of the southern foot of Lebanon itself, passing over into the lower ridge on the east of esh-Shükif. The river strikes and enters it very obliquely not far below the bridge of Bürghüz; and cleaves it lengthwise, but nearest the eastern side; until just below Belât the stream turns almost at a right angle, and cuts through the ridge to its western side. Here, issuing into a more open tract, it turns south again, and flows under esh-Shükif. The ridge thus left upon the eastern side is very thin, sharp, and steep. We kept along near its summit; sometimes looking down into the abyss of the torrent on our right; and sometimes passing around on the eastern side of high sharp peaks. It was a dizzy and dangerous path, and the ride highly exciting.¹

The general course of the chasm from near Jisr Bürghüz to Belât, is from about N. E. by N. to S. W. by S. The depth varies, according to the hills on each side, from eight hundred to twelve hundred feet. The chasm is thus far tolerably straight; except one obtuse angle towards the south in approaching Belât. The sides are very steep, but not perpendicular, and are covered with shrubs; resembling the high banks of the same river east of Jisr Ká'ka'iyeh; though the chasm is here narrower and deeper.²

We came to the little village of Belât at 2.25, situated on

¹ Bearings at 1.30: Bürghüz N. 75° E.
esh-Shükif S. 30° W.

² See above, p. 53.

the eastern side of the chasm, with a broad tract of high ground behind it. From the village we descended five minutes to reach the brow of the cliffs. Here, just before the gulf turns west, the sides become more perpendicular, or at least exceedingly precipitous. Eagles were soaring over the chasm, having their nests in the western cliffs. At the bottom, just north of the village, is a mill; and a dizzy path leads down to it. The depth of the chasm on the eastern side is seven hundred feet; as ascertained with the aneroid by Mr Thomson and Dr De Forest a few days previously. The village lies still some two or three hundred feet higher; and the hills further north are yet loftier. The western cliff is not less than some nine hundred feet above the stream; and its top is apparently a fine level plateau of green grass studded with small oak trees. The bottom of the chasm is quite narrow, and is wholly filled by the stream. It was a rude scene of wildness and grandeur, never to be forgotten. I know of nothing similar to it, unless perhaps the celebrated chasm of the river Salzach at the Pass Lueg, on the way from Salzburg to Gastein.

In the sides of the chasm, opposite to Belât, there house great numbers of the little animal called Webr, the *Shaphan* or coney of Scripture, the *Hyrax Syriacus* of naturalists. Mr Thomson in his former visits had seen them coming out of the clefts and holes of the rocks; in winter at midday; in summer only towards evening.¹

We left Belât at 2.55, for Dibbin and Judeideh, on a general course south. At 3.05 we were opposite the bend in the chasm of the river, and could look down its westerly course. The sides are here nearly perpendicular, and the chasm still narrower. At the western end is a spot called the Khûtweh, where the river is said to be more compressed than at any other point. The stream has worn itself a deep channel or flume in the rock; so narrow, it was said, that one can step across it.²

The place where we stood is an ancient site, now called Neby Haskin. Here were fragments of two columns, and also two sarcophagi cut in an isolated rock. A small Wady comes in here from the south, draining a pretty plain lying towards Judeideh. This plain is parallel to the arm of the Meij which we

¹ See more on this animal, Gesen. Heb. Lex. art. פֶּשֶׁת. Thesaur. p. 1467. See-tzen in Ritter's Erdk. XV. p. 596. Wilson Lands of the Bible II. p. 28 sq. Fresnel in Journ. Asiat. Ser. III. Tom. V. p. 514.

² This chasm had been visited by Dr De Forest a few days before, who thus speaks of it: "For some 250 feet the river runs through a strait, with a varying width from six to twelve feet, writhing as

if in torture and hastening to escape from so narrow and rough a bed. At one place the width is barely three feet. The swiftness of the current prevented our ascertaining its depth. A pole eight feet long did not reach the bottom; and broke short off in the current on a second attempt. The Khûtweh is the western termination of this remarkable pass; the banks below having a more gentle slope." Ma. Journ.

ascended on Thursday last ; and is separated from the latter only by a small ridge. At 3.20 we passed Dibbin in the plain ; and at 3.35 reached Judeideh, on the western side of the head of the plain.¹

Here we rested for a time, and then sent on the muleteers by the direct road to Khiyam ; while we proceeded by way of Tell Dibbin, in order to look for some excavated sepulchres we had heard of. Leaving Judeideh at 4.45, we came at 5.10 to the west side of the great Tell. Finding nothing here, we returned on our path a little, to a knoll, where is a mere excavation, which may, or may not, have been a sepulchre. We now at 5.15 struck across the fields southeastward to the road in the Merj, which we had left on Thursday in order to reach the Tell ; and followed it till 5.45, when we were opposite the broken dam and reservoir of the great fountain.² We here turned to the left, and ascended the long declivity to Khiyam, which we reached at 6.15. The direct distance from Judeideh is about three miles. We pitched our tent among the threshing floors of the village.

Khiyam is the chief town in the district of Merj 'Ayūn ; and is reckoned at five hundred men, indicating a population of about two thousand souls. The inhabitants are mostly Metāwileh, with some Greeks and Greek Catholics. There are a few Protestants from the latter sects ; and a Protestant school had been opened.

We could here look down upon both Merj 'Ayūn in the west, and Wady et-Teim in the east. The descent into the latter is gradual and easy ; the valley is broader, and the hills in it lower, than further north. Indeed, at this point the hills nearly cease. Quite a number of villages were likewise in sight.³

The evening was beautiful. The moon, just in her second quarter, shone brightly in a cloudless and serene sky ; and the heavens were studded with innumerable stars.

Wednesday, May 26th. The sun rose in purest splendour from behind the loftiest peak of Hermon. The mountain lay before us in all its grandeur, presenting a full view of its western side from the base to the summit.

Leaving Khiyam at 7.10, we bent our course towards el-Ghūjar and Tell el-Kādy. Keeping at first along the brow of the ridge, we had at 7.30 from a projecting point a view of the whole of the Hūleh, lake and all. The marsh seems to extend up on the western side further than in the middle. We soon

¹ Bearings at Judeideh : Dibbin N. 15° E. Ibl S. 70° E. Khiyam S. 20° E. 3 m.

² See above, p. 374.

³ Bearings at Khiyam : Ibl 30½°. 'Ain Kūnyeh 65°. Khūlwāt el-Biyād 50°. Raasheiyat el-Fūkhār 73°. Keḥr Hamām 96°. Keḥr Shūba 106°. el-Mārieh 123°.

Tibnān 265°. Kū'at esh-Shūkif 271°. Kū'at 271½°. Tell Dibbin 313°. Judeideh 335°. Church in do. 330°. Neby Sijid 330½°. Taum Niha (south peak) 15°. Jebel Sannān 37°. Tell el-Kādy 176°.

began to descend obliquely and rather steeply towards the Hùleh, by a rocky path ; and at 8.10 were at the foot of the declivity and upon the plain. At 8.15 the ruin of Serada was on our right, just above the base of the declivity, a quarter of a mile distant from us. It has several excavated sepulchres, now used as storehouses for grain. The ruins of a former village are seen around and below the caverns.¹

Nearly opposite Khiyam the hills within Wady et-Teim disappear ; and the valley opens out towards the south into a wide and tolerably level plain, extending from the bottom of the western ridge to the very base of Jebel esh-Sheikh. But this plain in the north is much higher than the region around Tell el-Kâdy ; and the latter again is considerably higher than the lower plain of the Hùleh. In passing to Tell el-Kâdy we descended no less than three steps or offsets, here running in the direction from northeast to southwest. Tell el-Kâdy itself is connected with a fourth like offset ; and there are still two others further south. The line of these last three offsets runs more from east to west. The difference of elevation between one plateau and another is in general not less than fifty feet ; and sometimes more.

We were now upon the first and highest plateau, here called Ard Serada ; and kept on across it in the direction of the village el-Ghūjar, marked by the white dome of a Wely. The region is volcanic. Towards the eastern side of this plateau the Hasbâny has its course, in a deep and precipitous gulf. At 8.50 we came to the deserted village of Luweizeh, on the west bank of the gulf ; and descended steeply and with difficulty among the trap boulders and globular basalt to the river at 9 o'clock. It is here larger than at Hâsbeiya, having received the stream coming from 'Ain Seraiyib, under the western base of Jebel esh-Sheikh.

Five minutes below the ford is the great fountain called Luweizâny, bursting forth under isolated strata of limestone rock on the western margin of the stream. Thickets of oleanders, and marshy ground, prevented our reaching the fountain ; but the size of the stream below was evidently very much increased. The source was said to be as copious as the Neba' Hasbâny, and less fluctuating. The bottom of the valley seemed here full of springs ; and several small ones were bursting forth upon the east side.

Starting again at 9.35, we immediately ascended the eastern bank very obliquely, and by an easier road than that on the western bank. Here again was the globular basalt. For a

¹ Seetzen speaks of Serada as in his day inhabited by Christians and Druzes ; *Rai-sen* I. p. 332.

part of the way the path runs along the brink of a precipice, and is dangerous. We could now look down upon the short limestone strata over the fountain ; all the rest is trap. Indeed, the river has worn for itself this chasm in the hard trap rock. The depth is from two to three hundred feet ; the chasm is quite narrow, with very steep, and in some places perpendicular banks. It is remarkable, that the Hasbâny on issuing from its mountain glen, nearly opposite Khiyam, into the great volcanic plain towards the Hûleh, does not follow the lowest part of the plain ; but keeps along in its deep chasm through the western and highest plateau.

As we approached el-Ghūjar, situated on the eastern bank of the gulf, we struck down through the fields towards the left, in order to avoid the village and gain the road leading from it to Tell el-Kâdy. The inhabitants of Ghūjar, like those of 'Ain Fit and Za'ûra, are Nusairiyeh ; and these three villages contain the only people of that sect in all the region. At 9.45 the village with its white dome, was close on our right, some forty rods distant. It lies just on the brow of the first offset, between the highest plateau and the next lower. The bridge known as Jisr el-Ghūjar, is at a considerable distance below the village.¹ On each of the two next lower plateaus was a small stream running through it. On the third was a much larger stream, to which we came at 10.15 ; it comes from a fountain at the foot of Jebel esh-Sheikh, and falls into the river that issues from Tell el-Kâdy. The path led along through wheat fields and among heaps of black basaltic rocks. We reached the Tell at 10.35, and rested beneath the shade of the noble Sindîân.

On approaching Tell el-Kâdy from this quarter, the first object which strikes the eye is an immense stream of the most limpid water pouring from its western side. The Tell is oblong ; its greatest length extending from west to east. Its height, on the northern part, is some thirty or forty feet above the plain. The western end appears as if built up with large trap boulders ; and through these the water gushes out several feet above the base. It forms a little lake at the bottom, and then rushes down a steep channel to the next lower plateau. This is one of the largest fountains in the world ; the stream that issues from it being not less than four times as large as the Hasbâny, even after all the accessions which the latter receives.

Not all the water, however, from the interior of the Tell,

¹ Somewhere southwest of el-Ghūjar, and not far from ez-Zûk, on the edge of the upper plateau, would seem to lie the tract of volcanic stones and rocks, which, as it would seem, M. De Saulcy has mag-

nified into the ruins of an immense city, his Hazor ; Narrative II. pp. 516-520. We saw many such tracts bearing a striking resemblance to ancient ruins ; but never thought of making of them ruined cities.

escapes in this way. In the surface of the Tell directly above is a cavity of some extent, into which the water also rises ; and runs off, as a considerable stream, through a break in the edge of the Tell, tumbling down its southwestern side. This stream drives two mills, and furnishes water-power enough for any number. It then goes to join the other river. This of itself would be regarded as a very large fountain. Just in the break of the Tell stands the noble oak (Sindiân) under which we rested. Its vast boughs spread widely around ; though its trunk is not as large as some we had seen. Beneath it is the grave of a Muhammedan saint, a parallelogram of stones clumsily laid up, with many rags hanging upon the branches above. There are also smaller trees scattered upon the Tell, and the mills are almost buried beneath the luxuriant vegetation.

The Tell is situated about a mile and a half, a little west of south, from the southwest corner of the mountains, nearly in a line with the western base of Jebel esh-Sheikh. It is about midway of the Hûleh from west to east. It stands connected with the step or offset between two plateaus ; so that the southern side of the Tell is twice as high as the northern, rising above the plain at its southern base not less than eighty or ninety feet. The form, though oblong, is irregular. The top is an area of several acres, perhaps fifty rods in length, and somewhat highest towards the east. It is in part cultivated, and there were now patches of wheat upon it ; but the greater portion was given up to rank grass, weeds, thistles, and brushwood ; so that it could be examined only with difficulty. Singularly enough, this Tell and offset form the dividing line between the volcanic and limestone formations. The Tell and all the plain north are volcanic ; while all the plain of the Hûleh south, as far as our examination extended, is limestone.

The elevation of this spot above the sea, is six hundred forty-seven feet, as determined by Dr De Forest a few days before.

Mr Thomson was the first, I believe, to regard this Tell as the crater of an extinct volcano,¹ in which he has been followed by others. As the region is volcanic, and as the lake Phiala is held by all to be an ancient crater, there is no lack of analogy or of probability in supposing this Tell to be of the same character. Still, Dr Anderson, the geologist of the Dead Sea Expedition, saw here "no evidence of the former existence of a crater."²

¹ In 1843 ; see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1846, p. 196. I find the same idea expressed in Dr Smith's *Ma. Journal* in 1844.

² In Lynch's *Official Report*, p. 108 ; for Phiala see p. 110. Dr Wilson also says :

"The Tell seems to have had some volcanic origin ; but we did not notice upon it any appearance of a crater;" *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 174.

On the Tell, near the upper fountain, are some remains of houses, apparently not ancient. But the chief ruins are on the southern declivity of the Tell. Here are many heaps of stones, most of them volcanic and of good size. Among them are mingled blocks of limestone squared; one of these is very long, and has a groove along the middle. The town which stood here was doubtless built mainly of the volcanic stones of the region; and these remain, and are some of them quite large. Burckhardt was told of foundations a quarter of an hour further north; but we did not look for them.¹

This great fountain and stream is now called el-Leddân; which may possibly be a corruption from the name *Dan*.² Josephus, while he assumes the fountain at Bâniâs as the main source of the Jordan, perhaps on account of its somewhat longer course, speaks also of the fountains of "the lesser Jordan" at Dan.³ Of the identity of these with Tell el-Kâdy, there can be no question.

The city of Dan, too, was situated at these fountains; and the slight ruins upon the Tell are apparently its only remains. The testimony of Josephus is explicit.⁴ Eusebius and Jerome describe Dan as being four Roman miles distant from Paneas on the way to Tyre; and here too, they say, the Jordan breaks forth.⁵ The Targum of Jerusalem likewise writes 'Dan of Cæsarea;' implying its vicinity to Cæsarea Philippi.⁶ Against all this testimony, a single indefinite remark of Jerome, in which he might be supposed to confound Dan with Paneas, can have no weight.⁷

The story of the founding of Dan is given in the books of Joshua and Judges. Originally belonging to Sidon, under the name of *Lesem* or *Laish*, it was seized and named Dan by a warlike colony of Danites.⁸ It became afterwards a chief seat

¹ Trav. in Syr. p. 42.

² Burckhardt heard only the name Dhân; Trav. p. 42. Dr Smith in his Ms. Journal, 1844, writes thus: "First, ed-Dan, by treating the article as part of the word, may have become Eddân; then with the article again prefixed, it would be el-Eddân. Join the *l* of the second article, and it becomes Leddân; and finally prefix the article again, and you have el-Leddân. A similar case, very much to the point, is 'Assûr, the name of a public promenade just outside the wall of Beirût. Its origin is 'Ala es-Sûr, 'at or upon the wall;' 'Ala es, by a common contraction, becomes 'As, and being then joined with the word, forms 'Assûr. Now every day you hear 'Ala el-Assûr; which, by a usual contraction of 'Ala el, into 'Al, becomes 'Al-As-

sûr; being just a repetition of the same preposition and article, which have already been incorporated into the word.

³ Joa. B. J. 4. 1. 1, πηγὰς, αὐτὰ τρέφουσι τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς χρυσῆς βόδου νέαν, προσπίπτουσι τῷ μεγάλῳ. Antt. 1. 10. 1. ib. 5. 3. 1. ib. 8. 8. 4.

⁴ Jos. Antt. 1. 10. 1, περὶ Δανὸν οὕτως γὰρ ἡ ἑτέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσαγορεύεται πηγὴ. ib. 5. 3. 1. ib. 8. 8. 4. B. J. 4. 1. 1.

⁵ Onomast. arts. *Dan, Laiza*.

⁶ Targ Hieros. Gen. 14, 14.

⁷ Hieron. Comm. in Ezech. xlviii. 18, "Dan . . . ubi hodie Paneas;" i. e. in the vicinity. Comp. Gesen. Notes on Burckhardt p. 494. Reland Palæst p. 921.

⁸ Josh. 19, 47. Judg. 18, 26-29.

of Jeroboam's idolatry, where one of the golden calves was set up; was conquered with other towns by the Syrians; and in the days of Eusebius was still a small village.¹ The name, however, is perhaps best known, in the almost proverbial expression, "from Dan to Beersheba," as denoting the whole length of the Promised Land.²

Quite a number of places were visible from the Tell; many of which we knew already, and others with which we became acquainted afterwards. Sid Dahūd is a Wely on the margin of the Hūleh, towards the foot of the eastern hills. 'Azāriyāt is a high Tell with trees upon it, on ground descending towards the Hūleh. The exact position of Sin Ibl I do not remember; nor was Bāniās yet in sight.³

We stopped for two hours under the splendid oak, rested, and took lunch. Our muleteers gathered the stalks and ears of wheat, nearly ripe, but not yet hard; bound them into small wisps; and roasted them over a blazing fire. In this way is prepared a sort of parched grain, which is palatable, but not as good as that roasted on an iron plate.⁴

Finding that one of the Druze attendants, sent with us by the Sheikh in Hāsbeiya, was a native of the Hūleh, and perfectly acquainted with it, we determined to make an excursion into the lower plain, and visit, if possible, the junction of the various streams, which pour their waters into the Hūleh. We therefore sent off our muleteers to await us on the road to Bāniās, near the foot of the hills. Mounting at 12.35, and descending along the south side of Tell el-Kādy, we were surprised to find ourselves again upon a limestone formation, and also upon firm dry ground instead of a marsh. At 1 o'clock we came to a low mound of rubbish with cut stones, evidently the remains of a former town, now covered thickly with thistles. It is called Difneh; and probably marks the site of an ancient *Daphne*, mentioned by Josephus as near the source of the lesser Jordan and the temple of the golden calf.⁵ Here are three or four old orange trees;

¹ 1 K. 12. 28. 29. 15, 20. Onomast. art. *Dan*.

² Judg. 20, 1. 1 Sam. 3, 20. 2 Sam. 17, 11.

³ Bearings from Tell el-Kādy in 1844: Sin Ibl 44°. Mouth of Wady 'Asal 80°. Castle of Bāniās 89°. 'Ain Kūnyeh 105°. 'Ain Fit 124°. Za'ūrah 126°. 'Azāriyāt 157°. Sid Dahūd 174°. Difneh 202°. Abil 287°. Meshhad 287°. el-Gh. jar 316°. Serada 319°. Ibl 353½°.

⁴ Tell el-Kādy is slightly mentioned by Seetzen, Reisen I. p. 337, comp. pp. 321, 323. Burckhardt visited and describes it; but, by an error of the pen or press, it is put down as N. E. of Bāniās instead of

nearly west; Trav. in Syr p. 42. Irby and Mangles did not visit the spot. Richardson was there; but it is rather difficult to recognise Tell el-Kādy in his *Fil el Kathrī*; Trav. II p. 449 sq. The best published account is by Mr Thomson, Biblioth. Sac. 1846, p. 196 sq. Comp. Wilson Lands of the Bible II. p. 170 sq.

⁵ Josephus says, B. J. 4. 1. 1, that the marshes of the lake extend up μέχρι Δάφνης χωρίου . . . πηγὰς ἔχοντος, αἱ τρέφουσιν τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς χρυσοῦς βοῆς νέων κτλ. Here Havercamp and Reland (p. 263) propose to read Δάφνης for Δάφνης, which however is unnecessary. The present existence

several stumps of palm trees ; and also some pomegranates and fig trees looking very old.

The tract for some distance south is called Ard Difneh. It was now covered with glorious fields of wheat, cultivated by people from Hâsbeiya ; and was everywhere studded with noble oaks and other trees. Five minutes south of Difneh was a magnificent *Mellûm* or red oak, the branches of which were full of bird's nests ; a peculiarity which even Mr Thomson had never before seen in Syria. Just here was another step or offset to the next lower plateau. Streams of water, some of them of considerable size, were every where flowing in great abundance ; being mostly canals drawn from the Leddân southeastward towards the river of Bâniâs. In like manner many canals are also led out from the Hasbâny, for the purpose of similar irrigation.

At 1.20 we reached a place called el-Mansûry, at the last step or offset down to the lowest plain. This is a station of the fixed Ghawârîneh ; who dwell in tents, but do not move about. They have a few magazines with mud walls and roofs of straw, where they store both grain and straw, but chiefly the latter. The wheat is mostly carried to the villages, or sold. Some fine trees mark this place also ; and there are two or three mills driven by a stream from the Leddân, which is brought down the offset. There were said to be not less than fifteen or twenty such streams drawn from that river. Here too were many bees. The hives are merely cylinders of wicker work coated with mud, and laid up together in a sort of pyramidal stack, protected by a rude thatch or an old tent-mat. We saw many hundreds of these hives in the plain. The ever flowering Hûleh is a fine range for the bees, and large quantities of honey are here gathered.

We were now upon the lower plain of the Hûleh, and could see the stream from Bâniâs meandering on our left, and not far distant. At 1.40 we came upon it and forded it ; and ten minutes later forded it again. Just here, on its elevated right bank, is a rather conspicuous Wely called Sheikh Hazaib, with trees and a few tents near it ; another fixed station of the Ghawârîneh. Passing on we had at 1.55, close on our right, the main stream from Tell el-Kâdy, running parallel to that from Bâniâs, with a swift current, in a deep narrow channel, fifteen or twenty feet below the level of the plain. It was almost wholly concealed by the canes and bushes that line the banks. At 2 o'clock we came to the junction of these two streams, in a broad open area, where the river spreads itself out. We here forded the Leddân ; the

here of the name Difneh supports the com- Targ. and Vulg. Num. 34, 11 ; probably
mon reading—A *Daphnis* is read in the a corruption for 'Ain.

water coming nearly up to the horses' bellies. At 2.10 we struck a smaller branch from the Tell, taken out for the purposes of irrigation, and very turbid. It is called Bureij. We forded it, and went on.

At length, at 2.20, we came upon the Hasbâny at its junction with the other united streams. This spot is a third of a mile north of Tell Sheikh Yûsuf, the southernmost Tell in the middle of the plain.¹ The distance from Tell el-Kâdy is about five miles. From the junction the united stream passes down on the west side of Tell Sheikh Yûsuf, and pursues its course southward through the flat marshy plain of the lower Hûleh to the lake. Above the junction the streams were all running swiftly in channels fifteen or twenty feet below the level of the plain.

The relative size of the three streams we estimated as follows. That from Bâniâs is twice as large as the Hasbâny; while the Leddân, including its branch the Bureij, is twice if not three times the size of that from Bâniâs. The river below the junction is apparently about as large as the Jordan at the Jisr Benât Ya'kôb.

The stream from Bâniâs is here the clearest of all, being less used for irrigation; and is crowded with fish. The water of the Leddân is of a turbid ash colour. That of the Hasbâny is muddy and of a dark yellow. At the junction, as it entered the main stream, its yellow waters were crowded to the western bank, as far as we could see; forming a narrow strip not wider than a sixth part of the whole.

The Derdârah, coming from Merj 'Ayûn, we did not see; nor did we here gain any information respecting it. As we saw it the week before from the high point south of Hûnin, it appeared to wind through the western part of the plain, and unite with the Hasbâny, probably above the main junction. As however this stream dries up in summer, and cannot therefore be reckoned among the perennial sources of the Jordan, we did not take it into account in our examination.²

From Sheikh Hazaib southwards the plain of the Hûleh appears as a dead level quite down to the lake; a distance of six miles or more. On the west side, the marsh extends up north as far as the junction of the streams, or even farther; while on the eastern side the land is tilled almost down to the lake. The rich soil is everywhere a deposit, which has been formed as the lake and marsh have been gradually filled up, by

¹ Bearings from the junction of the streams in the Hûleh: Hûnin 307°. Tell el-Kâdy 27°. Castle of Bâniâs 55°.

fountains of Mellâhah and Belât, at the foot of the western hills. For these see Vol. II. pp. 435, 436. [iii. 341.] W. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1846. p. 199.

² Nor did we, of course, visit the large

the annual contributions of the different streams during the winter and spring floods. Mr Thomson compared it with the soil of the lower portion of the Mississippi. It is extremely fertile; and all kinds of grain grow in it abundantly. Large crops of wheat, barley, dhurah (maize) yellow and white, simsim (sesame), rice, and other plants, are obtained with very little labour. Rice is sown on the hard and chapped ground; and is merely flooded with water. The yield is good, but the quality inferior.

This region still merits the praise accorded to it by the Danite spies: "We have seen the land, and behold, it is very good, . . . a place where there is no want of anything that is in the earth."¹ The climate, however, is hot and too unhealthy for any inhabitants, except the Ghawârineh. But their horses, cattle, and sheep, fatten on the rich pastures; while large herds of black and almost hairless buffalos (of which we saw many) luxuriate in the streams and in the deep mire of the marshes.

Thus another problem of physical geography was now determined. The upper branches of the Jordan unite and flow to the lake of the Hûleh as one stream.²

We returned by the same way to el-Mansûry. From thence, at 3.30, we struck off to the right towards the northeast, to gain the road from Tell el-Kâdy to Bâniâs near the foot of the hills, where our muleteers were waiting. The lofty masses of Hermon were now directly before us. Overagainst us came down the vast gorge of Wady el-'Asal, seeming to cleave the mountain almost to its base, and issuing from it between two high bulwarks. It separates the lower western ridge, already described, from the loftier central ridge and summits of the mountain. More to the right the castle of Bâniâs towered in its strength. We kept on through the fields, sometimes without a path, and fording several streams from the Leddân. Many herds of cattle were at pasture in the fields; and at one of the fords a large herd was crossing. On our right, at the distance of a mile or two, was a large Wely with windows, looking like a dwelling house; a place of pilgrimage for the Muhammedans at certain seasons. I suppose it to be the Sid Dahûd mentioned above.—At 4.15 we joined our muleteers upon the Bâniâs road.

Between this point and Bâniâs lay the supposed danger of

¹ Judg. 18, 9, 10.

² See more on the region of the Hûleh in Vol. II. pp. 435, 436. [iii. 341-343] The name el-Hûleh was already applied to the district which contains the lake, by Bohaeddin, in the twelfth century; Vita Salad. p. 98. But the name seems to have existed also in ancient times; for, according to Josephus, Augustus gave to Herod

the districts which had belonged to Zenodorus, lying between Trachonitis and Galilee, viz. Paneas, and Οὐλδᾶ, and the region round about. To this Οὐλδᾶ, and to the situation, the modern Hûleh well corresponds. Jos. Antt. 15. 10. 3; comp. B. J. 1. 20. 4. Tuch in Zeitschr. d. morg. Gea. li. p. 428, note.

Druze robbers. We were now eleven persons in all ; a muleteer from Sidon having joined us. Six were armed, and five were themselves Druzes. My companion now searched for our letter of introduction from the Druze Sheikh, and discovered that he had left it at Hāsbeiya in the pocket of another coat. But we went on gaily ; and neither saw nor heard anything of robbers so long as we remained in the neighbourhood of Bāniás.

Mounting at 4.30, we turned off a few steps on the right, to look at a Khān called Duweir, with a few rude buildings, erected out of the materials of an earlier place now in ruins. These are at the foot and on the slope of the hill.

We immediately ascended the steep slope, and came out at the top upon the beautiful terrace on which Bāniás is situated. Passing on among fine copses of trees, and splendid fields of wheat, and water-courses drawn from the noble fountain, we came at 5.05 much exhausted to the village in the angle of the mountains. Here we pitched our tent beneath the shade of the spreading terebinths so often mentioned by travellers.¹

This terrace of Bāniás was to me an entirely new feature in the region ; no traveller had ever mentioned it.² Towards the north it abuts upon the flank of Jebel esh-Sheikh, between the gorge of Wady el-'Asal and the angle of the mountain with the eastern hills ; on the east it lies against the declivity of the same range ; while on the south it runs together and mingles with the gentler slopes of the same hills. It is thus nearly triangular ; is highest towards the north ; and slopes very gently towards the south.³ The elevation at Bāniás, in the interior northeastern angle, is eleven hundred forty-seven feet above the sea ; being five hundred feet higher than Tell el-Kādy. In this angle the great fountain bursts forth ; and sends its waters down a ravine of its own, southwest to the plain of the Huleh. Yet they are also drawn off over the whole surface of the terrace ; and are even carried down its western declivity, to irrigate portions of the plain below, to which the waters from Tell el-Kādy cannot be conducted.

The formation of the terrace is wholly limestone ; but at Bāniás the igneous rocks again present themselves.⁴

The wall of hills on the east of the Huleh, is much lower than the mountains which shut in the lake and plain on the

¹ Seetzen, *Reisen* I. p. 334. E. Smith in *Ms. Journ.* 1844. W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sacra*. 1846, p. 188. De Sauley *Narrative*, II. p. 534.

² The only allusion to it is by Mr Thomson : "The platform, or terrace, upon which Bāniás is built, may be elevated about one hundred feet above the extensive

plain ;" *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1846, p. 187. But this gives no idea of the reality.

³ Except in form, this terrace has a general resemblance to that at Pella ; see above, pp. 321, 325.

⁴ Dr Anderson in *Lynch's Official Report*, pp. 108, 109.

west It rises gradually and brokenly. to table land on the top ; on which, at some distance back, are seen a line of Tells extending from north to south ; the southernmost of which is Tell Feras. This broad ridge is thrown off from the southeastern base of Jebel esh-Sheikh ; and extends southwards until it is lost in the table land on the east of the lake of Tiberias. We took pains, both here and afterwards, to learn the name of this ridge among the people ; but could hear it spoken of only as Jebel Heish.

Two principal Wadys come down from the east upon the terrace near its angle. The northern one is Wady Khūshābeh, on the north of the fountain and the castle ; the other is Wady Za'āreh on the south of the village.¹

During the evening we received a note left for us by Dr De Forest and his party, who had spent a night at Bāniās a week previously. We thus learned the result of his observations with the aneroid, as given above.

Thursday, May 27th.—We had planned for to-day an excursion to the lake Phiala ; to return by way of the castle on the mountain. I defer therefore, for the present, the more detailed account of the fountain and village of Bāniās.

The general direction of that lake from Bāniās is a little south of east. Setting off at 8 o'clock, we passed out of the village at the southeast corner, without crossing the brook of Wady Za'āreh. This Wady comes down steeply through open ground from the southeast, around the southwest end of a high ridge ; the other side of which is skirted by the same Wady running southwest. As the Wady thus sweeps around the end of the ridge, and reaches the western base of the higher hills, it is apparently cut off and covered over by a sloping plain or gentle declivity of arable land ; through which, however, it breaks down by a very deep and narrow chasm in the underlying volcanic rock, with jagged perpendicular sides. This chasm extends almost down to Bāniās ; and is so narrow, as hardly to be noticed until one comes quite near to it. Our course lay more to the left. We crossed a small Wady and brook ; then wound to the right up a steep hill ; and at 8.50 came to a fountain below 'Ain Kūnyeh. At 9 o'clock we reached that village ; from which Hūnin bore due west.

We now struck up over the high ridge, around the southwestern end of which Wady Za'āreh comes down. The ascent was very steep. Reaching the top at 9.20, we kept along high on the southeastern side of the ridge, having Wady Za'āreh at

¹ So written by Dr Smith. Mr Thomson writes Sa'āry. This is the ravine spoken of by Burckhardt as Wady Kyb or el-Kyd ; Trav. pp. 38, 40. We could not hear of any such name.

first deep below us, here running southwest. Descending very obliquely and gradually, we came at 9.45 to the channel of the Wady with its pleasant stream. Here was also a pretty cascade, the water falling over a rock ten feet high, along three crevices, presenting the appearance of three white ribbons of foam. On the south bank of the Wady is a Mezra'ah or goat village, called Mesâdy; consisting of a dairy hut or two, where the goats, which range these hills in summer, are gathered at night and milked. Below this point the brook descends rapidly by a wild volcanic gorge, until sweeping around the end of the ridge it turns northwest towards Bâniâs.

Crossing the brook, we bent our course a little more south-east; and at 9.55 reached the brink of the lake on its north side. In seven minutes more we rode down the steep declivity to the margin of the water. From the brow above, the village of Mejdal Shems bore N. 20° E. distant about two miles.

The lake lies at the bottom of a deep bowl, apparently an ancient crater;¹ not less than from a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet below the level of the surrounding tract. The form is an irregular circle; the diameter of the water being a mile and perhaps more. It made upon me the impression of a larger lake than I had anticipated. The tract around is high table land, rising on the south of the lake almost at once into wooded or bushy hills; and skirted at some distance on the east likewise by a wooded range. The declivities of the basin itself are dreary and desolate, with only an occasional shrub and a few patches of tillage; but the country around, though not fertile, is more cultivated.

The water of the lake is stagnant and impure, with a slimy look. Just at the margin it was muddy for a few feet; and did not seem to be clear and pure in any part. At a short distance from the shore was a broad belt of water plants, now turned brown, and in some places resembling islands. The middle of the lake was free. Wild ducks were swimming in different parts. A large hawk was sailing above them, and occasionally swooping down to the surface of the water, as if to seize a duck or a frog. Our Druzes fired at him, and broke his wing; he fell among the water plants, and could not there be reached. Myriads and myriads of frogs lined the shores; and it was amusing to see them perched thickly along the stones, as if drawn up in battle array to keep off intruders. It is the very paradise of frogs. The lake supplies the whole country with leeches; which are gathered by men wading in, and letting the leeches fasten themselves upon their legs. The ground along the margin is mostly

¹ So Dr Anderson in Lynch's Off. Rep. p. 110.

without reeds or rushes ; and is covered with small black volcanic stones. The shores and sides of the crater exhibit everywhere small glistening black crystals, resembling hornblende.¹

There seems no room for question but that this lake is the ancient *Phiala* described by Josephus ; so called from its bowl-like form, and situated on the right of the road leading from Cæsarea Philippi to Trachonitis.² But the position and every circumstance go to show the absurdity of the popular legend, which made this lake a feeder of the fountain at Baniäs.³ Not only, in such case, must its waters pass under the brook of the Za'āreh ; but the supply of such a fountain would in one day exhaust the lake. The bright, limpid, sparkling waters of the former can have no connection with the dark, stagnant, slimy masses which fill the latter.

Seetzen heard of the lake, but did not visit it.⁴ Burckhardt makes no allusion to it. It was first examined by Irby and Mangles, in passing from Damascus to Baniäs in 1818.⁵ Of late years it has been several times visited.⁶ The present name is usually given as Birket er-Rām ; but we heard distinctly the pronunciation Birket er-Rān ; and so Seetzen heard it and gives it in Arabic letters.⁷

We left the upper brow of the lake at 10.25, on a course about N. N. W. in order to go directly to the oaks of Sheikh Othman el-Hāzūry. We crossed the fields without a path, and came after ten minutes to the Wady Za'āreh higher up than before. We found it here a narrow but very pretty meadow-like plain, with a fine brook. A little farther up, on our right, was a Wely in the valley, called Sheikh Yafūry ; from which this upper part of the valley takes the name of Merj Yafūry.⁸ We could here see it coming down quite from the southeastern base of Jebel esh-Sheikh ; the mountain rising at once out of this little plain to an elevation of four thousand feet or more above it.

¹ Dr Anderson l. c. p. 110.

² Jos. B. J. 3. 10. 7. All this corresponds exactly ; and there is no other body of water in the region to which the description is at all applicable. Two circumstances show, however, that Josephus himself had not seen the lake. He says it is a hundred and twenty stadia from Cæsarea ; while in fact it is little more than half that distance. He speaks also of the water as always up to the brim, and never running over.

³ Jos. B. J. *ibid*.

⁴ Reisen, I. pp. 334, 335.

⁵ Travels p. 287. [87.]

⁶ By Mr Tipping in 1842 ; Biblioth. Sac. 1843, pp. 13, 14. Mr Thomson about

1844 ; Biblioth. Sac. 1846, p. 191. Capt. Newbold, about the same time ; Journ. of R. Asiat. Soc. XVI. p. 8. Dr Anderson in 1848 ; see Lynch's Off. Rep. p. 110. See Ritter XV. p. 174 sq.—Mr Tipping visited also a Birkeh "north of Jubbāta, very high, in the centre of a small oblong plain, under Jebel esh-Sheikh, with muddy water, filled by the melting of the snow. It nearly dries up in summer, and is about 260 feet in diameter." *ibid* According to Capt. Newbold this is called Birket el-Merj el-Mān, and flows to Wady el-'Asal ; Journ. of R. Asiat. Soc. XVI. p. 16 sq.

⁷ Reisen I. pp. 334, 335.

⁸ This is the little plain and tomb mentioned by Irby and Mangles ; p. 286. [87.]

It is the lower southwestern peak of esh-Sheikh, which is here seen, radiant with its icy crown.

Beyond this plain, on the east, a spur is thrown off from esh-Sheikh, that is, from below the saddle between the two peaks, much lower than the mountain, though still high; which however soon sinks down towards the south into wooded hills of no great elevation. These form the line of Tells already spoken of as ending in Tell el-Feras. This is strictly the Jebel Heish. The Damascus road passes out of the little plain over a notch in this ridge; and so down the other side by way of Beit Jenn. The ridge which we had crossed on our way up, was now before us, skirting the little plain or valley on the northwest. It has its beginning in like manner, at the base of Jebel esh-Sheikh; where, west of the little plain, the large village of Mejd el esh-Shems lies among the hills. Near that village a valley on the other side of the ridge has its head, and passes down westward on the north of the castle. We crossed the brook and plain; and ascended the ridge, reaching the top at 10.55. Here both the great fortresses of Baniās and esh-Shūkif lay before us.¹

We now kept along on the northwestern side of the ridge, descending gradually and obliquely; and crossed the Damascus road, which here passes along on the declivity of the ridge to Mejd el. The Wady below on our right opens out into a small basin, partially cultivated. About 11.40 the ridge on our left, now high above us, apparently a spur or point of that adjacent to Merj Yafûry, suddenly terminated in a high bluff; while a low ridge from its foot ran off northwest towards the castle. We kept along the latter; and at 11.55 came to the tomb of Sheikh 'Othmān Hâzûry, on a knoll or hummock upon the ridge. The knoll is covered with a copse of noble oak trees, forming a truly venerable grove, with a deep religious gloom. The Wely is in the midst of the grove, merely a common Muslim tomb surrounded by a shabby stone wall. Just below, on the southwest, is a small fountain, 'Ain el-Hâzûry; and here too is the head of the open Wady, which runs down on the south of the castle.—Around the Wely are no remains whatever; and none have ever existed there. The castle bore N. 75° W. about three eighths of a mile distant. Between this point and the castle was another like point or knoll, about equally high.

From Sheikh 'Othmān el-Hâzûry we could look up along the great Wady or chasm, which comes down from the very base of the southwestern peak of Jebel esh-Sheikh to the village of Jub-bâta, situated on its eastern brink. Up through this chasm we

¹ Bearings at 10.55, on ridge: Castle of North side of lake Phiala 157°, dist. about Baniās 282°. Kûl'at esh-Shūkif 296°. 1½ mile.

could see the snows of the summit. Below Jubbáta the chasm becomes narrower and deeper ; and, turning more west, it cuts off from the very flank of esh-Sheikh the thin sharp ridge on which the castle stands. This is Wady Khūshábeh ; and passes on down to Bāniās on the north of the fountain. Just above the castle it is joined by the Wady from Mejdel, now also become a chasm.

Leaving the Wely at 1.20 we came in seven minutes to the next knoll ; on which are a few remains called Házûry. There are here some trivial foundations, but no masses of ruins. Possibly a small outpost of the castle may have stood here ; but the remains are more like those of a Mezra'ah or goat village. This is doubtless the site of which Burckhardt heard ; but which by some mistake he reports as "the ruins of a city called Házûry one hour to the north" of Sheikh 'Othmān el-Házûry.¹ This distance would remove the ruins to some point among the inaccessible steepes of Jebel esh-Sheikh ; where certainly no such city ever existed. It is therefore an error, when Ritter assumes, that in this quarter was situated the ancient *Hazor* of the books of Joshua and Judges.²—This was now the third Házûr or Házûry that I had visited ; neither of which can be regarded as the Hazor of Scripture.

Leaving Házûry we descended to the deep saddle between it and the castle ; and, climbing a very steep and difficult ascent to the latter, we kept along the southern wall, and reached, at 1.50, the only entrance, through one of the southern towers. Here we found ourselves within the most extensive and best preserved ancient fortress in the whole country.³ It stands upon the eastern and highest point of the thin ridge sliced off (as it were) from the flank of Jebel esh-Sheikh by the Wady Khūshábeh ; and which is connected only with the ridge of Házûry towards the E. S. E. by the saddle just mentioned. The castle covers this high thin point ; and follows its irregularities. We estimated its length from east to west at eight hundred or a thousand feet ; its breadth at each end being about two hundred feet ; while in the middle it is only from one half to two thirds as broad. The direction of the ridge is from E. N. E. to W. S. W.⁴

The interior of the fortress is an uneven area of four or five acres. In some parts the rock still rises higher than the walls ; in others the ground was now ploughed and planted with tobacco and other vegetables. Here are also several houses, forming a

¹ Burckhardt, Trav. p. 44.

² Erdk. XV. p. 260 sq. comp. p. 206.

³ Mr Thomson was disposed to except perhaps the Kūl'at el-Merkab, north of Tortosa, known also as Balniās or Belinās ;

which however seems less ancient. Abulfeda Tab. Syr. p. 106.

⁴ The castle bears from Bāniās N. 71° E. and this is about the line of the ridge.

small village. The fortress was dependent for water wholly on its cisterns. One of these, in the open area near the western end, is of immense size ; and even now contained much water. Others are found in different parts. Besides these, there exists a large reservoir outside of the castle in the saddle below the eastern end.

The western and lower end of the fortress, which overlooks the whole region below, exhibits in some parts specimens of the heaviest and finest work. At the northwest corner especially, large stones lie scattered, which are six or eight feet in length, finely wrought, and *bevelled*. Several of the towers along the southern wall are in like manner finished with superior bevelled work. In particular, one round tower, with fine sloping work below, presents a finished bevel at least not inferior to that of the tower Hippicus at Jerusalem.

The eastern end of the ridge is the highest ; and this was taken advantage of, to form an upper citadel, commanding the rest of the castle. It is separated from the lower western portion by a regular interior cross wall, with towers and trench ; and is without entrance or approach, except through the lower fortress. Here, more than anywhere, the beetling towers and ramparts impend over the northern precipice, and look down into the chasm of Wady Khūshābeh six or seven hundred feet below. Within this citadel are the loftiest and strongest towers ; and this portion is the best preserved of all. Not less than one third of it is ancient bevelled work ; exhibiting a better and more finished bevel, than is perhaps elsewhere found out of Jerusalem.

The Saracens and crusaders made no additions to the fortress. They did nothing in the citadel, but patch up a few portions of it, where this was necessary for defence ; leaving all the rest as they found it. Their repairs are everywhere quite distinct and visible. Nor did they do much more in the lower or western part. Yet there are quite a number of Arabic inscriptions, mostly dated about A. H. 625 equivalent to A. D. 1227, recounting that such and such a prince, with a long pedigree, built up this or that tower at a certain time.

There are numerous subterranean rooms, vaults, passages, and the like, which we did not visit. At the western end is a stairway cut in the rock, descending at an angle of forty-five or fifty degrees. This my companion had formerly entered for a few steps, and found it choked up with rubbish. Popular belief, nevertheless, regards it as extending down to the fountain of Bānias.¹

¹ Biblioth. Sac. 1846, p. 193.

The fortress is not less than a thousand feet or more above the town of Baniäs ; and is therefore about equal in elevation to the Kûl'at esh-Shûkîf, which towers in full view overagainst it.¹ The prospect over the Hûleh and the mountains opposite is magnificent, though indefinite.²

The whole fortress made upon us a deep impression of antiquity and strength ; and of the immense amount of labour and expense employed in its construction. It has come down to us as one of the most perfect specimens of the military architecture of the Phenicians, or possibly of the Syro-Grecians ; and whoever will make himself acquainted with the resources and the prowess of those ancient nations, must not fail to study the ruins of this noble fortress.

Situated more than two miles distant from Baniäs, the castle could never have been built for the protection of that place ; and is not improbably older than the city. It was doubtless erected in order to command the great road leading over from the Hûleh into the plain of Damascus. It may have been a border fortress of the Sidonians, to whom this region early belonged.³

The fortress is now ordinarily known to travellers as the castle of Baniäs ; but such is not its specific name. Arabian writers speak of it as the Kûl'at es-Subeibeh ; but it is rarely mentioned by them, and mostly in connection with the neighbouring city.⁴

We left the castle at 3.10 ; and descended at once, and without path, the steep declivity immediately below the entrance. By this means we saved ten or fifteen minutes in distance ; but the descent was not without danger. We then kept along the southern base of the ridge, and reached our tent beneath the terebinth in Baniäs at 4 o'clock.

The situation of Baniäs is unique ; combining in an unusual degree the elements of grandeur and beauty. It nestles in its recess at the southern base of the mighty Hermon, which towers in majesty to an elevation of seven or eight thousand feet above. Its terrace I have already described ;⁵ over which the abundant waters of the glorious fountain spread luxuriant fertility and the

¹ The elevation of Baniäs, as we have seen, is 1147 Engl. feet ; p. 397. That of esh Shûkîf is 2205 feet above the sea ; p. 49.

² Bearings from the castle by Wildenbruch, see Ritter XV. p. 237 : Mejdal N. 72° E. Jubbâta N. 71½° E. 1 hour dist. Hâzûry (ruin) N. 87° E. 'Ain Kûnyeh S. 10° W.—According to Dr Smith, the direction of Baniäs is S. 71° W. Tell el-Kâdy S. 89° W. Hûnin S. 81° W. Kûl'at esh-Shûkîf N. 60° W.

³ See Judg. 18, 7. 28.

⁴ Abulfed. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, pp. 19, 96. Wilken Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge, II. p. 569. VII. p. 328.—On a former journey Mr Thomson speaks of two encampment of Arabs within Wady el-Teim, called es-Subân and es-Subeih. But these names would seem to have no connection with the castle. See Biblioth. Sacra, 1846, pp. 187, 193.

⁵ See above, p. 397.

graceful interchange of copse, lawn, and waving fields. The situation is charming. Lying too so high above the Hùleh, its atmosphere partakes of the salubrity of the adjacent mountains. The vicinity of the mountain, the many woods, and the rich fields of grain around Bâniâs, make it the resort of an abundance of game. Panthers and wolves are on the mountain; wild swine and gazelles luxuriate among the grain. Many of the swine are killed by the peasants, who watch their fields by night. Wild ducks, partridges, snipe, and other birds, are in plenty.¹

Of the three Wadys which form so prominent a feature in the region of Bâniâs, two are wild ravines in Jebel esh-Sheikh. Wady el-'Asal, as we have seen,² issues from its deep gorge immediately on the west of the terrace. It has its beginning a little south of the village of Shib'a, about four hours N. N. E. of Bâniâs; and forms the mighty cleft between the lower and upper masses of Hermon. It is without a village or hamlet in its entire extent; nor are there in it any fountains. It is a wild, thickly wooded, solitary mountain range, the abode of wolves and panthers;³ frequented only by the shepherds of Shib'a and the burners of charcoal for the Damascus market. A rugged mountain path leads from Shib'a along the eastern side of this valley and so around to Jubbâta and Mejdél.⁴

Both the other Wadys descend from the east, and issue upon the terrace itself. Wady Khûshâbeh, as we have seen,⁵ begins at the very base of the southwestern peak of esh-Sheikh, and extends down the steep declivity southwest to Jubbâta; below which, turning W. S. W. it severs from the body of the mountain the thin ridge on which the castle stands. In the rainy season, and at the time of the melting of the snows on Hermon, an immense volume of water must rush down this chasm; but at this season it was wholly without water. It extends down to the level ground of the terrace; and then its rocky water-bed turns S. S. W. around the lower end of the ridge thus cut off by it, and goes to join the channel from the fountain, at the northwest corner of the city fortress.

The third valley, Wady Za'âreh, has already been described as coming from the base of Hermon beyond Mejdél, taking a course southwest through the Merj Yafûry and a wild ravine; then sweeping around northwest and descending to Bâniâs.⁶ It enters upon the terrace a few rods south of the lower end of the castle ridge; and passing down along the south side of the city fortress,

¹ W. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1846, p. 188 sq. Irby and Mangles p. 290. [88.]

² See above, pp. 396, 397.

³ Comp. Seetzen, *Reisen* I. p. 326. Burekharit, p. 45.

⁴ Mr Thomson had once passed by that

route. It was also followed by Dr Anderson; see his geological account of the whole tract, in Lynch's *Off. Rep.* pp. 111-114.

⁵ See above, pp. 401, 402.

⁶ See above, pp. 398, 399, 400.

unites its pretty brook just below with the stream from the great fountain.

Within the angle thus formed on the terrace itself, between the channels of these two Wadys, are situated the great fountain and the modern village of Bāniās.

The position of the fountain has never been fully described. It bursts forth from under the western end of the high ridge of the castle, which (as we have seen) is severed from the flank of Jebel esh-Sheikh by the deep Wady Khūshābeh. The fountain therefore is wholly on the south of that Wady; and has no visible connection whatever with the mountain. The ridge terminates here in a precipice of limestone rock,¹ the strata of which incline towards the west at an angle of about 45°. There would seem to have been a great breaking down of the rocks and strata from the front of the precipice; leaving on the north a lower projection jutting out, on which is perched the small Muslim Wely of Sheikh Khūdr.² The main precipice is south of this, facing about S. W. by W. and rising from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet above the water of the fountain. Near the angle formed by the projection, there would seem to have been anciently a cavern, from which the water probably issued; but it would also seem, that the rock above the cavern had been broken away probably by earthquakes; so that the former front of the cavern is now filled up by the fallen rocks and stones (*debris*) which also extend out for some distance before it. Through the bottom of this mass of rocks and fragments the water now gushes forth. But further towards the south, also, where apparently there was no cavern, there is the same heaping up of debris before the foot of the precipice; and through this too, in like manner, the water issues less abundantly, spreading itself perhaps from the cavern.

This spot and cavern was anciently called *Panium*, and would seem to have been consecrated to the god Pan; though there is no historical mention of any temple of Pan.³ The temple which Herod the Great erected was in honour of Augustus.⁴ In the face of the precipice south of the cavern, and now

¹ The fountain "issues from beneath the limestone, where it is joined by basaltic rocks;" Dr Anderson in Lynch's Off. Rep. p. 109.

² The Mār Jirjis of the Greeks, and St George of the Latins.

³ Comp. Philastorg. Hist. 7. 3. Reland Pal. p. 918 sq.

⁴ Jos. Antt. 15. 10. 3, "Herod having accompanied Cesar [Augustus] to the sea, and returned home, erected to him a beautiful temple of white marble, in the country

of Zenodorus, near the place called *Panium*. This is a fine cave in a mountain; under which there is a great cavity in the earth; and the cavern is abrupt, and very deep, and full of still water. Over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the cavern rise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still further by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Cesar." Comp. Jos. B. J. 1. 21. 3.

only just above the debris, though once probably high above the ground, are several votive niches with inscriptions. The northernmost niche is large and deep, with a smaller one above it. Three others further south are smaller and low down; and still others may exist beneath the stones. Some of the niches are beautifully finished at the top in the form of a shell or pecten.

The longest inscription is over the small niche on the south; and contains the designation of the person who consecrated it as *IEPEYΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΝΟΣ*, 'priest of Pan,' implying here a temple of that god; with also a *pro salute* for the reigning emperors. It has been several times partially copied; but is much defaced.¹ Another inscription quite high up on the south, appears to contain the name of an Agrippa, with the title *ΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ*, perhaps 'archon of the year.' It has also been copied.²

The spot is now called by the people Mughârat Bâniâs or Mughârat er-Râs en-Neba'. From beneath and through the mass of rocks and stones, which fill up and hide the entrance of the cavern, gushes forth the Nahr Bâniâs, a full and rushing river, twice as large as the stream from the fountain near Hâs-beiya. The water is of the purest and finest quality, limpid, bright, and sparkling. Gathering to itself the other streams just below the village, and yet itself distributing its waters over the terrace and portions of the western plain for the purposes of irrigation, it rushes onward in a ravine of its own, with swift course, towards the southwest down to the lower plain, and so to the lower Hûleh. It is the most beautiful of all the streams of the Jordan.

The ancient popular belief recorded by Josephus, that this fountain had some connection with the lake Phiala, we have already seen to be without foundation;³ notwithstanding the experiment of the tetrarch Philip, who caused chaff to be thrown into the lake, which was said to have appeared again at Panium. Still more absurd is the popular hypothesis at the present day, that this stream comes ultimately from a fountain near Shib'a, four or five hours distant, and lying very high on the northwestern side of Jebel esh-Sheikh.⁴ There is indeed near Shib'a such a fountain; but its stream flows down westward to the Hasbâny. More in accordance with fact would it be, to regard the brook, which comes down from Merj Yafûry through Wady Za'âreh, as the remote source of the Nahr Bâniâs. But

¹ First by Seetzen, though only recently published, *Reisen* I. p. 333. Then by Burckhardt, p. 39. Also by Mr Thomson, *Biblioth. Sac.* 1846. p. 194. By Dr Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 176.

² By Seetzen, *Reisen* I. p. 336. By Mr

Thomson, published in the *Biblioth. Sac.* 1846. p. 194.

³ Jos. B. J. 3. 10. 7. See above, p. 400.

⁴ W. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1846. pp. 190-192. Dr Anderson in Lynch's *Off. Rep.* p. 109.

this rivulet apparently dries up in summer ; and is never reckoned as a source of the larger stream.

In the rocky channel of Wady Khūshābeh, as it issues upon the terrace of Bāniās, and nearly opposite Sheikh Khūdr, another fountain bursts forth, which anywhere else would be regarded as large ; though here it has been hitherto entirely overlooked. It is apparently on a level with the great fountain, and would seem indeed to be a branch of the latter. A stream flows from it, which joins the larger one at the northwest corner of the city fortress.

The present village and the ancient fortress of the town are situated between the stream from the great fountain and the Wady Za'āreh. The village is a wretched one. Travellers vary in their accounts of the number of houses, from twenty up to one hundred and fifty. There will be no great error in estimating them at fifty or sixty.¹ Two or three of the houses have two stories ; especially one built upon the ruin of the northeast tower of the fortress, which serves as a basement. The houses are mostly within the fortress, in its eastern part ; a few only are outside upon its northeast quarter.

This fortress, the citadel of the ancient city, still exists in its outline. It was an irregular quadrangle or trapezium, with massive walls and heavy towers at the corners, and also others intermediate upon the walls. The interior area is perhaps three or four acres. On the east, south, and west, the walls are still standing for some feet above their foundations ; and some of the towers are still higher. The southern wall runs along the rocky chasm and brook of Wady Za'āreh ; the northern and western walls are still washed by the stream of the great fountain ; while on the east a trench, cut through to Wady Za'āreh, was doubtless filled from the stream of the same fountain. The corner towers were round, and built of large bevelled stones ; some of the work is very massive. In the middle of the southern side is a tower, with a gateway or portal leading through it, which bears marks of ancient origin ; though it has been built over by the Saracens as recorded in an Arabic inscription. From it a stone bridge, also in part ancient, leads across the Wady to the opposite bank. At its northern end, broken granite columns are laid horizontally in the wall. Below the citadel, the rushing waters from the fountains meet, after driving two or three mills, and hasten away towards the Hūleh. Just by the bridge, too, is another mill ; to which the water is conveyed from the

¹ Mr Thomson has fifty ; *Biblioth. Sac.* 1846, p. 188. Dr Wilson, sixty ; *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 176.—But Seetzen has only twenty, *Reisen*. I p. 336 ; and so

Hänel in *Zeitschr. der morgenl. Ges.* II. p. 431. Burckhardt, on the contrary, has one hundred and fifty ; p. 38.

fountain by a covered canal through the citadel.—Along the street leading north from the bridge and portal, are seen among the houses several Roman arches, now only just above the ground.

This fortress appears to have stood in the northeastern part of the ancient city ; a large portion of which was evidently situated on the south of Wady Za'âreh, and extended a quarter of a mile from it. The ground is here somewhat higher, jutting down a little from the eastern hill. A long reach of the ancient southern city wall still remains, running down obliquely W. N. W. to the brook. On the west also of the citadel, far along the roads leading to Tell el-Kâdy and Hâsbeiya, there are traces of houses and temples. Columns and fragments of columns are scattered in all directions.

Near the old city wall, in the southeast, is a natural pond of considerable size, apparently of rain water gathered from the hills. It has no connection with any of the other waters of the terrace.

The best view of Baniâs is from the little Wely of Sheikh Khûdr, near the great fountain.¹

From the name of the grotto, *Panium*, the transition is easy to *Paneas*, as the name of the ancient city. Neither of these names, however, can be historically traced back much if any beyond the time of the first Herod. No allusion to them is found in the Old Testament ; although other places are spoken of in the immediate neighbourhood. Was this remarkable spot wholly overlooked ; or did it then perhaps bear some other name ?

In the book of Joshua, the promised land, as subdued by that leader, is described as extending "from the mount Halak [bald mountain], that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under mount Hermon."² Again, the portion of the land *not* subdued by Joshua is spoken of as reaching "from Baal-gad under mount Hermon unto the entering into Hamath ;" and in another parallel passage we find Baal-hermon instead of Baal-gad.³ It would seem, therefore, that Baal-gad and Baal-hermon were different names of the same place ; that this place was in a valley under Hermon ;⁴ and that

¹ Bearings at Baniâs, from the southeast corner tower, in 1844: Castle of B. 71°. 'Ain Kûnyeh 111°. Za'ûrah 157°. 'Ain Flt 162°. Hûnin 263°. Abil 282°. Mesh-had 283°.

² Josh. 11, 17 ; and so, in reversed order, Josh. 12, 7.

³ Josh. 13, 5 ; comp Judg. 3, 3. See too 1 Chr. 5, 23.—For "the entering into Hamath," see below, at the end of Sect. XII.

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⁴ Called indeed בְּקֵצַת הַלְבָּנוֹן, valley of Lebanon ; but not the Bûkâ'a, which is not under Hermon. So too Gesenius Thesaur. p. 262. Heb. Lex. art. בְּקֵצַת. Winer Realw. art. *Lebanon*, II. p. 25. Ste Ausg.—Jerome also places Baal-gad "ad radices montis Hermon ;" Onomast. art. *Baalgad*.

it here served to mark the northernmost limit of Palestine, to which the conquests of Joshua extended ; just as, at a later period, after the city of Dan had been built, that place is always put as the northern limit. The name Baal-gad (god of fortune) implies a place of heathen worship ;¹ which apparently took also the name of Baal-hermon from its connection with that mountain.

All these considerations go to make it probable, that *Baal-gad* was no other than this romantic spot, this secluded grotto at the fountain of Jordan, where the Phenicians or Syrians had established the worship of one of their Baals.² In process of time this was supplanted by the service of the Grecian Pan ; and thus the name *Panium* was introduced, and the earlier one forgotten.

The name Bâniâs is merely the Arabic pronunciation of the ancient name *Paneas*. I have already alluded to the temple built at the fountain by the first Herod in honour of Augustus.³ Whether the adjacent town already existed, or sprung up afterwards, is unknown. At a later period, the place made part of the territory of Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis ; was enlarged and embellished by him ; and named Cæsarea Philippi, in distinction from the Cæsarea of the sea-coast.⁴ Under this name it appears in the New Testament, and was visited by our Lord.⁵ Agrippa afterwards gave it the name of Neronias for a time ; Vespasian visited it ; and Titus, after the capture of Jerusalem, exhibited here public spectacles, in which the captive Jews were compelled to fight with one another or with wild beasts, and many perished.⁶ Coins of Cæsarea-Paneas, as it was also called, are still extant.⁷ In the fourth century, it was already a bishopric of Phenicia under the patriarchate of Antioch ; its bishop Philocalus was present at the council of Nicea in A. D. 325 ; and another, Olympius, at the council of Chalcedon in A. D. 451.⁸ In the days of Eusebius and Jerome, the earlier name *Paneas* was again predominant, and has continued current under the Muhammedan dominion to the present day.⁹

¹ Baal-gad, 'god of fortune,' is referred by Gesenius to Jupiter, *Thesaur.* p. 264 ; by Movers to Venus, *die Phönizier* I. pp. 636, 650.

² So Gesenius *Thesaur.* p. 225. Raumer *Paläst.* ed. 3. p. 215. n.—Others suppose Baal-gad to have been Heliopolis, now Ba'albek ; but there is no evidence nor probability, either that Joshua's conquests extended so far ; or that Ba'albek was ever regarded as the northern extremity of Palestine ; or that the neighbouring portion of Anti-Lebanon was ever called Hermon. Ritter *Erdk.* XVII. p. 229 sq.

³ See above, p. 406.

⁴ Joseph. *Antiq.* 18. 2. 1. B. J. 2. 9. 1.

⁵ Matt. 16, 13. Mark 8, 27.

⁶ Joseph. *Antiq.* 20. 9. 4. B. J. 3. 9. 8. ib. 7. 2. 1.

⁷ Eckhel *Doctr. Numm.* III. p. 339. Mionnet *Médailles Ant.* V. p. 311 sq. The coins extend from Augustus to Heliogabalus.

⁸ Labb. *Concil.* Tom. II. col. 51. Le Quien *Oriens Chr.* II. p. 831.

⁹ Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* 7. 17. Hieron. *Comm.* in *Ezech.* xxvii. 18, "Dan . . . ub' hodie Paneas, quæ quondam Cæsarea Phi-

During the crusades, Baniâs was the scene of various changes and conflicts. It first came into the possession of the Christians in A. D. 1129 or 1130, along with the fortress es-Subeibeh on the mountain; being delivered over to them by its Ismaelite governor, after their unsuccessful attempt upon Damascus in behalf of that sect. The city and castle were given as a fief to the knight Rayner Brus.¹ In A. D. 1132, during the absence of Rayner, Baniâs was taken after a short assault by the Sultan Isma'il of Damascus.² It was recaptured by the Franks, aided by the Damascenes themselves, in A. D. 1139; the temporal control restored to Rayner Brus; and the city made a Latin bishopric under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Tyre.³ Baniâs fell afterwards by inheritance into the possession of the constable Honfroy, who called in the aid of the Hospitalers for its protection; in A. D. 1157 it was besieged by the formidable Nureddin, who succeeded in taking and burning the town, but was not able to master the fortress situated in the city itself.⁴ The place was relieved, and the fortifications immediately rebuilt, by king Baldwin III. But in A. D. 1165, Nureddin again attacked Baniâs during the absence of Honfroy, and with better success; after a short siege it surrendered, and never came again into the power of the Franks.⁵

In A. D. 1172, king Amalric besieged Baniâs for fifteen days in vain.⁶ The place, with others, was dismantled by Sultan Mu'adh-dhem in A. D. 1219.⁷ The Christians once more in A. D. 1253 made an expedition from Tyre against Baniâs, under the command of the Seneschal Joinville, and got possession of the town for the moment; but not being able to subdue Kûl'at es-Subeibeh on the mountain, they immediately abandoned their conquest, and retired to Sidon.⁸

Benjamin of Tudela mentions Baniâs and the grotto of the

lippi vocabatur." Eusebius relates (l. c.) from tradition, that this was the place where our Lord healed the woman with an issue of blood, Matt 9, 20. He says, that as a monument of that miracle, there was the brazen statue of a man in a mantle, with a woman kneeling before him as a suppliant. This he had himself seen. It was probably set up in honour of one of the emperors. See Gieseler KG. I p. 79. [66.] *Reiland Palest.* p. 922.

¹ Abulfed. *Annal.* A. H. 523, Tom. III. p. 432. *Will. Tyr.* 13. 26. *ib.* 14. 19. *Wilken. Gesch. der. Kr.* II. p. 569. *Id. Comm. de Bell. cruc.* p. 68.

² *Will. Tyr.* 14. 17, 19. *Wilken ibid.* p. 612 sq.

³ *Will. Tyr.* 15. 9-11. *Reinaud Extraits des Hist. Arabes*, p. 70 sq. *Wilken*

ib. pp. 684, 687 sq. *Le Quien Oriens Christ.* III. p. 1335.

⁴ *Will. Tyr.* 18. 12. *Wilken ib.* III. ii. pp. 43, 44. *Reinaud Extr.* p. 107.

⁵ *Will. Tyr.* 19. 10. *Reinaud Extr.* p. 121. *Wilken ib.* p. 92.—In another place *Wilken* mentions a Baniâs as having been captured by Saladin in A. D. 1188. But the place there meant, is the city Baniâs and the fortress el-Merkab, on the sea-coast north of Tortosa. See *Wilken ib.* VII. p. 327. n. *Reinaud Extr.* p. 225. *Schultens Index in Vit. Salad. art. Markabum.* *Brocardus c.* 2. p. 171.

⁶ *Will. Tyr.* 20. 23. *Wilken ib.* III. ii. p. 153.

⁷ *Wilken ibid.* VI. p. 236.

⁸ *Wilken ibid.* VII. p. 327 sq. and Joinville as there cited.

Jordan; but in such terms as to leave it doubtful, whether he ever visited the spot.¹ He speaks of it under the name of Belinās, a name which was current also among the crusaders.² Brocardus has a notice of the place; and Abulfeda describes it and the castle es-Subeibeh.³ But since the time of the crusades, I find no account of its having been visited by any Frank traveller, until Seetzen took it in his way from Damascus to Tiberias in A. D. 1806.⁴

We now had visited the sources of all the streams, which go to form the upper Jordan, above the lake el-Hûleh. Three such streams enter or spring up in the region of the Hûleh, from the north; of which only the two eastern are mentioned in history, as the sources of the greater and lesser Jordan. Hence the later groundless etymology of the name Jordan, as if compounded of *Jor* and *Dan*, the supposed names of the two sources.⁵ The western and longest stream of all, coming from Hâsbeiya, although unquestionably its waters constitute the remotest head of the Jordan, appears never to have been historically included under that name.⁶ Why this was so, we are nowhere informed, and it behooves us to rest satisfied with the usage of so many ages. The attempt to introduce a change at this late hour,

¹ Benj. of Tud. by Asher, I. p. 82.

² Will. Tyr. 19. 10. Jac. de Vitriac. c. 85. p. 1070. Brocardus c. 8. p. 172.—This name seems to have arisen from confounding the two Arabic names Bāniās and Baluās or Belinās. See p. 411. n. 5. Keland Pal. p. 920. Schultens Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Markabum*. Wilken ib. VII. p. 327. n.

³ Brocardus l. c. Abulfeda Tab. Syr. p. 96. Schultens Index in Vit. Salad. art. *Panæos*.

⁴ Sir J. Maundeville and W. de Baldensel, about A. D. 1336, both speak of Belinās (Bāniās); but they both in travelling to Damascus crossed the Jordan by the bridge below the lake of Tiberias. Maundev. Trave s p. 115. Lond. 1839. W. de Baldensel in Basnage Thesaur. IV. p. 355. So too, probably, Ludolf de Suchem, § 43 ult. Fürer von Haimendorf passed along the Hûleh and up Wady et-Teim in 1566; but did not visit Bāniās; p. 280. Sandys speaks of the castle of Bāniās as occupied in his day by Fakhr ed-Din; p. 165.

⁵ The absurdity of this etymology is obvious; for the name Jordan is merely the Greek form (*Ἰορδάνης*) for the Hebrew יַרְדֵּן, *Iarden*, which has no relation to the name Dan. Further, the name Jordan was applied to the river from the ear-

liest times; and we have it constantly in the Scriptures in the time of Abraham, at least five centuries before the name Dan was given to the city at its source. Yet this etymology goes back at least to the time of Jerome; Comm. in Matt. xvi. 13. "Jordanes oritur ad radices Libani; et habet duos fontes, unum nomine *Jor*, et alterum *Dan*; qui simul mixti Jordanis nomen efficiunt." Hence it was copied by Adamnanus de Loc. Sanct. 2. 19; by William of Tyre 13. 18; by Brocardus c. 8. p. 172; by Marinus Sanutus on his map; by Adrichomius p. 109, etc. etc. The same traditional etymology seems also to be current among the Christians of the country; for Burckhardt was told, that the ancient name of the fountain of Bāniās was Jûr; and the source at Tell el-Kâdy, he says, was still called Dhân; making together the name Jordan. All this was doubtless derived by him from the Greek priests; and is quite similar to our experience at Taiyibeh. See Vol. I. pp. 448, 450. [ii. 126, 128.] Burckhardt pp. 42, 43. Comp. Gesenius Notes on Burckhardt, p. 496.

⁶ The earliest notice of this stream seems to be by Fürer von Haimendorf in A. D. 1566, in travelling up Wady et-Teim to the Bûk'a and Ba'albek; p. 280. Nurnb 1646.

would be alike unnecessary and futile. As well might we require the majestic floods of the Mississippi and Missouri to exchange these names above their junction ; inasmuch as the latter is, of the two, by far the longer and mightier stream.

But whatever may have been the cause of this silence in regard to the longest stream and remotest source of the Jordan, the like analogy is found in the case of the other three Syrian rivers, which take their rise in the Būká'a and Anti-Lebanon ; the Barada, the Litány, and the Orontes. Thus the proper head of the first is in the plain south of Zebedány, in the highest part of Anti-Lebanon ; while Abulfeda expressly says, that " the source of the river of Damascus " is at the great fountain of Fijeh, half way down the mountain.¹ The Litány has one of its heads in the fine stream at Ba'albek ; yet the great fountains near 'Anjar are usually spoken of as its source. In like manner the large fountain at Lebweh is the true head of the Orontes ; yet what are known as the sources of that river, are the abundant fountains near Hürmul.

The idea which in all these cases lies at the foundation, would seem to be, to regard as the source of a river, not its remotest head, but its most copious fountains.

Friday, May 28th.—We left Baniäs for Häsbeiya at 7.10, by a road lying north of that which leads to Tell el-Kády. Fifteen minutes brought us to the western brow of the terrace. Here on our right a higher ridge ran along the very brow, shutting out any view of Baniäs from the west. We descended along rivulets carried down from the fountain to water the lower plain. At 7.37 we crossed the deep and dry water-bed of Wady 'Asal ; which issues from its great mountain chasm in the angle between the terrace and the mountain. Our course was now northwest, directly towards el-Ghūjar and its white-domed Wely ; and this is here the general direction of the base of the mountains.

At 8 o'clock the road forked, and we began to turn around the angle of the mountain into the plain of Wady et-Teim. As we kept near the base of the mountain, on high ground, the plain on the left was below us. A fountain was on our left below at 8.20 ; apparently the source of the stream we had crossed on Wednesday, running to Tell el-Kády. Our course along the base of the mountain became now N. 10° E. At 8.35 we stopped at a small fountain by the road, called Khurwa'ah, opposite to a small Arab village on the foot of the mountain. This spot afforded a fine view of the plain of et-Teim and of the Hüleleh beyond.

¹ Abulfeda Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 15.

We here took a guide to conduct us up the steep mountain side to Kūl'at Bustra, a tract of ruins lying opposite to us, on the brow of an almost precipitous projecting shoulder or terrace of the mountain, at least a thousand feet above the plain. It took us nearly fifty minutes to ascend to the top, by a path as steep as can well be climbed by horses. At thirty minutes, on a lower projecting point, were some ruins, with a tank and cistern. We could not make out the character of the remains; except perhaps traces of the four walls of one building, and of a small room laid up with mortar. The spot seemed to us to have been merely a small hamlet or suburb dependent on the place higher up; but far less extensive and less perfectly preserved.

The summit of the projecting shoulder is crowded with ruins of edifices, built indeed of hewn stones, but without architectural ornament, and laid up coarsely without cement. It seemed to have been a site of temples. We were able to make out not less than *four* with certainty, and probably more; having grooved portals of hewn stone, and rows of rude columns in the interior. Many squared stones, and not a few hewn, lay in heaps round about, all of limestone, and all leaving an impression of rudeness. The temples were from thirty to fifty feet in length, and of proportionate width.—The place could never have been either a fortress or a town. It seemed rather a spot consecrated to religious worship. Perhaps the priests and their families resided at the hamlet lower down.

The ruins are on the projecting point; back of which is a small space or plateau before the mountain rises again. Here are two small tanks; and among the ruins is a cistern vaulted and cemented. The mountain tract rises into the high bulwark on the west of Wady 'Asal. The summit of Hermon is not here visible. A deep rugged gorge, called Wady Nemūr (Panther valley) has its head east of the hill of Kūl'at Bustra, and passes down to the plain about a mile further south. High up on the opposite side, southeast of the ruins, is a Mezra'ah (goat village) of shepherds belonging to Shib'a, the highest village of Jebel esh-Sheikh, whose thousands of goats range these rugged mountains for fifteen or twenty miles south of Shib'a. The land round Kūl'at Bustra belongs to Kefr Shūba, a village further north upon the mountain.

The remains at Kūl'at Bustra present a riddle, which I am not able to solve. There is no mark of Christianity about them; they could have been neither churches nor convents. The whole collection greatly resembles, in location and arrangement, the Khūlwāt (chapels) of the Druzes, like that of el-Biyād on the hill south of Hāsbeiya. The work however is heavier, the stones

larger, and the establishment altogether more extensive than a place of Druze Khülwât.¹ The ruins may be of high antiquity ; as the stone is so compact and so impregnated with metal that time scarcely produces any change upon it. This may perhaps have been one of the "high places" consecrated by the Syrians or Phenicians to the worship of their Baalim.

The spot had before been visited by no Frank traveller except Burckhardt.² The prospect is exceedingly beautiful ; though hardly more extensive than from the fountain below.³

We descended again to 'Ain Khurwa'ah in forty-five minutes ; and set off thence at 12.35. After half an hour hills began to rise along the middle of Wady et-Teim ; that is, in the interval between Jebel esh-Sheikh and the ridge on the west of the plain ; our road keeping along on the east of these hills. At 1.15 we came to Wady Seraiyib, with a fine stream which comes from a large fountain at the foot of Jebel esh-Sheikh. This fountain is regarded as one of the main feeders of the Hasbâny. It is said to intermit in summer, and return in its full strength in winter ; perhaps nothing more than as affected by the different seasons. As we now saw it, there was said to be not more than one fourth part of its usual supply of water ; and it certainly was not a quarter as large as the Hasbâny. The water is limpid and beautiful.

A ridge on the north of this Wady connects on the left, at right angles, with another long hill, running north parallel with the Hasbâny. Crossing the said ridge we descended gradually towards the basin of Wady Khureibeh, having on our left at 1.35 the village of Khureibeh, situated on the said long hill, about a mile distant. Wady Khureibeh comes down W. S. W. from the mountain, and forms a pretty plain or basin on the northeast and north of the village and its hill. Here the usual road to Hâsbeiya passes down towards the left to the Hasbâny, which it follows up quite to the Khân.

We kept on more to the right ; and after crossing the bed of Wady Khureibeh at 1.45, we climbed a very long ascent to the large village of Râsheiyet el-Fûkhâr, to which we came at 2.20. It lies very high, on a broad ridge running down W. S. W. from Jebel esh-Sheikh, between Wady Khureibeh

¹ The resemblance to a place of Druze Khülwât, is very striking ; except in the particulars specified in the text ; see above, pp. 381, 382. May it perhaps have been such a spot, pertaining to the earlier history of the Druzes, and now forgotten ?—There is said to be a collection of similar ruins at Mûtaleih, a much higher point E. by N. of Râsheiyet el-Fûkhâr. It is called ed-Deir ; and the Greek cross is said to be seen on

some of the stones. Several other ruins of a like character are reported in this part of Hermon. The most noted is at a place called Sid Dâna, northeast of Mûtaleih.

² Trav. in Syr. p. 41.

³ Bearings from Kul'at Bustra : Tell el-Kâdy 207°. Hâmîn 242°. el-Ghâjar 252°. K. esh-Shûkîf 293°. Khîyam 317°. Chasam of Jordan and lake of Tiberias beyond 192°.

and the great open tract below Wady Shib'a. The village is celebrated for its pottery ; for the manufacture of which it is one of the chief seats. There are many large dome-shaped furnaces for burning the ware ; and many specimens were standing outside of the houses ; such as furnaces (Tannûr), tall jars, and the like. This pottery ware is sent around to all the fairs of the country, and far into Haurân ; as also to Hums and Hamah.—Although the place lies so high, yet it is so shut in by mountains and hills, that few villages are visible from it. The two places Kefr Hamâm and Kefr Shûba are seen in a line in the southeast, beyond Wady Khureibeh, on the mountain side, at different heights ; Kefr Shûba being the highest.¹

From Râsheiyet el-Fûkhâr the usual road to Hâsbeiya passes down through el-Fûrdîs, situated in the lower gap of Wady Shib'a. We took a road more to the right, in order to visit Hibbâriyeh. It led us along on the high ground and around the shoulder of the hill, overlooking the open tract of Hibbâriyeh ; until at 2.45 we began to descend, by a very long and steep declivity, directly towards that village, N. 75° E. Far below us on the left, was el-Fûrdîs, in the lower part of Wady Shib'a, as it goes to the Hasbâny. Fûrdîs is directly east of Kaukaba, and about a mile and a half distant from it.—On a high point of the ridge back of Hibbâriyeh is said to be the ruin called Deir Mûtâleih, mentioned above.

We now approached the great Wady Shib'a ; which here breaks down by an enormous gorge through the western ridge of Jebel esh-Sheikh. At the base of the mountain it expands into a broad open tract of several hundred acres of tolerably smooth though rocky land, having a considerable slope towards the west. Through the middle of it runs the deep water-bed of the Wady, a rocky chasm, with a turbid brook, gathered from the snows of Hermon. It sometimes dries up in September and October. The tract is separated from the Hasbâny by hills connected with the ridges on the north and south ; and through these the Wady finds its way down to the river. In this part is Fûrdîs ; and on the northern hill is 'Ain Jûrfa. In the high upper portion of the Wady, above the western ridge of Hermon, where, coming from towards Râsheiya, it still runs southwest, lies the village of Shib'a, an hour and a half distant from Hibbâriyeh. It is the highest village of the mountains ; and is said to own five and twenty thousand goats, which range over the higher parts of the mountain as their pasture. The people of Shib'a send large quantities of cheese and dried *leben* to Damascus and other places. Near Shib'a a decisive battle was fought in 1838,

¹ Bearings at Râsheiyet el-Fûkhâr : Kefr Hamâm S. 40° E. 1 m. Kefr Shûba S. 40° E. 2 m.

between the Egyptian army and the Druzes ; in which the latter were defeated.

We reached Hibbâriyeh at 3.25. Just before coming to it, there was on our right a remarkable circular cavity in the lime-stone rock, with perpendicular sides, some fifty feet deep and twenty rods in diameter ; as if the interior area had sunk down perpendicularly. The bottom was tilled, and planted with olive trees. The village lies quite on the upper (eastern) side of the open tract, just at the opening of the great gorge of Wady Shib'a, and south of the water-bed.¹

The only point of interest in the village, apart from its remarkable position, is the beautiful ruin of an ancient temple, now standing in a ploughed field. It fronts directly upon the great chasm, looking up the mighty gorge, as if to catch the first beams of the morning sun rising over Hermon. The walls are standing, except on the north side. The whole length of the edifice is fifty-eight feet from east to west ; and its breadth, thirty-one feet. At the corners are square pilasters, with Ionic capitals. Between these, in the eastern front, were two round columns, forming the portico. The walls are six feet thick. The stones are many of them large ; one measured fifteen feet long by about two feet nine inches square. Some of them are partially *bevelled* ; though not in so finished a manner as at Jerusalem or in the castle of Baniâs.² Along the wall, near the foundation, is an ornamented ledge ; and above, at the eaves, a double cornice, with a line of rounded stones between. At each end is a noble pediment. Inside of the portico are ornamental niches. The dimensions of the temple had previously been taken by Mr Thomson as follows :

Length . . .	58 feet.	Body, N. to S. . .	23 feet.
Breadth . . .	31 "	Recess at W. end, length . .	19 "
Portico, depth . . .	15½ "	" " depth . .	11 "
" width . . .	23 "	Height of wall . .	32 "
Body, E. to W. . .	21½ "	Thickness of do. . .	6 "

This is one of the best preserved and most beautiful specimens of the many ancient temples, with which Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and the valleys between, are thronged. Their number is not yet known ; but I visited no less than thirteen during my present journey ; and that without varying my intended course except slightly in one or two instances. They are found in all situations ; crowning hills and mountain tops ; or secluded in

¹ Bearings from Hibbâriyeh : Course back towards Râsheiyet el-Fukhâr S. 75° W. 'Ain Jurfâ N. 40° W. 1½ m.

² The above statement is according to

my recollections, and according to my notes made at the time. Mr Thomson has again visited the temple, and reports the stones as *not bevelled*.

valleys and deep gorges. The founders and worshippers have disappeared for unknown ages ; whether they were Phenicians or Græco-Syrians we cannot tell ; they have left behind no trace but these their works ; and no record to show how or why these works were erected.

We left Hibbāriyeh at 3.45, on a direct course for 'Ain Jūrfa, in order to reach again the road to Hāsbeiya. At 4 o'clock we crossed the deep chasm and brook of Wady Shib'a ; and at 4.15 reached the low ground or Wady at the foot of the western hill. The ascent to the village was quite steep, rough, and very zig-zag. We reached 'Ain Jūrfa, a small and unimportant place, at 4.30 ; and turned more north along the road to Hāsbeiya, continuing to ascend in the general course of the valley of the Hasbāny. We reached the top of the ascent at 4.45 ; and came out upon the cultivated table land on the ridge south of Hāsbeiya. We were ten minutes in crossing this tract with its vineyards ; having the Khūlwāt of el-Biyād a short distance on our left.¹ From thence a long and steep descent brought us to the upper part of Hāsbeiya ; and at 5.10 we reached our home in the mission house.

The elevation of the following points upon our route of to day, had recently been determined by Dr De Forest with the aneroid.²

	Eng. feet.
Plain at S. W. angle of J. esh-Sheikh	855
Bridge of Nahr Seraiyib	1237½
Rāsheiyet el-Fukhār	2475
Road N. E. of do.	2554
Hibbāriyeh	2261
Foot of ascent to 'Ain Jūrfa	1721
'Ain Jūrfa	2374
Road near Khūlwāt el-Biyād	2711
Hāsbeiya, Palace	2160

It hence appears, that from the foot of the hill of 'Ain Jūrfa we ascended nine hundred and ninety feet in thirty minutes ; and again descended five hundred and fifty-one feet to Hāsbeiya in fifteen minutes.

Saturday and Sunday, May 30th and 31st.—We remained in Hāsbeiya, and had two days of rest and quiet. The usual exercises of public worship were held on the Sabbath ; and this time I had the privilege of being present.

¹ See above, pp. 381, 382.

² See also above, p. 383.

SECTION X.

FROM HASBEIYA TO DAMASCUS.

SEVERAL routes lead from Hâsbeiya to Damascus. The shortest ascends by Shuweiya, and so across the mountain south of Râsheiya ; this is a summer road.¹ A second crosses the hill north of Hâsbeiya, and passes through Mimis and Kufair to Râsheiya. A third joins the great Sidon road at the fountain of the Hasbâny ; and, following up the valley, either turns to Râsheiya ; or, continuing on as far as Muhaiditheh, thence ascends the eastern mountain by Wady 'Arab and Bekka. The first two routes approach Damascus by way of Katana ; although a less travelled branch goes off from Râsheiya to Dimâs. The third route likewise goes to Dimâs, uniting near the ruined Khân Meithelûn with the road coming from Beirût.

As we desired to visit several points of interest, we concluded to take a route more circuitous than any of the above, and bend our course first to the Kûweh or natural bridge over the Litâny.

Monday, May 31st.—We were ready for an early start. Mr Thomson was still to accompany me ; and Mr Wortabet concluded to make his first visit to Damascus. Nasif, the Wakil of the Protestants in Hâsbeiya, likewise joined us ; having to go to Damascus on business for his people. The Emîr had refused to let the Protestants pay their taxes, except as members of the Greek church ; a procedure directly contrary to the law and to the practice everywhere else. This could be resisted only by an appeal to the government at Damascus. A number of persons also called, professing their desire to become Protestants, and desiring the counsel of Mr Thomson. All this detained us.

Having sent off our muleteers to await us at Neby Sûfa, we

¹ See above, p. 383.

started at 8 o'clock ; and striking up the northern hill, had a fine view of the town behind us. Our course was now N. 25° W. descending to the channel of Wady et-Teim ; which we reached at 8.25. It here ran W. S. W. was narrow, and without water. We followed it down for ten minutes, and then crossed it ; there was here a little water percolating among the stones. We now began the long ascent of the western ridge, on a course about W. S. W. On our left, just west of the great fountain, was the small source 'Ain Tannûrah, watering an enclosed tract of orchards and gardens belonging to the Errirs of Hasbeiya. Fifteen minutes further up, on our right, was another similar fountain and irrigated tract, called 'Ain el-Bârîdeh. Turning a little to the left, and climbing around a projecting Tell, we came out at 9.10, upon the summit of the ridge.

This ridge is called ed-Dahar. North of Kaukaba its course is nearly from northeast to southwest ; and it alone lies between Wady et-Teim and the chasm of the Litâny. Its course is almost a straight line as far north as to Muhaiditheh. South of Kaukaba it turns S. S. W. or S. by W. and has between it and the Litâny the whole of Merj 'Ayûn. The whole region—streams, valleys, ridges, and all—sinks down very rapidly towards the south. The ridge ed-Dahar, from the point where we stood, rises much towards the north ; but is perhaps nowhere higher than here above the valley. This spot affords the distant view of Hasbeiya, already referred to.¹ We stopped here for five minutes.²

We now turned northeast along the top of the ridge for an hour ; passing over some low summits, and around others. This is one of the roads leading from the Hûleh to the Bûkâ'a. At 10.15 we came to a well, called Bir ed-Dahar. The declivities of the ridge on each side, though high and steep, (the eastern being the steepest,) are chalky and smooth, in great part arable, and not much broken by ravines and ledges of rock. As we travelled along the top, we had on our right the whole extent of Jebel esh-Sheikh, with its icy crown above, and its dark masses of limestone rocks below, broken up by numerous deep ravines descending from the lofty sides to the Hasbâny. Below the highest point, the western ridge of the mountain begins to decline northwards ; and sinks down towards Râsheiya to the level of the adjacent ridges and hills. Wady et-Teim continued thus far narrow and shut in by lower hills ; but further north it opens out again into a rolling basin, several miles long by some two miles broad, and running in among the eastern hills.

¹ See above, p 381.

² Bearings at 9.10 from the ridge ed-Dahar : Kûfeir 78½°. Mîmis 84°. Jebel esh-Sheikh, highest point, 94°. Shuweiya

116°. Hasbeiya 123°. el-Biyâd 151°. Râsheiyet el-Fûkhâr 177°. Chasm of Jordan below the Hûleh 190°. Kaukaba 227°. Kûfat esh-Shûkîf 236°.

On our left, beyond the valley and chasm of the Litâny, was the high unbroken wall formed by the highest ridge or backbone of Lebanon. On this side it is in most parts precipitous ; and seems to be not more than half as high as when viewed from the west, where the mountain rises in successive plateaus. Its steepes also, as here seen, are dark, and in some parts wooded, with occasional ravines. The Taum Niha (Twins of Niha), two sharp and towering pyramids, appear to stand in connection with this high ridge ; though the line between them would seem to lie a little farther west. Their declivities on this side extend quite down to the eastern valley. The main ridge runs on further south as Jebel Rihân ; towards the north there are in it two or three lower spots or gaps, through which roads cross over.—Nearer at hand, along the base of this main ridge, runs a line of lower hills, appearing like thin, sharp ridges, partly grassy and still green ; and about as high as the Dahar on which we were now travelling. Behind these hills a northern branch of Wady Sif-sâf runs down northeast to the Litâny, issuing by a break in the line of hills nearly opposite the Kûweh. Further north the hills are lower ; and behind them is likewise a valley running down northeast to the Litâny, in which is the large village of Meshghûrah surrounded by trees and gardens.¹

We have already seen,² that just north of Bûrghûz a broad low spur or swell of land is thrown off from the base of Lebanon across the valley of the Litâny, quite to the eastern ridge. Through this broad swell the river breaks in its deep, narrow, almost perpendicular chasm ; the lower portion of which we had seen at Bûrghûz. North of this swell is a lower tract or basin, with some arable land. In this part stands the little Metâwileh village of Kilya, quite on the eastern brink of the chasm ; which here also is deep and narrow. On the opposite brink is another small village called Lusah. The inhabitants of these two villages can converse with each other across the chasm ; and, notwithstanding the steepness of the banks, they have a footpath leading down them on each side. On the north of this basin a still higher and broader spur is thrown off from the base of Lebanon across the valley ; and through this too the river breaks by a similar but still deeper chasm. On this broader ridge is situated the village of Yûhmur, on the east brink of the chasm ; and beyond it in the chasm is the Kûweh.

¹ Abulfeda speaks of the 'city' Meshghûrah, as one of the pleasantest in the country, situated in a valley rendered beautiful by trees and streams of water ; Tab. Syr. ed Köhler p. 93. In A. D. 1176, king Baldwin IV. made an excursion from Sidon to the Bâkâ'a, and came first to *Messara*, i. e. Meshghûrah ; Will. Tyr.

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21. 11. It is also mentioned near the end of the crusades, in the thirteenth century ; Wilken Gesch. der Kr. VI. p. 155, n.

² See above, pp. 385, 386.—This region was extensively explored in 1844 by the Rev. Dr Smith, of whose manuscript journals I have here made use.

Through both these broad spurs and the intervening basin, as far down as to Būrghūz, the river everywhere thus flows between the same precipitous banks, varying from a hundred to a thousand feet in height. There is about the chasm this peculiarity, that for most of the way there is no depression of the ground on approaching the banks; the undulations of surface on each side being the same; so that whenever one loses sight of the chasm, he would not suspect, that the whole tract was not one continuous surface.

From Bir ed-Dahar we now (at 10.15) turned more to the left and nearly north towards Yühmur, descending obliquely and gradually along the western declivity, and crossing several small ravines running to the Litâny. Just south of that village is a very deep gorge, cut down in the left bank by a short Wady. Ascending from it we reached Yühmur at 11.30. It stands among rocks on a high point on the brink of the chasm; the inhabitants are Metâwileh. Here was a winepress hewn in the rock, possibly ancient. The banks of the chasm at this place are perhaps higher than at any other point; we judged the depth to be not less than a thousand feet. The rock is less compact than lower down the stream, and has in many places been worn away or has slidden down; thus widening the chasm above, and varying its character below. The chasm is here deeper and narrower than at Belât. The foaming silvery stream at the bottom rushes on from rapid to rapid, decked with the gay blossoms of the oleanders along its margin.

We continued our way northwards till 11.45; when we began to descend into the chasm to reach the Kûweh. The adjacent land here spreads out into an open tract, rocky and partially sloping, but cultivated and in some parts green; the eastern ridge retiring in almost a semicircular sweep. A small Wady breaks down by a leap to the river below. Along this we began to descend; but soon turned to the left around the high rocky cliff, and descending obliquely along the precipice south-west, reached the Kûweh at the bottom at 12 o'clock. The path is steep, and in some spots runs along the brink of the precipice; but is not difficult, except in one place of slippery rocks, where we dismounted in going down, but rode up the whole distance in returning. This is a regular public road, though not much travelled, leading over the Kûweh and up into Lebanon to Jezzin and other places. As we afterwards left the bank above, we saw a party descending from the mountain to the bridge on their way to Damascus, as we afterwards learned.

The scenery of the chasm is in the highest degree wild, picturesque, and grand. In descending, as one looks down into

the stream far below, he sees immense caverns and arches in the opposite wall of rock ; and above them are other caverns partly artificial, which are said to have been formerly the haunt of robbers. When at the bottom, the traveller is completely shut in by the perpendicular jagged walls of the chasm, rising from four to five hundred feet above the bridge. Rocks from above in ancient times have fallen into the stream, confining it to a narrower channel, and in some parts covering it quite over. Upon these rocks, in the course of time, there has accumulated a covering of earth, forming a broad bridge over a very contracted channel. In the northern part the covering is not quite complete ; a very narrow and ragged fissure being left, which is now filled and covered with fig and other trees and shrubs. The road-way, in the middle of the bridge, is ten feet wide, and like a *chaussée* in form. South of this is a lower terrace, some fifteen or twenty feet wide. The following measurements had already been made by Mr Thomson :

Breadth of the channel	22 feet.
Whole width of bridge	68 "
Width of roadway	10 "
Height of road above the water	105 "
Thickness of the bridge or arch	90 "

The opening towards the north, by which the stream enters, is covered and hidden by trees and bushes ; as is also the southern exit, except as viewed from a point on the left bank below the bridge. As there seen, the rocks appear to form an angle over the channel, like the sharp roof of a Dutch house. This too is mostly covered with fig trees. The river tumbles, foams, and roars over the rocks in its steep and rugged channel in the most picturesque manner. The high walls of the chasm are mostly naked ; but at the bottom, along the margin of the water, are many trees, and among them fig trees and vines, intermingled with the gay blossoms of the oleander.

It is difficult to reach the water below the bridge, where the chasm presents its grandest and most romantic features. To do so one must scramble along on the western side for a considerable distance, and pass under huge rocks of the overhanging strata, forming a large cavern, and declining towards the south. With some hazard one reaches the water, just where further progress is arrested by perpendicular cliffs. Here the channel of the stream is contracted to twelve or fifteen feet ; and through it the water pours with great impetuosity. Just below, a rock has fallen nearly across the narrow channel, and another projects from the eastern side, leaving only a passage of two or three feet, and forming almost another natural bridge. The scenery just here is magnificent.

Such is the Kûweh ; which has remained wholly unknown to travellers, until visited by Dr Smith in 1844.¹

Leaving the brow above the Kûweh at 2.15, we returned for ten minutes towards Yûhmur, and then turned to the left across the fields, to cut off an angle and gain a road to Nêby Sûfa. Many of the fields were strictly vineyards ; the stocks of the vines were not fastened upon posts, but laid regularly on the ground, or sometimes trained along the sides and over the tops of large rocks. We struck the road at 2.35, about half a mile northeast of Yûhmur.

At this point Sûhmur was visible, another Metâwileh village on the left bank of the river, an hour higher up. Two or three trees also marked the direction of Meshghûrah ; and 'Aitenith was likewise in sight, a village next north of Meshghûrah on the eastern foot of Lebanon.² The mouth of Wady Sifsaf was opposite to us beyond the Litâny, opening at a considerable height, just south of where the road ascends from the Kûweh. Not far north of us the ground began to descend ; this being the northern part of the broad swell which here crosses the Litâny. At the bottom the land is considerably lower, but ascends gradually further towards the north. The open tract on the east continues for some distance ; the ridge on our right gradually sweeping round again to near the river just above Sûhmur. At this village the chasm of the river continues ; but is less deep. A good hour above Sûhmur is the bridge of Kûr'ûn, which crosses the Litâny on six arches of stone ; the river here having an alluvial margin. The bridge is named from the village of Kûr'ûn, lying about half a mile nearly east of it. Over this bridge passes the road from Sidon to Damascus followed by Maundrell in A. D. 1697. It comes down by Meshghûrah, passes on by Jubb Jenin and 'Aithy, and ascending Anti-Lebanon joins the road from Muhaiditheh by Bekka, before reaching Dimâs.³

Keeping on our way about E. by N. we rose gradually over the low rocky broken ridges and hills, which fill up the interval towards the eastern ridge. The path became at last so blind, that we lost it ; and, having no guide, we continued our course as we best could, without a path. At length, about 3.20, we reached the top of the ridge ed-Dahar, which here proved to be

¹ See *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1849, p. 378.—Some of Lieut. Lynch's party visited the place in 1848 ; *Narrative* p. 480. It was also visited in 1850 by Graf v. Schlieffen ; *Ritter* XVII. pp. 333, 335.

² Bearings at 2.35 : Sûhmur 27°. Yûhmur 210°. S. peak of Niha 296°. Trees of Meshghûrah 340°. 'Aitenith N.—These bearings were taken in 1844. For Meshghûrah, see above, p. 421.

³ Maundrell, April 24-26th.—Maundrell speaks of crossing on Anti-Lebanon a small rivulet called "Ayn Yentloe," perhaps as coming from the village of Yûntah, near which is a fountain. See J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 42.—Burckhardt took the same route from Jubb Jenin to Damascus in 1812, a journey of two days for caravans ; *Trav.* p. 208.

quite broad. Just at this point it begins to fork, so as further north to form two ridges, enclosing between them the pretty bowl-like basin or plain of Merj Shemiseh, into which we now looked down on our left. It is entirely shut in by the hills; is fertile and cultivated, but without inhabitants. It is drained in the northwest by Wady Mishk; which runs to the Litány in a direction N. 65° W. about half an hour north of Sühmur. Several small Wadys extend up from the little plain; one towards the northeast; another on the north of Kefr Mishky, a village overlooking Wady et-Teim; another south of that village towards Neby Süfa; and a main one runs up south in the fork of the ridge. Down this latter comes the road from the south along the top of the Dahar. After crossing the plain, this road ascends the northern hill to Mejdél Belhis on its top; and thence passing on descends to Kâmid el-Lauz in the plain of the Būkâ'a. Another road from Neby Süfa joins it in the Merj; and a road leads down Wady Mishk and so to the bridge of Kūr'ûn. The little hamlet of Shemiseh, from which the Merj takes its name, is on the hill at the left of the opening by which Wady Mishk issues from the plain.

On the north of Merj Shemiseh the land rises again; and seems to assume the character of a broad uneven elevated tract, occupying the whole space between Wady et-Teim and the Litány, except a strip of plain along that river; and extending north nearly to Wady Falûj. On its southeastern part is Mejdél Belhis overlooking the Merj. Towards the west it presents a broad front, of naked aspect. The villages of Kūr'ûn, Ba'lûla, Lâla, and Jubb Jenin, lie along its base from south to north. The first and last are large places, quite down on the edge of the plain; the other two are higher up. Jubb Jenin is at the northwest angle; and near it is another bridge over the Litány.¹ From this angle a low line of hills extends quite across the Litány to the foot of Lebanon. Through these hills the river breaks by a chasm, not deep indeed, but otherwise similar to that through which it flows further down. These hills and this broad high tract constitute the southern boundary of the great plain of the Būkâ'a. Between Jubb Jenin and Wady Falûj there extends up southeast an offset of the Būkâ'a, in which is the once large town of Kâmid el-Lauz.²

We crossed the Wady and road in the fork near its head at 3.25.³ Climbing a rocky ledge before us, we reached the top of the easternmost ridge at 3.30. This portion is still broad; and

¹ Burckhardt Trav. in Syr. p. 207.

² Abulfeda mentions the 'city' Kâmid as having been once the chief place of this region; Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 93.

³ Bearings at 3.25: Course of the Wady 46° . Mejdél Belhis 36° . South peak of Niha 293° .

the surface is thickly strewn with large rocks. Crossing it we came at 3.45 to Libbeiya, a small village on the eastern brow, overlooking Wady et-Teim.¹ Here is an ancient sarcophagus of large dimensions. After stopping for five minutes, we kept along the eastern brow of this rocky ridge, on a northeasterly course, and came at 3.45 to Neby Süfa. The place lies in a gap of this ridge, between Wady et-Teim and Merj Shemiseh; but still quite elevated above Wady et-Teim. Here we found our muleteers, and pitched our tent in a field below the village. Near by were two large sarcophagi lying side by side, with the cover of one of them standing up on end.

The proper Arabic name of the village is Thelthâtha; and so it is given in our former lists. The name Neby Süfa is understood to come from a Wely.

The main object of attention and attraction at this place, is another ancient temple in ruins. It stood here facing the east, directly overagainst Hermon in his most imposing aspect. The temple was larger than that at Hibbâriyeh; the stones not bevelled and not as large, though three feet thick; the entablature less heavy; the pediment more elegant; and the general character of the architecture lighter and more graceful. It is however in a very dilapidated state; only a part of the northern wall is standing. The northeast corner, with its pilasters and entablature and a fragment of the pediment, remains yet erect, and towers above all the rest. Standing thus alone, it forms a very striking and picturesque feature. The altar at the western end has under it a vault, with steps leading down to it. In the eastern front were columns, probably of a portico now broken down. The wall exhibits thirteen courses of stones, each three feet thick; the entablature being four and a half feet.—The following measurements were made by Mr Thomson on a former visit.

Length, from E. to W.	.	.	.	72½ feet.
Width, from N. to S.	.	.	.	35 "
Height of wall	.	.	.	43½ "
Columns, diameter	.	.	.	3 "

From Neby Süfa the basin or plain of the upper Wady et-Teim is seen extending far to the N. N. E. The highest point of Jebel esh-Sheikh bears S. E. by S. The mountain did not here impart such an impression of loftiness, as from some other points of view. Only a portion of the main ridge was in sight; the lower masses of the mountain being hidden by the less

¹ Bearings at Libbeiya in 1844: Bek- 'Ata 138°. Khülwet el-Kufeir 174½°. kffa 85°. Beit Lehya 90°. Künnâbeh 109°. Mihis 194°. Shuweiya 190½°. Khülwet Dhuneibeh 137°. Sefineh 159°. 'Ain el-Biyâd 208°. Khyam 217°.

elevated ridges along its base. The great western ridge is seen declining towards the northeast. A large Wady issues from behind it, and sweeping around its northern end turns southwest to Wady et-Teim. Just north of this are the ends of two or three short ridges, which run off E. N. E. among which is situated the town of Râsheiya, not here visible. These ridges seemed to lie transversely to the western declivities of Anti-Lebanon, on the left; and to be only thus far connected with them. From the high point of Jebel esh-Sheikh, a ridge runs down E. N. E. seeming hardly to connect with Anti-Lebanon at all, but rather to sink down towards the plain of Damascus.

Tuesday, June 1st.—We set off at 7 o'clock; intending to proceed directly to Kefr Kûk, and thence choose our road to Damascus according to circumstances. We had a long and steep descent to the basin of Wady et-Teim; and reached the Damascus road at 7.25, near a fountain and tank; having on our right a fine Tell, called Tell et-Tiny, and by some Tell ez-Zeitûny. Here the Christians of Hâsbeiya and the lower Wady et-Teim were attacked by the Muslims and Druzes in 1845, as they were fleeing to Zahleh. South of the Tell is a fine plain. Further north, the bottom of the wide valley, which from above looked like a level plain, is seen to be uneven, rolling, and interspersed with low broken hills.

Our course was now about N. E. by N. parallel to the western hills, for about an hour. At 8.20 there was a small dry water-course on our right; and the tract beyond it was volcanic. Here, opposite to Kefr Mishky, we turned more to the right, crossed the water-bed, and rose upon an extensive plateau of trap formation. Our course was N. E. by E. At 8.50 we reached the brow of a descent, on the eastern side of the plateau, into the main channel of the wide basin. A low column was on the brow. Five minutes brought us to the water-bed; from which we rose to the eastern bank. We could see the open valley extending up beyond Muhaiditheh towards the Bûkâ'a, with low hills on the western side; the hills appearing low, because the basin of the Wady is here very high. The whole region has few trees and is bleak. On our right we could now see the short ridges running E. N. E. between us and Jebel esh-Sheikh, having no *direct* connection with Anti-Lebanon. At Neby Süfa we had only seen their western ends, appearing like bluffs. Here too we could see the great ravine coming down from behind the western ridge of esh-Sheikh, and sweeping round southwest into the plain; after being joined by other ravines from the northeast.

We now wound up gradually among low hills, still N. E. by E. to a higher plain, and came at 9.20 to a fine fountain;

having before us the large village of Dahar el-Ahmar, half a mile distant. Here the houses of Râsheiya were visible, a mile and a half on our right, on the east end of a ridge, high above the plain, and bearing S. 25° E. Muhaiditheh bore from here about N. 18° W.

The following is the information obtained, relative to the northern part of Wady et-Teim, and its connection with the Būkâ'a.¹

The large village of Muhaiditheh, usually contracted to Muhaiteh, inhabited by Greek Christians and Druzes, stands upon a projection from the western line of hills, at the point where these hills, making a considerable angle, turn more directly northward.² The plain also continues towards the north, bounded by these hills on the west, and by the base of Anti-Lebanon on the east; and being about three quarters of a mile in width. The western line of hills runs on thus parallel to Anti-Lebanon, almost without interruption; rising in one part into a high point, on which is the village of Sultân Ya'kûb; and then gradually declining, until they are lost in the great plain a little north of Mejdél 'Anjar. The interval between this line of hills and Anti-Lebanon retains the same general form of a valley, until it meets the Būkâ'a at Neba' 'Anjar. But the highest part of Wady et-Teim, and its proper water-shed, is about an hour north of Muhaiditheh, and half an hour south of 'Ain (or Neba') Falûj.

I afterwards crossed the northern part of this intermediate valley at Mejdél 'Anjar; and found it there sloping upwards towards the south.³ This rise continues, however, only as far as to Sultân Ya'kûb; where the bottom of the valley is quite as high as the head of Wady et-Teim further south. The intervening tract, about an hour in length, is depressed, forming a deep arable basin in the valley, with an outlet from it through a gap in the western hills into the Būkâ'a. This outlet is called Wady Falûj; and on its southern side is the fine fountain, 'Ain Falûj.⁴ The distance through the hills is about half a mile.

The following places, from Neby Süfa northwards, are situated

¹ In 1844 Dr E. Smith examined this region carefully as far as to 'Ain Falûj. His notes are before me; and to them I am greatly indebted. Râsheiya 161°. Dahar el-Ahmar 145°. Kefr Dînis 100°. Khirbet Râha 72°. Me dūkhah 52°.

² See below, under June 8th.

³ Bearings at Muhaiditheh in 1844: Kefr Mishky 227°. Kaukaba Abu 'Arabeh 227°. Künnâbeh 208°. 'Ain 'Ata 198°. Beit Leahya 192°. Tannûrah 190°.

⁴ Bearings from 'Ain Falûj in 1844: Sultân Ya'kûb 31°. Hümmârah 51j°. Kûar Hümmârah 59°. Bekka 106°.

on or in connection with the western line of hills, at the specified intervening distances.¹

From Neby Sûfa

Kefr Mishky	.	.	.	1 hour.
Kaukaba Abu 'Arabeh	.	.	.	
Muhaiditheh, (from Kefr M.)	.	.	.	1½ "
Rafidh	.	.	.	
Bireh	.	.	.	
Watershed, (from M.)	.	.	.	1 "
'Ain (or Neba') Falûj	.	.	.	½ "
Sultân Ya'kôb	.	.	.	½ "
'Ain es-Suweireh	.	.	.	1 "
Mejdel 'Anjar	.	.	.	½ "

The following are on the eastern side of the valley, along the foot of Anti-Lebanon. Khirbet Rûha is on the south side of Wady 'Arab as it enters the plain, bearing from Muhaiteh N. 72° E. High on the mountain is seen the village of Bekka. A little further north comes down another Wady from N. 75° E. the most remote tributary of Wady et-Teim. On its north-western side, on the declivity of the mountain, is the village of Medûkhah. Overagainst Sultân Ya'kôb is 'Aithy, situated ten minutes up a valley which here enters the plain.² Twenty-five minutes further north is Hûmmârah, with the ruins of an old castle, Kûsr Hûmmârah, just above it on a hill projecting from the eastern mountain. Opposite 'Ain es-Suweireh, is the village of the same name, one hour south of 'Anjar. Just south of Sultân Ya'kôb is a gap or low saddle in the hills, called 'Akabet Kâmid. Through it passes the road coming from Jubb Jenin and Kâmid el-Lauz to 'Aithy; being part of the northern road between Sidon and Damascus.³

From Muhaiteh the Damascus road crosses the plain of Wady et-Teim obliquely, and enters the mouth of Wady 'Arab. Half an hour higher up is an open meadow-like tract, with water oozing up in many places. A large village, 'Ain 'Arab, lies on the southern margin of the meadow; from which the valley takes its name. Several mills along its lower part indicate, that in winter it is the channel of a considerable stream. Higher up, the valley takes the name of Wady Bekka. A good hour above 'Ain 'Arab is the little village of Bekka, on the top

¹ The distances are given (except Kefr Mishky) from the manuscript notes of Dr Smith, as far as to 'Ain Falûj. The rest are from Burckhardt, Trav. in Syr. p. 32. From a comparison of distances, it appears, that Burckhardt's el-Embeite and el-Heimte are one and the same place, and identical with el-Muhaiteh. His distances,

however, are here not fully to be relied on. This was his first reported journey; and falls far short of that fulness and accuracy of observation, for which he was afterwards so distinguished.

² Dr De Forest in Journ. of the Am Oriental Soc. Vol. III. p. 362.

³ See above, p. 424.

of a rocky ridge, at the highest point of the road as it crosses the mountain.¹ Towards the west nothing impedes the prospect. The place has traces of antiquity; especially the ruins of a small Grecian temple, with the walls partly standing, and fragments of columns and a Corinthian capital. Bekka is on the high ground N. N. E. from Kefr Kùk. A little further on, and half a mile on the north of the road, is the village of Yüntah.² The tract around is irregular and broken; and is drained towards the southwest by a Wady running to the basin of Kefr Kùk.

The great valley, which thus forms the prolongation of Wady et-Teim into the Büká'a, has been hitherto unknown to Frank travellers. Burckhardt is the only Frank, who is known to have passed through it;³ and his account is so very imperfect, that no person, who has not visited the region, can recognise its features. Dr Smith in 1844 advanced from the south as far as 'Ain Falôj. The great road from Damascus to Beirût issues from Anti-Lebanon opposite to Mejdél 'Anjar, and crosses the lower end of this side valley. Beyond the fountains of 'Anjar, a similar line of hills rises again, forming a like valley along the base of Anti-Lebanon, extending quite to Ba'albek. In this valley, too, the water flows in some parts towards the south and in others towards the north. This latter valley I afterwards traversed in its whole length.⁴

From the preceding statements it appears, that the ridge intervening between Jebel esh-Sheikh and the southern part of Lebanon, known by the general name of ed-Dahar, is not properly a spur diverging from Anti-Lebanon and running diagonally to meet the spurs of Lebanon, as I have formerly represented it.⁵ It may rather be said to commence in the line of hills at Ba'albek; which run on with some interruptions, parallel to the base of Anti-Lebanon; and at the head of Wady et-Teim become a ridge, the Dahar, lying between et-Teim and the Litány, and rising further south into the mountains of Hünin and Safed.

From the fountain where we had stopped, the road continues on by Dahar el-Ahmar direct to Kefr Kùk, and thence to Damascus by way of Dimâs. We concluded to turn aside to Râsheiya, which was here in sight. Leaving the fountain, therefore, at 9.25, we struck across the plain S. 25° E. and at

¹ Bearings from Bekka in 1844: Sultân Ya'kûb 319°. Medâkkah 293°. Wady Falôj 293°. Muhaiditheh, direction about 250°.

² Comp. J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 42 sq.

³ Fürer von Haimendorf may have passed this way in A. D. 1566; but it does not appear from his language; p. 280 Nürnberg. 1646.

⁴ See below, under June 9th.

⁵ *Bibl. Res.* 1st edit. III. pp. 344, 345.

9.45 reached the bottom of the very steep ascent. Twenty minutes brought us to the top, and to the eastern part of the town. It lies on the eastern end of a ridge, which here sinks down at once to a narrow plateau, some eight hundred or a thousand feet above the plain we had crossed. On this plateau the eastern part of the town is built. The houses of the western part rise to the top of the ridge, and face towards the southwest. On the south of the place is a pretty valley. The palace of the Emirs, a branch of the house of Shehâb, is in the higher part of the town.¹

Râsheiya is the chief town of the district of the upper Wady et-Teim. It seems to be about half the size of Hâsbeiya; and may contain some four thousand inhabitants. Its elevation cannot be much (if any) less than four thousand feet above the sea. It commands a vast and varied panorama of elevated valleys, plains, and mountain ranges, towards the west, north, and east. The whole eastern face of Lebanon is in sight from the Twins of Niha to Jebel Sünnin with its snows. The western side of Anti-Lebanon and the adjacent plain are not in view, being intercepted by intervening ridges; but the intermediate hills and plains between the two great ranges, and the wild and confused lines and peaks of inner Anti-Lebanon, are embraced in the view. Jebel esh-Sheikh is near at hand. The highest point, with its crown of radiant stripes, is directly south of the town. We were probably nearer to it here than at any other point; yet as we were now so high, and one low ridge still intervened between us and its base, the impression of its altitude was less imposing than often before. The water south of the town and from all the northwestern and northern sides of Jebel esh-Sheikh, is drained off through a deep gorge southwest of Râsheiya into Wady et-Teim; the main channel of which passes down between Sefineh on the east and Dhuneibeh on the west, and reaches the Hasbâny at the great fountain. These upper channels were now all dry; but in winter a large volume of water is gathered and sweeps along them.

The lower western ridge of Jebel esh-Sheikh, of which I have already several times spoken, extends all the way from this northern end of that mountain near Râsheiya, to the southern termination of Hermon at Bâniâs; a distance of ten or eleven hours, or about thirty miles. The only break in it is made by the Wady Shib'a. Wady el-'Asal drains all that part of the high valley south of Shib'a to the Hûleh near Bâniâs. A portion further north is drained by Wady Shib'a; and the water from the remaining and most northern part passes down through the gorge below Râsheiya.

¹ Bearings from Râsheiya: Muhaiditheh N. 19° W. Kefr Kûk N. 60° E.

On the last day of the following August, 1852, the Rev. J. L. Porter of Damascus, with a party, ascended Jebel esh-Sheikh from Râsheiya, and spent the night near its summit.¹ He describes the highest point as composed of three separate adjacent peaks, two on the east and one towards the west; but so near each other as from below to appear but as one summit. On the southeastern of these peaks are some interesting remains. Round about a rock some fifteen feet high, are the foundations of a circular wall, sixty feet in diameter, formed of stones carefully hewn, and apparently of great antiquity. In the centre of it, and of the interior rock, is a rude excavation eight feet deep, and open above. On the south, within the enclosure, and on the very brow of the precipice, are large heaps of hewn stones, some of them bevelled. Here also are the foundations of what appeared to be a small temple. No columns nor inscriptions were seen. The ruin is called Kûl'at 'Antar. Here then was probably another seat of the ancient Syrophenician worship. The whole of Hermon was girded with temples. This sanctuary upon its summit is mentioned by Jerome; and the whole mountain itself was revered as a holy place by the neighbouring Syrophenician tribes.²

Large banks of snow were lying in the ravines around the summit. In ancient times Tyre, and doubtless also Sidon, was supplied in summer with snow from Hermon; as Beirût is now supplied from Jebel Sünnin.³

Through a defect in his barometer, Mr Porter was unable to determine the height of Jebel esh-Sheikh. Russegger estimates it at nine thousand feet; which, in comparison with Sünnin and the peaks above the cedars, Mr Porter regards as too low.⁴

From Râsheiya the main road to Damascus proceeds by 'Aiha and Rûkhleh to Katana; and this, of all the travelled roads, passes nearest under the higher parts of the mountain. Another branches off to Kefr Kûk and Dimâs. Leaving Râsheiya at 10.10, we took the former road in order to visit 'Aiha. It leads across the narrow plateau, and keeps high along the northern declivity of the last ridge which here lies along the base of Hermon. After fifteen minutes we could look down on our

¹ Mr Porter has described this excursion, and the view from the mountain, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan. 1854. See especially p. 48 sq. See also above, p. 379.

² See *Movers die Phönizier* I. p. 668. Eusebius, in *Onomast. art. Ærmon*, says: *φασὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀερμὼν ὕψος ὀνομαζεσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἱερὸν τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰδυνῶν*. This Jerome thus renders: "diciturque esse in vertice ejus insigne templum, quod ab ethnicis cultui habetur."

³ Hieron. in *Onomast. art. Ærmon*: "de quo nunc æstivæ nives Tyrum ob delicias feruntur."

⁴ Russegger's *Reisen* I. pp. 717, 718. *Biblioth. Sacra* 1854, p. 54. Lynch's estimate is about 9000 feet; Narrative, p. 483. On Petermann's map, 1851, it is marked at ten thousand feet; but on what authority I do not know. It may safely be regarded as higher than Sünnin.

left into a low, circular, pleasant plain, two miles or more in diameter, shut in by mountain ridges on the north, east, and south; and in the west by a lower ridge running out N. N. E. from near Râsheiya. Towards the eastern part of this fine plain lies Kefr Kûk, on two low hills; and a road to Damascus is seen beyond it passing over a low place in the mountain.

We reached 'Aiha at 10.40, half an hour from Râsheiya. The village is still high up on the declivity of the ridge next to esh-Sheikh. The road passes on by the village, and soon ascends obliquely through a ravine descending from the same ridge, which there bends more to the northeast. Then crossing an elevated tract, with the steeps of Hermon towering on the right, the road descends to Rûkhleh, where we shall again meet it. The village of 'Aiha is small and mean; but is the site of another ancient temple, now utterly destroyed, and the stones mostly built into the hovels of the village or buried under rubbish. The stones are tolerably large, well hewn, but not bevelled. The structure would seem to have been of greater dimensions than that at Neby Süfa.

We left 'Aiha at 10.50, taking a direct road to Kefr Kûk, N. 20° E. We had still a steep descent into the circular plain; which we reached at 11.05. On the way down is a magnificent oak tree, one of the very largest in the country, with the tomb of a Muslim saint beneath it. This plain is entirely level, and has no outlet for its waters; as we ourselves could see. During the rainy season, the water spreads over it and forms a lake. Indeed it is said, that in winter a vast fountain bursts up from below, in the northwest part of the plain, through a fissure in the rock, and aids to form the lake. A similar, though smaller fountain is said to issue likewise in the southeast part. As the spring advances, the water subsides, and at last disappears (it is said) at the same places. The land is then ploughed and sown or planted with summer crops. At the bottom of the main fissure a stream is always flowing, according to the testimony of those who are said to have been let down into it by ropes. The people here suppose, that this stream is the same with that which issues at the fountain of the Hasbâny; and the ancient story of casting chaff into lake Phiala is still current in respect to this chasm and fountain. When the winter rains are abundant, the lake is many feet deep; as we could see by the water-marks upon the rocks and along the margin. There have also been seasons, when the lake did not dry up during the whole summer. If, on the other hand, little rain falls, the lake is low, and sometimes does not rise at all. Such had been the case the present season. There are several similar, though smaller depressions in Anti-Lebanon; from which the water has no outlet, but gradually

dries away or sinks into the earth. One of these is near Deir el-'Ashâyir, to which we came at evening.

This plain is elevated three thousand five hundred English feet above the sea, as determined by the Rev. Mr Porter; the elevation being a hundred feet less than that of the plain of Zebedâny.¹ It is pretty; but did not seem particularly fertile. We came at 11.20 to the southeastern orifice, whence the water is said to issue. It was a round cavity, some fifteen feet in diameter, and eight or ten feet deep, with no appearance of water at the bottom.

We reached the large village of Kefr Kûk, situated on two hills, at 11.45; nearly an hour from 'Aiha. We passed through the village on the northern hill, where we noticed several columns in different parts, and a mutilated Greek inscription on a door post, which Mr Thomson afterwards copied. We also heard of two or three others. These remains prove the antiquity of the place. We kept on by the public fountain and large reservoir, which also exhibits traces of antiquity; and stopped for lunch under some large walnut trees beyond.—Râsheiya is here seen lying high among the mountain ridges overlooking the plain, and on the eastern end or bluff of the ridge next but one to the base of Jebel esh-Sheikh. The snows of the summit were here visible, seen over that last ridge, and appearing near, but not particularly elevated.²

From Kefr Kûk two roads lead to Damascus, both of them by way of Dimâs. One crosses the mountain towards the northeast, and joins the road leading by Bekka and Yûnta. The other lies more to the south, ascending the steep ridge east of the village, and then proceeding by way of Deir el-'Ashâyir to Dimâs. We chose the latter road, and took a guide from the village. Setting off at 2 o'clock, we began after ten minutes to climb the steep ascent, on a general course E. N. E.

We reached the top at 2.35, and continued the same course across the high broken plateau, full of low rocky hills and ridges. The last ridge between us and Hermon was still on our right; and we were tending obliquely towards it. The road by 'Aiha had already crossed it, and passes along on its southeastern side. Here we met a Druze horseman, who informed us, that twenty Druzes had stationed themselves on the road below Rûkhleh, and were plundering all who passed that way; they had wounded a man yesterday, and robbed three to day. As all this did not interfere with our plans, we kept on, after a stop of ten minutes; and heard no more of robbers.

¹ Biblioth. Sac. 1854, p. 44.

W. dist. 2 m. Râsheiya S. 60° W. 3 m

² Bearings at Kefr Kûk: 'Aiha S. 20° Northern Damascus road N. 45° E.

At 3.10 we struck the foot of the ridge on our right. Here was a depression, the ground sinking so as to form a little basin, with no outlet, except perhaps a fissure in the ground. It appeared as if often covered with water. At 3.20 there was a very marked water-shed, almost like a wall built across the head of a valley; and east of it all the waters go to the plain of Damascus, where they are absorbed. From this point the descent about E. N. E. was very rapid; and the Wady soon widens to a narrow desert plain. In this plain were traces of a Roman road for a considerable distance; showing this to have been anciently a pass between Damascus and Wady et-Teim.

We kept on down the valley till 3.45, when it turned north-east and we sent on our muleteers along it directly to Deir el-'Ashâyir, an hour distant, there to await our arrival. We now struck up over the ridge on our right steeply and sharply; again descended and followed up a shallow Wady about S. S. E. to its head; and then went down another in the same direction till 4.15, when we struck at right angles the Damascus road coming from 'Aiha and Râsheiya. Turning up this road W. S. W. for five minutes, we came to Rûkhleh and its ruined temple, after passing two sarcophagi by the way side.

The place is situated in the bosom of the mountains; and one looks up the vast gorge southwesterly into the very recesses of Jebel esh-Sheikh. Towards the east all prospect is cut off by a lower ridge thrown off northeast from the eastern point of the high mountain. A deep and winding gorge passes down south-east through this ridge; but it does not afford even a glimpse of the great eastern plain. A fountain at Rûkhleh gives fertility and verdure to this wild recess.

The temple is on the eastern quarter. It was larger, more massive, and yet simpler, than any I had yet seen, indicating perhaps a higher antiquity. Its massive walls and noble columns have been wholly overthrown; and the huge blocks of stone lie scattered around in utter confusion. The front was westwards, towards the snows of Hermon. Here was a middle portal, with smaller side doors. At the eastern end was a semi-circular projection, like that in Greek churches. From this, on the inside, a double row of columns with Ionic capitals extended through the body of the temple to the entrance. The stones were large, and well wrought; and everything, though simple, had the appearance of careful finish. The two stones spoken of by Burckhardt, lying near the gate, and having upon them the figure of a bird with expanded wings, we did not notice. The following are the dimensions as measured by us:

	Feet. In.
Body of the temple, length . . .	82 8
“ “ breadth . . .	57
Semicircular projection, depth . . .	19 4
“ “ chord . . .	21 8
Whole length of temple . . .	102
Columns, length of shaft . . .	18 1
“ capital, height . . .	8
“ diameter of shaft . . .	3

This temple has one peculiarity, which has not as yet been brought to notice in any other. On the outside of the southern wall, near the southeast corner, and just above the ground, is a large block of stone six feet square, having sculptured upon it an ornament like a huge medallion. It consists of an external circle or ornamented border in relief, five feet in diameter; an inner circle or border in higher relief is four feet in diameter. Within these is a finely carved front view of a human countenance, in still bolder relief. The length of the face from the chin to the top of the hair is three feet four inches; the width two feet four inches. The features have been purposely disfigured, but are still distinct and pleasing. At the first glance it seemed as if intended for the sun; but the border does not represent rays. It may have been a Baal worshipped in the temple.

On a knoll northeast of these ruins was another very small temple, now wholly overthrown and prostrate.¹

Although Rûkhleh thus lies upon the great road between Râsheiyya and Damascus, few travellers have noticed its antiquities. Seetzen passed this way and mentions the ruins; but evidently did not examine them.² Burckhardt visited them on an excursion from Damascus.³ Richardson was here; but his account is quite imperfect.⁴

We would gladly have proceeded to Burkush, an hour or more southwest of Rûkhleh, high on the side of Hermon; where are the remains of another similar temple, and the ruins of a castle on a high point of the mountain. They have been described only by Burckhardt.⁵ The day, however, was closing; and we had to turn our steps towards Deir el-'Ashâyir.

Leaving Rûkhleh at 4.45, we went back upon the Damascus road for eight or ten minutes, and then turned on a general course nearly north. Here for a time we were in a wild and desolate tract; on our right was a very rocky ridge, shutting

¹ Burckhardt speaks of another edifice, with many small broken columns, a few hundred paces to the south; p. 49. Our guide also spoke of another temple some ways down the valley.

² Reisen I. 316.

³ Travels in Syria, p. 49.

⁴ Travels, II. p. 456.

⁵ Travels in Syr. p. 50.

out all view towards the east ; and on our left were the broken ridges and hills, among which we had been travelling. At 5.15 we began to descend rapidly along a narrow valley running north, full of pretty purple flowers. It was a wild mountain path, known to our guide, but very rarely traversed. In this part we thought we saw some traces of an ancient road passing down the valley. Below the steep descent the narrow valley opened out into a pretty plain extending from south to north, and shut in by mountains on each side.

Here, being still high, we had at 5.30 a view towards the north over the whole plateau and plain of Zebedâny ; towards which we were now descending. On the left, in the distance, was Jebel Zebedâny so called ; and on the right the mountains of Blûdân, the highest part of Anti-Lebanon ; with the beautiful recess or plain running up between. Nearer at hand the plateau was rolling and broken ; it slopes gently eastward with low ridges in it, and is crossed by deep valleys. It was still green and beautiful, retaining in part the verdure of spring.

We kept on north along the plain, between the high rocky ridges on each side. At 6 o'clock we turned northeast, around the shoulder of the eastern ridge, which here bends off for a time, and then turns north again, enclosing a wider and more rolling tract. We came at 6.30 to Deir el-'Ashâyir, situated on the eastern slope of a higher part of the open tract ; having a lower plain towards the east, and a small lake with no outlet just at the foot of the eastern mountain. The position is a fine one, surrounded by fertility ; but not another village is any where in sight. We encamped near a fountain, on grass still green. The few inhabitants are Druzes and Christians ; and have rather a bad character. They did not, however, molest us.

Here again are the ruins of a large and once splendid temple, fronting towards the east, and differing in some respects from any we had yet seen. It stands upon an elevated platform of masonry, extending from the building twenty-four feet and a half in front, about twelve feet on the other three sides, and varying in height according to the ground. The platform itself is ornamented with a cornice around its upper part, and a similar one inverted lower down. The stones of the temple are not bevelled. At the corners were pilasters with Ionic capitals. There would seem to have been no columns in front of the portico ; at least none are now found. The walls are mostly standing, though some portions are broken down ; so that some of the pilasters at the corners now stand out alone. The colour of the stone is darker than elsewhere, and the work less sharp and delicate than in the other temples. There was an entrance under the platform at the east end, where it is nearly twenty feet high ;

over which lies a large stone as a lintel. Our measurements were as follows :

	Feet.	In.
Platform, length	126	
“ breadth	69	
Temple, whole length inside	88	9
“ “ breadth inside	35	3
Altar recess, length	27	8
Body, from altar to portico	46	7
Portico, including back wall of 3 feet	14	6
Large stone as lintel, length	12	5
“ “ breadth	4	5
“ “ thickness	1	6
Height of the wall, estimated	54	

Just southeast of the temple, and on the same general slope or terrace of ground, are other extensive ruins of apparently similar character and age. They are however so thoroughly thrown down, and scattered, and built upon by the houses of the village, that it is very difficult to make them out. Several short columns are here seen in different parts. The idea suggests itself, that possibly this may have been an extensive court connected with the temple above ; or perhaps here stood another larger temple. The former supposition seems to me the more probable. The stones in this part are large, well cut, and laid up without cement.

I have said above, that “the whole of Hermon was girded with temples.”¹ We had now visited the Panium at Bāniās ; the rude fragments at Kul’at Bustra ; the stately remains at Hibbāriyeh, Neby Sūfa, ‘Aiha, Rūkhleh, and Deir el-‘Ashāyir ; and there have likewise been mentioned the ruins at Bekka and Burkušh. Mr Thomson had heard of like remains at ‘Ain ‘Ata, ‘Ain Hershy, and several other places. These all lie directly upon and around Hermon. The Būkā’a and its borders are full of like edifices ; to say nothing of the crowning glory of the temples at Ba’albek. Who were the founders of all these costly and magnificent structures ?

Wednesday, June 2nd.—This morning Mr Thomson left me to proceed with John Wortabet to Damascus, while he returned with his servant by the direct road to Hāsbeiya ; a long day’s ride, which he accomplished in ten hours. In the wildest part of the mountain he was met by two marauders of the Beit el-Kantār. Ascertaining who he was, they let him pass, and even offered to turn back and guard him through the mountains. They were armed to the teeth ; and were returning from an attack upon Kūr’ūn in the southern part of the Būkā’a. Mr Thomson was happy to dispense with their company, and reached

¹ See above, p. 432.

Hâsbeiya in safety ; although a division of the same gang of robbers were plundering along the road from Râsheiya to Hâsbeiya, and almost to the very entrance of the latter place itself.

As Mr Thomson departed towards the west, we set our faces towards the east ; and leaving Deir el-'Ashâyir at 7.10, we descended into the lower plain, with its little lake on our right. This has no outlet, and was said to dry up later in the season. Our general course was E. N. E. At 7.35 we came to the north-west shoulder of the mountain, which here sinks down in a bluff over the lake. Here was a low water-shed ; and then we entered a shallow open valley with rolling hills on each side. About 8 o'clock the road from Jubb Jenin and Bekka joined ours from the left ; and then at 8.10 came in also the usual road from Beirût descending from a hill on the left. Here at the junction of these roads is a fine fountain in the valley, called 'Ain Meithelûn ; and near by are the foundations of a large ruined Khân. The Wady likewise bears the same name below. Our course now became E. by S. As we advanced, the Wady grew narrower and deeper, and the sides high and rocky, forming a mountain pass, along which the brook from the fountain continued to flow. Afterwards the country became undulating and hilly. At 8.50 the Wady and brook made a circuit towards the right ; while we ascended obliquely the left slope, and winding around and up the south side of a hill, reached Dimâs at 9 o'clock. It is a large village lying high up on the southeastern side of the hill ; and is a usual stopping place for travellers and caravans. In the upper part of the village is a long vault with a round arch, built of large stones, and seemingly ancient.

We had now passed over and through the broad elevated tract, which here connects the mountain ridges on the south and east of Deir el-'Ashâyir with the loftier range of Blûdân in the north ; thus forming the ridge which separates the plateau of Deir el-'Ashâyir and Zebedâny from the next lower plateau on the eastern declivity of Anti-Lebanon.

This next lower plateau, which was now before us, had evidently a great slope towards the east ; and was at first uneven and rolling. At 9.15, going still E. by S. there was a fork of the road, and we took the left around a hill, in order to avoid a very steep descent on the other branch. At 9.35 we again struck Wady Meithelûn and its brook, and crossed to its right side. It was here running northeast ; and continues in that direction to join the Barada near Judeideh. Ascending now long and gradually, we came out at 9.50 upon the great desert plain of es-Sahra, here three thousand four hundred feet above the sea, according to Mr Porter. It is indeed a desert, wholly barren and uncultivated. It extends up southwest to the very

base of Jebel esh-Sheikh ; and is shut in on the southeast by another line of hills, or ridge, that of Dummar and Sâlihiyeh, which comes down from the end (or rather from under the end) of esh-Sheikh itself. The desert plain also extends northeast for a long distance beyond the Barada ; the chasm of the latter being bordered with hills. Far in the north and northeast, beyond the valley of Helbôn, a mountain range appeared to run down from west to east, with picturesque forms.¹

Our course across the Sahra was about S. E. by E. Soon after entering upon it, at one hour from Dimâs, the road forks. The left leads to the Barada and the bridge of Dummar, and crosses the ridge back of Sâlihiyeh, commanding the view of the plain of Damascus, which is so celebrated. We had intended to follow this road ; but our muleteers, who alone were acquainted with the region, either through misunderstanding or mulishness, took the other path ; and when we discovered the mistake, it was too late to rectify it. Desolate and dreary as possible was the way for an hour and a half. The Barada with its sweet valley was not far off on our left ; but no trace of it was visible. Hardly a tree or shrub appeared, on mountain, hill, or plain. Far on the right, in the desert plain not far from the next range of hills, was the miserable hamlet of Sübbûrah, bearing from the fork S. 61° W. directly towards the snows of Hermon. No other village was in sight ; and all was indeed a desert.

At 10.45 there was on our right a small brook winding through the plain. We descended at 10.55 to its bed, where bursts forth a large and fine fountain, called Neba' el-'Arrâd. Its flow is said to be periodical, it being at some seasons entirely dry. Near by are the foundations of a ruined Khân, bearing the same name. The stream winds off northeast to the Barada near el-Hâmy, and takes the name of Wady Ya'fûr ; having in it a still larger fountain further down, and its borders covered with poplars.

Beyond the fountain the Sahra becomes a rolling tract of desert hills. At 11.15 we came upon the head of a deep valley running down northeast to the Barada west of Dummar. The river was now not distant ; and we could see the trees along its course. Passing to the right around the head of the valley, we came at 11.35 to the top of the ridge beyond, through which the river breaks. Before us lay another parallel ridge, with a deep valley between ; the two ridges being merely a fork in the one main ridge. After a steep descent and long ascent, we reached the top of the latter ridge at 12.15 ; and here Damascus and its magnificent plain began to come in sight. Here was a fork of

¹ See more on the Sahra, under June 7th.

the road ; we kept on east, and descended considerably, till at 12.25, from a projecting point, there was a noble view of the vast plain with its immense groves of fruit and other trees, and of the city almost hidden by their foliage. But the view from the Wely back of Sâlihiyeh is still more magnificent. The air was hazy ; and the distant lakes were not visible. A long and steep descent now brought us at 1 o'clock to the village of Mezzeh,¹ at the foot of the naked and arid limestone ridge, and also just at the mouth of the deep, precipitous, jagged, and very narrow chasm, by which the Barada issues upon the plain. This chasm is very striking ; it is broken straight down ; and the strata are very much dislocated.—Here we stopped for lunch, in a garden of tall fruit trees, by the side of the first canal taken from the river on the south.

We were now at the eastern base of Anti-Lebanon, having traversed all the ridges and plateaus of its southern portion. The basin around Kefr Kûk, although without outlet, and although nearly as high as the plain of Zebedâny, seems decidedly to belong to the western declivity of the mountain. The high water-shed which we crossed further east, runs on northeast through the elevated tract around Yüntah, and forms at length the Jebel Zebedâny. This latter separates the plain of Zebedâny from the desert basin of Judeideh on the west ; this last corresponding in position to the basin of Kefr Kûk, but higher, and drained eastward through the ridge by the Wady el-Kûrn. North of Rûkhleh we struck and followed down the fork which cleaves the ridges, that further north border the plateau of Deir el-'Ashâyir and Zebedâny. Passing through the next ridge we came to Dimâs and the broad Sahra ; and now the descent of the last ridge of Sâlihiyeh had brought us to the margin of the great plain. North of the Barada, as we shall see, the division is less regular ; and especially the ridge separating the plateau of Zebedâny from the Sahra spreads out into a broad mountainous tract.

Setting off from el-Mezzeh at 2.05, we went directly east towards the city, through the immense groves of every species of fruit trees which cover the plain. The avenues leading to the city are tolerably wide, and everywhere shut in by mud walls five or six feet high. These walls are constructed of large masses of earth compacted, like unburnt brick, two feet or more square, resembling the *adobes* of Mexico. These are made upon the spot which each is to occupy, by placing a wooden frame, filling it firmly with earth rammed hard, and then removing the frame. These walls usually last several years.

¹ This village is mentioned by Edrisi ; I. p. 350, ed. Jaubert.

Water is carried everywhere, along the roads and through the fields. Between Mezzeh and the city we crossed three canals from the Barada, and there is a fourth on this side ; those on the north side are larger. Everything indicated our approach to a great city.

We came at 2.40 to one of the southwestern gates, Bâb es-Suriy. Here were no custom house officers. We entered and wound our way along narrow streets and lanes through the city to the Christian quarter ; which occupies the whole eastern part. We were all strangers, and inquired for the house of Dr Paulding, whom I had known in Beirut ; but meeting an acquaintance of our Hâsbeiyans in the street, he informed us, that the matter was all arranged ; and that we were to go to the house of the Rev. Mr Robson, who was expecting to accompany me on my further journey. This was welcome intelligence. At 3.10 we dismounted at Mr Robson's door ; and in his widowed dwelling I found a welcome home during my brief sojourn in Damascus.

The city was now occupied, as a Protestant missionary field, by missionaries of the Irish Presbyterian Church, and of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States. From the former were the Rev. Messrs Robson and Porter ; and from the latter, Rev. Messrs Barnett, Fraser, Lansing, and Dr Paulding as physician. They were acting in entire concord, and as one mission, in everything, except in their relations to the societies at home. Mr Robson was the earliest resident, having been here during eight years. He and Mr Porter were both at home. Most of the Americans had gone to prepare their summer residence at Blûdân, a village lying high up on the lofty ridge east of Zebedâny, and overlooking that fine plain. But Dr Paulding returned on Saturday ; and I had the pleasure of intercourse with him and Mr Fraser.

I remained in Damascus until the following Monday morning, four days. During this interval, Messrs Robson and Porter were unwearied in their kind offices ; and conducted me to the various points of interest within and without the city. The first day, Thursday, was mainly spent in writing letters, and in rest, of which I still had great need. On Friday we took a long walk through the interior of the city, and examined its antiquities and other objects of curiosity. On Saturday, Mr Porter rode with me around the city on the outside ; and also through some of the streets which I had not yet seen.

The usual religious services were held on Sunday, in the large room of Dr Paulding's house, which had been fitted up, and formed a commodious mission chapel. In the forenoon there was a service in Arabic at 8 o'clock by Mr Wortabet ; one in English

at 11 o'clock by Mr Fraser; and another at 4 o'clock in the afternoon by Mr Robson. The number in attendance was from twenty-five to thirty. I took tea and passed the evening with Dr Paulding and his very intelligent family.

On Saturday I also had the pleasure of calling on Dr Meshaka, the very active and intelligent native physician, whose name has become widely known in connection with the Protestant movement. He wields a ready and powerful pen; and his writings are doing much in preparing the way for the spread of Gospel truth. He knows only the Arabic language; his mind seems ever at work; and he spoke fluently on a variety of topics quite unusual for an oriental.

Another literary person, of a different stamp, whom I met at Mr Robson's, was Antôn Bulâd, a learned Greek monk, passionately devoted to the topography and statistics of Damascus and its environs. He had taken the trouble to copy out with his own hand all the lists of Arabic names in the appendix to the first edition of the Biblical Researches; and had likewise procured for Mr Porter lists of the villages around Damascus and throughout the plain.

Learning, however, is in general at a low ebb among the Damascenes of the present day; although the city has been formerly renowned as the home of many distinguished Arabian writers and scholars.¹

DAMASCUS.

A full account of the topography and history of this ancient city, would of itself require a volume. During my brief sojourn, I could of course receive only general impressions; and these are all that I can now communicate to the reader. My purpose is to relate only what I saw myself, or learned on good authority.

THE PLAIN.—Boundaries.—We have seen above, that the last and lowest ridge of Anti-Lebanon towards the east, has its beginning under the eastern end of Jebel esh-Sheikh itself.² It runs on in a general course northeast, a naked limestone ridge, and is broken through at Mezzeh by the chasm of the Barada; and at Burzeh, two hours further northeast, by the lesser chasm of a Wady coming down from Menîn and Helbôn. The ridge takes

¹ Bowring reports, that he could not find a bookseller in Damascus or Aleppo; nor could a scribe now get his living by copying manuscripts; Report p. 109. Seetzen found three Muslim booksellers; of whom two were also bookbinders; Reisen I. p.

270.—Of course volumes can now only be purchased from the private owners; comp Seetzen, *ibid*. In this way the missionaries are able, occasionally, to pick up rare and valuable manuscripts.

² See above, p. 440.

different names in different parts. South of the chasm of the Barada it is called Kalabât el-Mezzeh ; between that chasm and the one at Burzeh it is known as Jebel Kasyûn ;¹ further north it has the name of Jebel Kalamûn, as far as to the lofty projecting pyramid of Jebel Tiniyeh ; beyond which the ridge bends E. N. E. and stretches off eastward to the desert near Palmyra.² This long ridge everywhere forms the western and northern boundary of the great plain of Damascus.

North of the chasm of the Barada, the middle portion of Jebel Kasyûn rises to a loftier point, about sixteen hundred feet above the plain, crowned by a Wely, and commanding a very extensive prospect.³ About a mile southeast from the base of this high point, and a mile and a half east of where the Barady issues from its chasm, runs the western wall of the city of Damascus ; all the city, except a small portion, lying on the south of the river. Directly at the base of Jebel Kasyûn extends the long village of Salihiyeh.—From the city the icy crown of Jebel esh-Sheikh is seen, far overtopping all the ridges of Anti-Lebanon, and bearing S. 85° W.

Looking southwest towards the high portion of the plain around the eastern foot of Jebel esh-Sheikh, a line of low hills is seen commencing there and running off eastward. They become higher as they advance ; and terminate as a range of low mountains at Nejha, from two to three hours southeast of Damascus. This range is called Jebel el-Aswad, and forms the southern boundary of the plain. Its greatest elevation above the plain does not exceed five hundred feet.⁴ Beyond this line of hills lies the valley of the river A'waj, skirted on the south by the more elevated range of Jebel Mâni'a ; the highest peaks of which lie eastward of Kesweh, and are seen extending to the left beyond those of Jebel el-Aswad. On the left of all these mountains, the view stretches over an unbroken plain of vast extent, quite to the mountains of Haurân, which are dimly seen upon the horizon.

¹ So called also by Abulfeda ; Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, pp. 100, 164. Is this perhaps an ancient *Mons Casius*?

² The great northern road to Huma, Hamah, and Aleppo, crosses this ridge just at the northeastern base of Jebel Tiniyeh. Beyond are several other similar ridges running out from Anti-Lebanon into the eastern desert. At Kutaifeh, beyond the first ridge, 5½ hours from Damascus, the road branches off to Palmyra, and lies the whole distance along a broad plain skirted by ranges of hills. See J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, pp. 444, 449, 450, 681 sq.—In a manuscript note, Mr Porter

gives the distances on the Palmyra road as follows: From the base of Jebel Tiniyeh northeast to Jerôd, 3½ hours ; thence to Kuryetein 11 hours ; thence to Palmyra 18½ hours.

³ This is not the point of view so justly celebrated by travellers. The latter is at a less elevated Wely, on the south end of Jebel Kasyûn, on the very brink of the chasm.—Abulfeda mentions Jebel Kasyûn ; and speaks also of the Muhammedan legend, that there Cain slew Abel ; Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 100.

⁴ J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, p. 343.

On the east, the plain of Damascus extends to the three lakes towards which the waters of the Barada and A'waj flow ; and of which I shall speak hereafter. Beyond the lakes the plain spreads out again for three or four hours ; or rather slopes up gradually to the base of a range of conical hills extending three or four hours from north to south, and called et-Tellûl (the Tells), or also Jebel Aghar. The central and highest of these conical peaks is called Tell Dûkweh. As seen from Damascus they bound the horizon. From the southern extremity of the Tellûl, a vast plain stretches away to Jebel Haurân. On the north, too, a plain extends eastward as far as the eye can reach.¹

Divisions.—The distance from Damascus to the lakes is reckoned at six hours, or about twenty miles from Sâlihiyeh. The greatest breadth of the plain from north to south is about seven hours ; but it becomes narrow towards the southwest. Such are the general dimensions of the plain of Damascus. It is divided into five districts. The Ghûtah comprises the western portion, including the city, and reaching about two hours further east. On the south it extends only to a line drawn about E. by S. from the southern extremity of the Meidân. It is divided by the Barada into the North and South Ghûtah. East of this is the Merj, reaching to the lakes, and running down somewhat further south than the Ghûtah. It is in like manner divided by the Barada into the North and South Merj. All the southern portions of the plain, between these districts and Jebel el-Aswad, as also the valley of the A'waj, are comprised in the district called Wady el-'Ajam. Beyond this latter are the district of Haurân in the southeast, and Jeidûr, the ancient Iturea, in the south.

The number of villages in these districts, with their population, as taken from the government books, is as follows. But the estimate of the population is regarded by the missionaries, as being at least twenty per cent. below the truth.

		Villages.		Population.
North Ghûtah	.	19	.	16,806
South Ghûtah	.	11	.	2,370
North Merj	.	23	.	4,176
South Merj	.	30	.	6,170
Wady el-'Ajam *	.	51	.	18,778
Total	.	134	.	47,700

This is exclusive of the population of the city itself.

Tells.—The surface of the plain is level throughout. Here and there are scattered a number of small Tells or mounds in

¹ J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 333 sq. 338, 451.

* Including, I suppose, the valley of the A'waj.

various parts. Most of them are probably the heaped up remains of former villages; the mud-built dwellings of which have successively crumbled away, and others of fresh materials been built up in their stead; by which process a mound has in time accumulated, as in the case of the villages of Egypt. Some of these Tells are perhaps artificial, the work of a people of a former age. That of Sâlihiyeh, three and a half hours east of the city, is one of the largest in the plain. Beside it Mr Porter found a slab of limestone with an Assyrian bas-relief upon it; and at a spot where the waters of the Barada have carried away a portion of its side, layers of sun-dried bricks are still visible.¹

Soil.—The soil of the plain of Damascus is a rich sandy loam. The substratum is conglomerate, composed of smooth rounded pebbles and flints, with sand. A considerable portion of Wady el-'Ajam is volcanic rock, hard and black. Jebel el-Aswad is almost wholly so. The limestone of the higher districts of Anti-Lebanon is compact; and, when struck, has a metallic ring. Near Damascus, it is white and soft. In the soft rock of Jebel Kasyûn are fine ammonites.

Rivers and Fountains.—The main source of the beauty and fertility of the plain of Damascus, is the river Barada, the Chrysorroas of the ancients. It rises in the high plain south of Zebedâny on Anti-Lebanon, where I afterwards visited its fountains; and rushes in a southeasterly course down the mountain, till it issues at Mezzeh from its chasm upon the plain. Here it turns eastward, and flowing along the north wall of the city, takes its way across the plain to the two northern lakes. It is difficult to estimate the quantity of water brought down by this river to the plain; but it is very great. It is a deep, broad, rushing, mountain stream; and although not less than nine or ten branches are taken from it, some of them quite large, for the supply of the city and the plain, yet it still flows on as a large stream, and enters the middle lake by two channels. The water is limpid and beautiful.

The two largest canals are on the north side, the Yezid and the Taurah; the former taken out above Dummar near el-Hâmy, and the latter a little below Dummar; and both brought along side by side through the narrow chasm. The Yezid supplies Sâlihiyeh and the fields of two or three other villages on the north of the city. The Taurah is the largest branch of all; is carried below Sâlihiyeh; and waters an extensive tract on both sides of the great northern road, as far as to 'Adrah, four and a half hours from the city. There it turns southeast, and goes to the northern lake.² A third smaller canal on the north

¹ Biblioth. Sacra, 1854, p. 679. Journ. of Sac. Lit. Jan. 1855, p. 469.

² Biblioth. Sac. 1854, p. 455.

begins just east of the city, and furnishes a supply for several villages.

On the south side are several smaller canals; one taken out above Dummar; another below that village; and a third in the chasm. The first two are carried to villages in the plain; while the third supplies the gardens in that quarter, and also the southern portion of the city. A fourth canal, the Bâniâs, is the largest on this side; it begins not far above the city, and furnishes the main supply of water for the inhabitants. A fifth, the 'Akrabâny, is also carried through the city to the village of 'Akraba; and a sixth is taken out just below the city, and supplies several villages further east. Still further down the river, several other canals are led off to water the lower parts of the Ghûtah and the Merj.¹

This river, as I have already said, is the *Chrysorrhoas* of the ancients. Pliny speaks of it as the source of fertility to Damascus;² and Strabo describes it as almost exhausted by its canals.³ In the fifth century Stephen of Byzantium calls it *Bardines*; implying that the name Barada was already current among the people.⁴ Of the two rivers of Damascus mentioned in Scripture, the *Amana* (or Abana) and the *Pharpar*, the Barada is probably the *Amana*; ⁵ since the largest and more important stream would naturally be named first; and because too a part of Anti-Lebanon adjacent to Hermon is likewise called *Amana*, corresponding to the portion of the mountain where the Barada has its sources.⁶

The second river, the *Pharpar*, would then be the A'waj;⁷ which indeed is the only other independent stream of any size within the territory of Damascus. It is formed by the junction of several smaller streams at or near Sa'sa'. One of these comes from the fountain near Beit Jenn on the way from Sa'sa' to Bâniâs; and receives further down a branch coming from the great fountain at Menbej.⁸ Another and larger branch has its

¹ The same names of most of the canals are given by Ibn el-Wardi in the fourteenth century; see App. to Abulfed. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 174 sq.—Edrisi in the twelfth century has among others the names Berid (Yezid), Bûrah (Taurah), Kan'it el-Marah (el-Mezzeh), Bânâs. But it will be seen, that these variations (except the last) arise from a mere change in the dots attached to the Arabic letters; Edrisi par Jaubert, I. p. 350.

² Plin. H. N. 5. 16, "Damascum ex opoto riguis amne Chrysorrhoa fertilem."

³ Strabo 16. 2. 16. p. 755, εἰς τὰς ὀχέτας ἀναλίσκονται σχεδόντι.

⁴ Steph. Byz. Δαμασκόσ, πόλις Συρίας

μεσόγειος, διερχέσθαι Φοινίκης, περὶ τὸν Βαβυλῶνα ποταμὸν. Cellarius suggests a doubt as to the genuineness of the text; Notit. Orb. II. p. 373. But see Vitruvius on Isa. c. 17, init. iv.

⁵ 2 K. 5, 12. The reading of the Hebrew in Keri is *Amana*, which stands also in the margin of the English version. This is doubtless the better reading.

⁶ Cant. 4, 8.—See generally, Biblioth. Sac. 1849, p. 370 sq.

⁷ This suggestion, so far as I know, was first made by Monro; Summer Ramble, etc. II. p. 54.

⁸ Visited and described by Rev. W. M. Thomson, Biblioth. Sac. 1849, p. 368.

sources in the northwest, among the ravines of Jebel esh-Sheikh ; it comes down from the village of 'Arny and passes on the north side of Kefr Hauwar.¹ From Sa'sa' the A'waj at first runs northeast towards Damascus, "a small lively river ;"² it then bends around nearly E. by S. and flows in a serpentine course as far as to Kesweh, situated on its northern bank ; beyond which, sweeping gracefully around the last high peaks of Jebel Mâni'a, it meanders through the meadow-like plain to enter the southern lake not far south of the village of Heijâny. Its waters, however, do not always reach the lake. In November, 1852, its channel was entirely dry below the peaks of Mâni'a.³ Above Jûn a large canal is taken out on the left bank of the A'waj, to irrigate the fields of that and other villages.⁴ Another is led off on the right bank at Kesweh, to water the gardens and orchards of 'Âdaliyeh and Hurjilleh below.⁵ The upper part of the A'waj runs "in a deep bed of the Haurân black stone ;"⁶ but the trap rock formation terminates at Jûn.⁷

No other important stream passes through the plain. Various smaller streams enter it from the ravines and fountains on the west and north ; but they are all speedily absorbed and exhausted in fertilizing the soil. Such is a small rivulet, which flows down from the Wady in which is situated the village of Kûl'at Jendal, beyond Katana.⁸ Another comes from a fountain near Mar'aba, in the valley below Menin and Helbôn ; this runs down to Burzeh, watering that village and some portion of the plain below.⁹ A third begins at a fine fountain near the little village of Hafeiyer in the northern Sahra, and passes down by a deep gorge into the plain of Damascus ; where however it is soon absorbed. An ancient aqueduct is still seen in the plain along the base of these hills, running apparently towards Damascus, which would seem to have once derived its supply of water from that stream.¹⁰ Still a fourth stream enters quite the northeast part of the plain, coming from a fountain at Rubaibeh in the plain of Jerûd. It is called Nahr el-Mukubrit (sulphurous river), though the water is sweet and good. This is a fine stream ; it passes through Maksûrah, and waters the plain

¹ This seems to be the stream called also the Sâbirâny, from the village of Beit Sâbir. Burckhardt gives that name erroneously to the upper portion of the A'waj ; p. 312.

² Schubert III. p. 271.

³ J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 839. Comp. generally, pp. 62-65, 344.

⁴ W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1849, p. 367.

⁵ J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 344.

⁶ Burckhardt, p. 312.

⁷ W. M. Thomson, *ibid.* p. 367.—Dr Wilson says : "The basaltic and cretaceous rocks meet at it [the A'waj] on the same level. The first of these forms its right bank, and the second its left. The basalt ceases where the Damascus road leaves it." *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 324.

⁸ J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 65.

⁹ The same ; Ms. note.

¹⁰ The same ; *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 692.

beyond. In summer its waters are wholly absorbed ; but during winter they fall into the northern lake.

There are likewise, occasionally, natural fountains in the plain itself. Such is perhaps the one a quarter of an hour west of Katana ; which supplies the village, and is exhausted in the fields some distance below. It does not flow eastward across and beyond the Haj road, as represented on the map of Burckhardt.¹ Another is 'Ain el-Kuseir, situated in the plain near the base of the northern hills, thirty-five minutes N. N. E. from Dûma. There are three sources close together ; and the stream waters a large tract of fields and vineyards. The surplus falls into the Taurah. A ruined village, el-Kuseir, is twenty minutes below the fountain. The ancient aqueduct above mentioned runs above the fountain, and has no connection with it.² The largest fountain in the plain is 'Ain Hârûsh, an hour and a half S. E. by E. from Damascus. A fine stream flows from it eastward, which is absorbed in watering five large villages with their gardens and fields.³

Another species of artificial irrigation is also very extensively practised in the plain of Damascus ; as also in those of Jerûd and Kuryetein on the way to Palmyra. In those portions of the plain which cannot be reached by canals from the river or other streams, artificial fountains are constructed in the following manner. A well or pit is dug, and water found ; usually at the depth of twenty or thirty feet. Then, following the slope of the plain about E. S. E. another circular pit is dug at the distance perhaps of a hundred feet or more, and connected at the bottom with the former, so that the water will just flow into it. A succession of such pits or wells is thus dug and connected ; until at length the water is brought to the surface and becomes a running stream, which is then distributed over the fields. This happens after half a mile or a mile, according to the declivity of the plain. In this way, a portion of the water which has been once used and absorbed in irrigation, is again recovered and employed a second time.

These subterranean canals may be traced along the plain by the long ranges of circular mounds around their openings. Some ranges of this kind are seen beginning even near the Meidân. In passing south along the Haj road, about an hour from the city, is a small stream in a deep artificial channel formed in this way. A quarter of an hour further is another similar stream, called Nahr Sabieuh, as watering the village of that name a little further east. Ten minutes further, and at the like distance

¹ J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 65.

² The same ; *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 332

³ The same ; *Ma. nota.*

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from the foot of Jebel Aswad, is a larger stream, called el-Berdy, collected in the same manner; the head of its canal being twenty minutes west of the road, and five minutes beyond the Druze village of Ashrafiyeh. It waters the village of Bu-weidah about an hour east of the road; and is exhausted in the gardens and fields below it.¹ In the northeastern part of the plain, beyond Maksûrah, two similar canals are mentioned.² It is also said, that between the city and the lakes there are several series of these canals; one range commencing where the waters of a preceding one begin to be dispersed over the surface.³

Many of these canals are now choked up with rubbish and earth, and are no longer in use; though they may still be traced by their mounds. The amount of time and labour, of ingenuity and expense, which the various contrivances for irrigating the plain have cost, is incalculable. It would appear, that for many centuries past, as at the present day, the inhabitants have been living upon the industry of their forefathers.

THE LAKES.—The plain of Damascus slopes gently towards the east, or rather E. S. E. for about twenty miles; where it reaches its greatest depression in a broad basin containing three lakes. Beyond these the plain gradually rises again, for twelve or fifteen miles, to the range of the Tellûl. The lakes and the great basin have no outlet; and are the natural receptacle for the waters of all the rivers and fountains of the plain of Damascus.

These lakes have hitherto been comparatively unknown.⁴ No traveller had visited them. One or two of the missionaries had passed in the neighbourhood of them; and my journal contains notes of all the information they could afford me. But in November of the same year, (1852,) Messrs Robson, Porter, and Barnett, made an excursion expressly for the purpose of exploring them; a full account of which, drawn up by Mr Porter, has been published.⁵ It is only necessary here to present a brief outline of the results of their examination.

The two northern lakes receive the waters of the Barada, and of all the northern portion of the plain. The southernmost of these, called Bahret el-Kibleh, 'South lake,' lies more towards the west than the other, which is hence called Bahret esh-Shûrkiyeh 'East lake.' They are nearly of the same size; not

¹ J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 342, 343.—Yet on the map to Burckhardt the Berdy is put down as rising near Kattana and flowing to the lakes; in that of Berghaus it rises high up on the side of Hermon. It never flows to the lakes.

² The same; in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 454.

³ The same; communicated in a manuscript Note.

⁴ Even Abulfeda speaks of them only as one lake; *Tab. Syr. Suppl.* ed. Köhler, p. 157.

⁵ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April 1854, pp. 329–344.

varying much from six or seven miles in diameter, and about twenty miles in circumference. They are separated by a tract of higher solid ground nearly a mile in width. The surface of the lakes is covered partly by tracts of clear water ; and partly by vast thickets of tall reeds or waving canes, from ten to twenty feet in height. The western side of the Bahret el-Kibleh runs from Judeidet el-Khâs in the southwest to 'Ataibeh in the northeast, about two hours. Into this lake two main branches of the Barada empty themselves ; one just south of 'Ataibeh, the other some distance still further south. The universal testimony of the people of the region is, that the Barada *always* thus flows into the lake ; and, also, that the lake itself *never* becomes wholly dry. If there are exceptions to this statement, they must be in years of uncommon drought, and very rare. Into the eastern lake flows another arm of the Barada, north of 'Ataibeh. It receives likewise the surplus waters of the Taurah ; and also in winter the Nahr el-Mukubrit coming down by Maksûrah. But its main supply is said to come from the surplus waters of the other lake during the winter season ; which flow to it through a deep and wide trench near its southwestern part, so regular that it might seem to be artificial ; though it is not so. When the waters are high, the two lakes are said to approach nearer to each other in several places ; and in one narrow Wady even to meet. But this is not usual ; and for the most part the tract between them varies from half a mile to a mile in breadth.

From these lakes the markets of Damascus are said to be supplied with fresh fish to some extent.¹ The reedy thickets are the favourite retreat of wild swine.

The third lake lies south and southeast of the village of Heijâneh ; whence it takes the name of Bahret Heijâneh. It is separated from the Bahret el-Kibleh by a tract of higher ground an hour in width ; and has no connection with that lake. It is smaller than the other lakes ; the diameter being some five miles, and the circumference not much more than fifteen. The river A'waj enters its northwest corner, about twenty minutes distant from the village Heijâneh. In November 1852, both the river and the lake were entirely dry ; but the waving reeds and the colour of the soil marked distinctly the limits of the water of the lake during the winter. The neighbouring inhabitants said that it rarely dries up wholly. A winter torrent, called the Liwa, coming from the south, enters the lake at the southwest corner.

The three easternmost villages of the plain of Damascus,

¹ Seetzen, Reisen I. p. 304.

Makstrah, 'Ataibeh, and Hejjāneh, lie in a direct line, bearing from the latter N. 27° E. The whole of the immense tract on the south and east of the lakes, is now without any settled inhabitants. In the autumn it is parched and desolate. But in the spring it yields excellent pasturage; and is then covered with the wide-spreading flocks of the Beni Sūkr and Wulid 'Aly.

On the rising plain beyond the lakes, midway between these and the Tellûl, are seen three ruins, apparently of large structures, several miles apart, called by the Arabs Diyûra (convents). They have never been visited, nor is their origin or character known. Possibly they may be the "places that protect from an enemy," or fortified posts, spoken of by Abulfeda in connection with the lakes.¹

AGRICULTURE. FRUITS.—The portions of the plain adjacent to the city, are mostly devoted to the culture of fruit and garden vegetables. In the remoter parts, all the various species of grain for the use of man or beast are raised in profusion. Tobacco, cotton, flax, hemp, madder-roots, ricinus, are also cultivated to a considerable extent. But of tobacco only a small part of the quantity consumed is thus supplied; and the madder-plant is much more cultivated in the plain of Nebk.²

Of trees, the olive is the most abundant, and the orchards furnish about one fourth part of the oil consumed at Damascus for eating, burning, and soap-boiling.³ The tall and slender poplars too are seen in many parts with their silvery foliage, especially along the valley and streams of the Barada; they furnish almost the only timber used for building. For fuel the wood of the olive and apricot is mainly used.⁴ A few palm trees, cypresses, and plane trees are occasionally seen. But the glory of Damascus are its gardens and forests of fruit trees, which surround the city for miles, and almost hide it from view. Vegetables of all kinds are abundant and cheap. The profusion of water is favourable to their cultivation; and also especially to the growth of fruit trees. Almost every species of fruit is produced around Damascus; either in the plain or in the valley of the Barada. Besides the olive, we either saw or heard expressly named the following, viz. oranges, lemons, citrons, (in the courts of the houses,) apples, pears, quinces, peaches, apricots, almonds, plums, prunes, grapes, figs, pomegranates, mulberries, walnuts, hazel-nuts, pistachios, etc.⁵ The wines of Damascus are among

¹ Tab Syr. Suppl. ed. Köhler, p. 157.

² Bowring's Report, pp. 17, 18, 93.

³ Ibid. p. 16, 92.

⁴ Seetzen, Reisen, I. p. 29

⁵ Comp. Lands of the Bible, II. p. 826.

Also von Troilo p. 440.—According to Schubert, the most common fruit tree is the apricot; its fruit is delicious, and is often eaten by the inhabitants green; Reise III. p. 284 sq.

the best of Syria. Grapes ripen early in July; and are said to be found in the market during eight months.¹ Such is this splendid plain, the seat of this great oriental city. Well might Abulfeda say of it: "The Ghûtah of Damascus is one of the four paradises, which are the most excellent of the beautiful places of the earth. They are the Ghûtah of Damascus, the She'ab of Bauwân, the river of Ubulleh, and Soghd of Samarkand. The Ghûtah of Damascus excels the other three."² In like manner Julian calls Damascus "the eye of the whole east."³

THE CITY.—Thus embosomed in a wide forest of fruit trees, intersected and surrounded by sparkling streams, in the midst of an earthly paradise, lies the far-famed Damascus, one of the oldest cities of the world. The approach to it is most beautiful, whether from the ridge of Anti-Lebanon, or by the great northern road from Hamah and Aleppo, or also from the eastern desert.

The city, as I have already said, lies about a mile from the base of Jebel Kasyûn. Its geographical position does not vary much from Lat. 33° 32' 28" N. and Long. 36° 20' E. from Greenwich.⁴—The elevation of the site above the sea, according to Schubert, is 2186 Paris feet,⁵ equivalent to about 2330 English feet.

The name *Damascus* is from the ancient Hebrew appellation, *Dammeseck*.⁶ In the Arabic form *Dimeshk*, this name is found only in geographical writers.⁷ In popular usage the city is known only as *esh-Shâm*, the general name for Syria, signifying the left or north.⁸

By far the largest portion of the inhabitants of Damascus are Muhammedans. It is indeed a chief city of the Muslim faith; where the Syrian Haj is gathered and takes its departure every year. The population of Damascus and the adjacent village of Salihyeh, as taken from the census of the Egyptian government in 1838, is as follows:

¹ Seetzen, *Reisen* I. p. 140.

² Abulfeda, *Tab. Syr.* ed. Köhler, p. 100.

³ Epist. 24, ad Serapion.

⁴ This is the position assigned by Berg-haus, (*Mem.* on his Map. p. 28); and I am not aware of any later or better specification yet published. The longitude is of course only an approximation by means of itineraries; and Kiepert, on his new map, has placed it one or two minutes further west. The latitude is from observations by Seetzen and Corry; see Berg-haus l. c.

⁵ *Reise* III. p. 283. Russegger has

2304 Par. feet; *Reisen* I. p. 729. Mr Porter's result was 2200 Eng. feet. The average is just Schubert's measurement.—According to Mr Porter, Jebel Kasyûn is 3814 Eng. feet above the sea; or 1614 feet above the plain. Ms. note.

⁶ Heb. דַּמֶּשֶׁק, later דַּמֶּשֶׁק; Gr. Δαμασκός.

⁷ Abulfeda *Tab. Syr.* p. 100. Schultens *Vita Salad. Ind. art. Damascus*.

⁸ So Cairo is Arab. *el-Kâhirah*; but is universally known only as *Muar*, the general name of Egypt; see above, Vol. I p. 23. [i. 35.]

Muslims and Druzes	74,964	
Jews	4,630	
Christians:		
Greeks	5,995	
Greek Catholics	6,195	
Syrians	260	
Syrian Catholics	350	
Maronites	405	
Armenians	405	
Armenian Catholics	235	
Latins	110	13,955
Slaves and servants	4,000	
Soldiers	6,000	
Strangers and protégés	5,000	15,000
Total		108,549

But these numbers are regarded as being much below the truth. In 1852 the population of Damascus alone was generally estimated at 150,000 souls.¹

The ancient city lay wholly on the south of the Barada, which flowed along its northern wall. In modern times a small suburb has been extended across the river on the northwestern quarter. A much larger suburb has grown up on the southwest and south; and then the Meidân has been built up along the Haj road southwards. Hence, instead of the ancient oval form of the city, it now resembles a large polygonal kite, with a long tail extending towards the south.² A modern wall surrounds the whole; while the old southern wall is still seen sweeping around through the middle of the city to the castle. The circumference of the city along the modern external wall is about four miles.³

Some of the streets of the city make a good impression; but in general they are mean and dirty, and also narrow and crooked. They are paved with basalt in the oriental manner, having a lower channel or passage in the middle. In some there are pits or sinks of filth, so large and deep as hardly to be passed without danger.⁴ The principal street of the city extends from the eastern gate, in a tolerably straight direction, quite through the city to one of the western gates. It usually presents a busy scene of comers and goers, and of oriental commerce. This

¹ The estimates in Bowring's Report are lower; pp. 4, 7.

² The Meidân was built up during the last century. Maundrell, in 1697, describes the city as "of a long straight figure; its ends pointing near northeast and southwest. It is very slender in the middle; but swells bigger at each end, especially at that towards the northeast." Journey etc. April 27th.—Niebuhr's plan of Damascus

is exceedingly defective and unlike; Reisebeschr. II. Pl. LL.

³ Dr Wilson rode around the walls in an hour and twenty minutes; Lands of the Bible II. p. 364. Seetzen gives the diameter of the city from the eastern gate to the western at 30 minutes; from north to south one hour; Reisen I. p. 277.

⁴ Comp. Bowring's Report, p. 98.

street has various names in different parts among the Muslim inhabitants ; but the Christians regard it as " the street which is called Straight " of the New Testament ; in which Paul sojourned.¹ It is reported and believed, that a colonnade, or row of columns on each side, formerly ran along the whole extent of the street ; and the remains of the columns are said to be still found within the adjacent houses. If all this be true, there may be some foundation for the hypothesis ; but I could hear of no one who had actually seen the columns.

Many of the streets are closed by gates, as at Cairo. These are shut every night an hour and a half after sunset ; but are opened to any one wishing to pass, on payment of a few paras. The external gates of the city are quite numerous ; there are said to be not less than thirty or forty in all. Some of the principal ones are : Bâb esh-Shūrky, the eastern gate ; Bâb Tûma (Thomas) on the northeast ; Bâb es-Salâm, on the north ; Bâb es-Sâlihiyeh, on the northwest ; Bâb es-Suriyeh, on the west ; Bâb Allah, gate of God, at the south end of the Meidân, where the Haj passes out.

The Christian quarter occupies the whole eastern portion of the city. The Jewish quarter is adjacent to it on the west ; but lies mostly on the south of the principal street, the ' Straight.' The rest of the city, with the suburbs on the northwest and south, is inhabited by the Muhammedans.

The houses along the streets are in general built with a framework of timber, filled in with the clayey soil of the plain. The better sort have at the bottom a few courses of stone. With great care these houses are tolerably durable, and last for many years ; but if neglected, they soon tumble down. The houses of the wealthy are externally not less mean and unattractive than the rest ; while the interior of very many is highly decorated, and the courts furnished with gushing fountains and flowering shrubs.

We called at the house of Mr Wood, the British consul, who was also acting as American consular agent. I had letters to him ; but he was absent at Blûdân, preparing a summer residence. His lady received us, and we spent a pleasant hour. The consul was residing in the Muslim quarter, in one of the better class of Muslim houses. In its external appearance, next the street, it did not differ from others. The entrance was so constructed, as to prevent any one outside from looking in. There was a very large interior court, surrounded by the lofty and decorated walls of the house. Here were two immense tanks of flowing water, and also two smaller ones. In the court was

¹ Acts 9, 11.

a profusion of trees and flowering shrubs, the orange, citron, and the like. Among the shrubs the oleander was conspicuous; and there was one rare specimen of the *white* oleander, which had been procured with difficulty. On the south side of the court was the open arcade or alcove, where the family pass the day in hot weather. Adjacent to it was the salon of reception. This last had also its fountain in the lower part, with a floor of marble; and the high walls were gorgeously decorated in the oriental style. This was said to be a good specimen of the best Damascus houses; perhaps in this case with some European improvements. The court was indeed most beautiful. The houses of the wealthy Hebrew merchants are likewise described as being very sumptuous inside.¹

The walls of the houses are decorated with inscriptions from the Korân or the Scriptures, according as the owner is a Mohammedan or a Christian.

The castle is situated in the northwestern part of the old city, on the Barada, which flows along its northern wall. It is a large and high quadrangular fortress, with towers; and is surrounded by a fosse. It is said to be within like a little town. In its present form, it probably dates from the middle ages; though in some portions it exhibits traces of higher antiquity, which will be described further on.

There are numerous mosks; the number is said to be over eighty.² Their domes and minarets give variety and beauty to the aspect of the city; and some of the latter are very tasteful. The principal mosk, that of the Ommiades, was anciently a church of St. John the Baptist; and as such will be further described among the antiquities of the city. The churches of the Christians are comparatively very few; and still fewer the Hebrew synagogues.

The largest and most splendid of the many Khâns in Damascus, is that of Asad Pasha, erected about the middle of the last century.³ It has a noble dome; and its architecture is hardly surpassed in lightness and elegance. These Khâns are frequented by merchants from other cities and distant lands; and, on the arrival of the caravans, present an appearance of great bustle and business.

The bazars are one of the curiosities of Damascus. They are all in one quarter of the city; but are separated according to the different wares sold, or the different trades carried on in them. They are usually covered arcades, with a row of narrow

¹ Lands of the Bible, II. p. 338 sq.

² Russegger, I. p. 730. Seetzen reports 143 as the number; Reisen, I. p. 270.

³ The history of Asad is given by Vol-

ney. He held the office of Pasha for fifteen years; and was distinguished as an upright man and public benefactor. Volney's Voyage, etc. II. p. 234.

shops on each side. Some of the bazars are quite extensive ; as those of the goldsmiths, druggists, pipemakers, dealers in clothing, hardware, cotton stuffs, etc. Indeed there is a separate bazar for almost every commodity of trade, from the most sumptuous articles of luxury down to the most ordinary necessities and conveniences of common life. The multitude of merchants and artisans, the moving throng of purchasers and loungers, and the many confectioners and dealers in ices and sherbet threading their way among the crowds, generally in various and often in splendid costume, talking, bargaining, disputing, and sometimes swearing, at the top of their lungs ; all these produce a confusion and present a scene, which belongs only to oriental character, and can be found only in a great oriental city.

With the bazars and Khāns stand connected the manufactures and commerce of the city. The former are still extensive ; though less renowned than in former days. The celebrated Damascus sword-blades are found no more. The damask stuffs, which already in ancient times took their name from the city,¹ are still woven here ; though surpassed by the similar fabrics of western Europe. The number of looms in Damascus for mixed stuffs of silk and cotton, is reckoned at four thousand ; for cotton alone, four hundred.² Gold and silver thread is also manufactured to a considerable extent ;³ as also gold and silver work in general, elegant saddlery and trappings, delicate oils, perfumes, balsams, articles for the toilet, etc. Soap is made in considerable quantity for home use, and is not exported.⁴

The commerce of Damascus is mainly either with Europe through its port Beirūt ; or with Bagdad, from which it receives the products of the east. The foreign houses are chiefly in Beirūt ; there being no English house in Damascus itself. There is a large number of merchants, both Muhammedan and Christian, who thus trade with Europe ; and also more than twenty Jewish houses, which are in general the most wealthy.⁵ Between Damascus and Bagdad, there is a large caravan once and sometimes twice or more in a year, consisting of fifteen hundred or two thousand camels. The route is by way of Palmyra, and thence eastward, till it joins the caravan road from Aleppo to Bagdad. The Euphrates is crossed at Hit.⁶

The baths of Damascus are justly famous for their architec-

¹ Am. 3, 12 Heb. and Vulg. See Gesen. Lex. art. פָּנִינִי.

² Bowring's Report, p. 20.

³ Ibid. p. 21.

⁴ Ibid. p. 19.

⁵ Ibid. p. 94.

⁶ Ibid. p. 45. Lands of the Bible, II.

pp. 364, 365.—Early in June, 1843, Dr Wilson saw the Bagdad caravan just arrived at Damascus, and unloading in the plain outside of the eastern gate. It consisted of 4500 camels, loaded principally with spices, tobacco, and a variety of Indian goods. Ibid.

tural splendour, their neatness, convenience, and luxury. In this particular, Damascus, from the abundance of its waters, may well surpass all other oriental cities.¹

Coffee-houses exist in great number, and are often described by travellers in extravagant terms.² They usually include a court with trees and fountains. The largest and most frequented are situated on and over the Barada, as it flows through the northwestern part of the city. One of these I visited. A balcony extended out over the stream, and was embosomed in trees and foliage. Great numbers of small glass lamps were everywhere suspended; and at night, when these are all lighted, the whole effect must be magical. Unfortunately I was there at mid-day, when the aspect of everything was shabby and dirty. Smoking, and sipping coffee, sherbet, or ices, are the chief employment of the visitors.³ Sometimes however the oriental story-teller is still found in them; who understands both how to secure the attention of his hearers, and to draw upon their loose change.⁴

On Saturday I rode out with Mr Porter through the eastern gate of the city. Just outside and near by is a mound of rubbish of considerable elevation; from which there is a good view of the general features of the surrounding mountains and of the plain. In the south are the ranges of Jebel Mâni'a and Jebel el-Aswad, between which flows the A'waj. Towards the southwest are the ridges of Anti-Lebanon, and Jebel esh-Sheikh rearing his glittering crown far above them all. On the west is the naked and desolate ridge of Jebel Kasyûn, resembling the mountains of Egypt, with its lofty summit and Wely. More to the south is seen the chasm of the Barada, and the road from Sâlihiyeh winding up its northern side to the Kubbet en-Nûsr, so famous for the beauty of its prospect: Further to the right is the chasm of the valley coming from Helbôn; and beyond it the sharp conical lofty peak of Jebel Tiniyeh. Still more to the right, the ridge trends eastward and is lost in the deserts south of Palmyra. A second ridge is visible beyond its western part, which also runs out eastwards into the desert.⁵ Far in the east, beyond the lakes, and ten or twelve hours distant, are dimly seen the forms of the Tellûl.

We now rode along the south side of the city to the Meidân.

¹ Comp. Schubert, III. p. 301.

² Seetzen gives the number at 119, in his day; Reisen I. p. 270.

³ Comp. Lands of the Bible, II. p. 327. —The ice or snow for the use of these establishments is said to be brought from Jebel esh-Sheikh; but I did not learn the particulars. In Pococke's day also this was the case; and probably too in ancient

times, as also at Sidon. Pococke II. i. p. 125.

⁴ Pococke II. i. p. 122. O. v. Richter pp. 141, 152.

⁵ For these and other ridges thus running out from Anti-Lebanon, and crossed by the road to Hums, see J. L. Porter in Bibliotheca Sacra, 1854, pp. 685–693.

After looking at the broad street through which the Haj passes out and enters, and along which this suburb has grown up, we struck through the city northwest by the green minaret,¹ and by the immense barracks, to the Merj on the west of the city, a tract somewhat lower than the adjacent plain. It is an open and beautiful spot, appropriately called *Merj*; for it is truly a verdant 'meadow,' with the Barada and several of its branches meandering and babbling through it.² Here we saw where two large streams are taken out on the south side. One, the Baniás, branches off in the western part, and goes to supply the fountains and gardens within the city. The other, the 'Akrahány, is led off lower down, and within the line of houses, if I remember right; and being also carried through the city by a covered channel, it goes to water the fields around the village of 'Akrahah an hour beyond.

The Merj is the rendezvous of the Haj; and here is situated the Tekiyeh, or hospital for the pilgrims. It is a large quadrangular enclosure, divided into two courts. In the southern is a large and fine mosk, with its dome and two minarets. Around the wall of the court runs a row of cells, with a portico or gallery of columns in front. Over each cell is a small dome, and another over the portico in front of it; forming thus two rows of small domes around the court. The appearance is singular. The other court is similar, except the mosk. Here poor pilgrims are lodged and fed; especially those going to, or returning from Mecca with the Haj. This hospital was founded by Sultan Selim I, about A. D. 1516, for this specific purpose; and was endowed by him with a revenue of seven thousand ducats from lands and villages; like the Tekiyeh at Jerusalem.³ There are likewise hospitals in various parts of the city; and among them three for leprosy persons.⁴

We followed down the open stream of the Barada, crossing and recrossing its limpid waters, until it enters that part of the city, which lies north of the ancient wall. On our way home we found ourselves compelled to make a circuit, because one of the streets through which we were to pass, near the horse bazar, was entirely obstructed by a crowd of wild horses just brought in from the desert. In those uninhabited tracts, these horses, it is said, are left to run wild till the age of three or four years; after which they are caught and brought to the city for sale.

We also took in our way the enormous plane tree, *Plata-*

¹ Comp. Pococke II. i. p. 121.

² Comp. Seetzen Reisen I. p. 282. O. v. Richter pp. 149, 150.—The earlier travellers speak of the Merj as *Agr Damascenus*; so v. Troilo p. 443. Maundrell Apr. 29th. etc. etc.

³ v. Hammer's Gesch. d. Osman. Reichs, II. p. 488. See above, Vol II. p. 3. [ii. 322.]—Comp. Seetzen Reisen I. p. 282. O. v. Richter p. 150.

⁴ Seetzen Reisen I. p. 277.

nus orientalis, which is one of the lions of the city.¹ The trunk measures twenty-nine feet in circumference. How many are the vicissitudes and revolutions of the city, which it has witnessed in its day!

The streets of Damascus are full of dogs, homeless and without a master. By day they lie and sleep anywhere, and trouble nobody unless provoked; seeming to act on the principle of "live and let live." But let a strange dog make his appearance, and all the dogs of the quarter set upon him at once. I was amused at seeing a dog following two soldiers on horseback; some twenty or thirty dogs were after him, yelling with all the strength of their lungs; while the stranger, as if conscious of his military protection, kept quietly along by the side of his master's horse.²

The abundance of water furnished by the Barada, which alone gives fertility and beauty to the city and plain, and which adds so greatly to the convenience and comfort of the inhabitants, is nevertheless not without its drawbacks. Where every one desires to have as much as possible, all are of course jealous of their rights. The Christians of the city complain that the Muslims take more than their share; and as the latter are on the west, and first receive the water, the complaint may well have some foundation. All the villages and gardens of the plain have their prescribed rights upon the water. These are of long standing, and have often been judicially decided. Indeed, the regulation of the water, so as to satisfy these prescriptive rights and claims, is in the hands of the government. And thus it may be truly said, that every drop of the water of the Barada has to run according to law.

The presence of such immense quantities of water, with so many reservoirs and fountains in the courts and parlours, refreshing as it is during the heat of summer, has yet its disadvantages at other times. Later in the season myriads of mosquitos throng the houses, and are exceedingly troublesome.³ Also in autumn and winter, the courts become wet, and the houses very damp; giving occasion for ague and rheumatism. Hence, in general, the lower rooms of the houses are damp and cold in winter; and the upper rooms are hot in summer. Families, therefore, so far as they are able, live below in summer, and above in winter.

From this general humidity of the courts and houses has probably arisen the custom, so often mentioned by travellers as

¹ Comp. Russegger I. p. 738.

² Russegger gives an amusing account of his entrance into the city with two large shepherd dogs from Mount Taurus. It was with difficulty, that he could bring

them through the mob of city dogs. Reisen I. p. 727.

³ Russegger speaks thus of them, from experience, in the last days of October Reisen I. p. 737.

prevailing among females, of walking upon high clogs or pattens. But the practice is not confined to females, high or low ; it is followed also occasionally by gentlemen, and also by men servants. Even now, in June, the servants in Mr Robson's house, went about on clogs from four to six inches high.

The Christian churches, of which there are said to be seven in Damascus, I did not visit. Two or three of them belong to the Latin convents.¹ The Spanish Franciscan convent of the Terra Santa has been until recently, and is perhaps still, the chief resting place for Frank travellers.² At the time of my visit, however, there was already a large hotel.

ANTIQUITIES.—The remains of antiquity in Damascus are not extensive ; though more than I had expected to find. They have, for the most part, been so wrought over, and are so much covered by the works of later ages, that they do not prominently strike the eye of the traveller ; but require rather to be sought out with some painstaking.

The castle, situated in the northwest quarter of the city, on the south bank of the Barada, although doubtless in its present form a work of the middle ages, yet reaches back in its foundations and its materials to a much higher antiquity. The southern part is built up of very small stones very rudely bevelled. Further north, and especially at the northeast corner tower, the stones are larger, have a much better bevel, and are obviously ancient. The walls of the fortress having been rebuilt in Saracenic times, these small stones on the south were probably in like manner ancient materials ; or, if not, they were perhaps dressed in this way in order to match the rest in some degree.

The wall of the ancient city, starting from the castle, may still be traced in nearly or quite its whole extent. It runs eastward along the south bank of the Barada ; then sweeps round on the eastern side by the Bâb esh-Shūrky ; afterwards turns southwest and west and runs into the modern city ; and at last bends obliquely northwest to the castle again. In its lower portions and towers there are many large and evidently ancient stones, and the place of the wall is doubtless that of ancient times ; but it exhibits tokens of having been several times rebuilt, probably after the desolations of sieges and earthquakes. South of the eastern gate, especially, there is a stretch of large and heavy work ; and some of the stones have a partial though rude bevel. The old wall is here open to the country for a con-

¹ Comp. Seetzen Reisen I. p. 269. I. p. 728. Schubert III. pp. 275, 288. Russegger I. p. 737. Stephen Schulz, in 1755, was refused admittance; Leitungen Th. V. p. 426 sq.

² So Lieut. Cola Squire and Leake, in Walpole's Travels in the East, etc. p. 317. Paulus' Sammlung VII. p. 171 sq. Irby and Mangles p. 282. [86.] Russegger

siderable distance. Here too are the public cemeteries, which are better kept than those of Smyrna and Constantinople; but have no cypress trees.

The eastern gate itself also exhibits remains of ancient Roman work. There is a large middle portal with an ornamented round arch; and a like smaller portal on each side. These are now walled up; and the entrance to the city is on one side.

The most imposing of all the remains of antiquity in Damascus, is the great mosk of the Ommiades; which, as all relate, was before the Muhammedan conquest a Christian church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist.¹ The two generals of 'Omar, by whom the city was captured, Kâlid and Ibn 'Obeideh, divided the possession of the church between the Muslims and Christians. But 'Abd el-Melik, the fifth Khalif of the house of Ommiyah, who ascended the throne in A. D. 705, violated the capitulation, which had been held sacred for more than half a century; expelled the Christians from their portion of the edifice; and converted it into one of the masterpieces of Arabian architecture and splendour. Thither the pious Muslim was wont to repair, "to venerate the tombs of the saints, to admire the magnificence of its columns, the infinite number of its domes, the elegance of its inscriptions, and the multitude of its altars." The most sacred portion of the mosk is the chapel, which according to Muhammedan tradition contains the head of John the Baptist.²

The entrance to the mosk is from the great bazar; and one can so far look in, as to see the splendid columns, and the fountains in its courts. The length is said to be about four hundred feet. Through his acquaintance with a Maronite silversmith, Schubert was able to clamber over the roofs of adjacent houses, and approach so near to the entablature and Corinthian capitals of the columns, as to reach them with the hand. He was convinced, that at least a large portion of the building was not originally a Christian church; but a magnificent temple of Juno. This was shewn by the remains of a Roman inscription upon the entablature itself; as well as by several groups of columns now standing separated from the edifice.³

¹ Reiske refers it to John of Damascus; who, however, did not flourish till a century after the conquest; Abulfed. *Annal.* I, note 195.

² See v. Hammer's *Gesch. d. Osman. Reichs*, II. pp. 483-487. This mosk is likewise described in glowing terms by Edrisi; I. p. 351, ed. Jaubert; also in Abulfed. *Annal.* I. pp. 428, 432. *Ejusd. Tab. Syr.* ed. Köhler p. 15 sq. Ibn el-Wardi, *ib.* p. 172 sq.

³ Schubert's *Reise*, III. p. 297 sq. It is

greatly to be regretted, that Schubert did not copy the inscription.—M. De Saulcy appears to have clambered over the same roofs to the exterior of the mosk. According to him, it was "originally a Christian church, of the period of Justinian, which had taken the place of a Pagan temple, and afterwards became a mosk in its turn." He found a Greek inscription, which he seems neither to have copied nor read. *Narrat.* II. p. 579.

Just west of the great mosk are four large and tall columns standing in a line, with a square one on each side. The columns are about three and a half feet in diameter. They once formed, perhaps, a triumphal arch or portal.¹

As we passed through a narrow street not far distant from the mosk, I counted no less than fifteen smaller ancient columns, still remaining built into the walls of the houses on the left hand; and also four more around the first corner. These probably were part of a long colonnade, connected with the court of some temple or other public edifice.—In another street not far off is the fragment of a very large column, still in its place; the diameter of which measured four feet nine inches.²

The street now called 'Straight' I have already described.³ The question of its antiquity will depend very much on the finding of the columns said still to exist within the houses along each side. Should these be found, such as they are reported, they would imply an ancient street; but the further question would still remain undetermined, whether this is the identical street referred to in the New Testament.

The larger canals from the Barada may likewise be regarded as among the antiquities of Damascus. We find them bearing the same names in the twelfth century; and Strabo tells us that in his time the river was almost exhausted by its canals.⁴ Probably the fields have thus been watered even from the time of Abraham.

There are no traces of ancient aqueducts in or near the city, that I am aware of; nor is it easy to understand how an aqueduct could ever have been necessary in connection with Damascus. The ruins of one in the northern part of the plain I have already spoken of; it seems to run towards the city, and was perhaps intended for irrigating the higher parts of the plain.⁵ I do not remember any further notice of ancient aqueducts connected with the plain, or in the regions beyond. Yet it is supposed by many travellers, and is still reported in Damascus, that an aqueduct was once carried from the fountain of Fijeh, or from some point not far below it, to Palmyra; and that the subterranean tunnel below Bessima was a part of it. This would imply another tunnel through the ridge of Jebel Kasyûn, or else a channel high along the chasm south of Sâlihiyeh; as also

¹ So too Schubert, *ibid.* p. 298. Comp. De Saulcy II. p. 580.

² Pococke speaks of a mosk at the northeast corner of the city walls, which was once a church of St. Simeon Stylites, and still earlier a temple of Serapis; II. i. p. 121. Schubert also refers to a temple of Serapis; III. p. 299. This is perhaps

a tradition of the Latin convent, where these travellers lodged. I have found no further allusion to any such church or temple.

³ See above, p. 455.

⁴ See above, p. 447, notes.

⁵ See above, pp. 448, 449.

lofty masonry along the borders of the plain. But of none of these is there any trace.¹ We shall see at Bessima, that perhaps the tunnel there was more probably for conducting water to the Sahara.²

Many ancient coins of Damascus, as the metropolis of Syria, are still extant, bearing the names of all the Roman emperors from Augustus to Alexander Severus. A later series, from Philip to Gallien, marks the city as a *Colonia*.³

HISTORY.—The origin of Damascus is lost in the shadows of a hoary antiquity. In the days of Abraham it was already a city of note;⁴ and is now probably the only known city of that epoch, which is still inhabited and flourishing. Of all this long history there is room here only for the very briefest outline.

The city is not further mentioned until the reign of David. At that time Syria was divided into several petty sovereignties, and Damascus was the seat of a king. In David's war against the king of Zobah, the "Syrians of Damascus" aided the latter; and were subdued by David, who placed garrisons in their territory.⁵ Yet, under Solomon, Damascus again threw off the yoke. Rezon, a former servant of the king of Zobah, established there a kingdom; and "was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon."⁶ Later there was a league between Abijam the son of Rehoboam and Tabrimon king of Syria, "who dwelt at Damascus;" and who seems to have succeeded his father Hezion.⁷ When Baasha king of Israel made war upon Asa king of Judah, the son of Abijam, about B. C. 940, the latter applied to Benhadad I, then upon the throne of Syria, to aid him against Israel. Benhadad did so; and seized several cities in the northeastern part of Israel.⁸ His son, Benhadad II, in league with thirty-two minor kings, invaded Israel under Ahab, about B. C. 900; but was twice driven back, and sued for peace.⁹ Three years later, as he did not fulfil the conditions, Ahab and Jehoshaphat king of Judah both made war upon him; and the former fell in battle.¹⁰ Twice again did Benhadad invade Israel during the

¹ At Jerjû'a and towards Sidon the traces of the comparatively small ancient aqueduct are still quite distinct. Much more should we expect like traces here, where the supposed aqueduct must have been ten times as large and important. See above, pp. 45, 46.

² See further on, under June 7th.—This supposed aqueduct to Palmyra is mentioned by Pococke, II i. pp. 136, 137; by Volney, Ruins p. 252; by Seetzen, Reise I. p. 138. For the view at the present day, which seems to vary considerably from the earlier one, see W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sacra, 1848, p. 763 sq.

³ See Eckhel Doctr. Nummor. III. p.

329 sq. Mionnet Descr. des Méd. V. pp. 283–297. Suppl. VIII. p. 193 sq.

⁴ Gen. 14, 15 "Hobah, which is on the left hand [north] of Damascus." In Gen. 15, 2, Abraham's steward is "Eliezer of Damascus."

⁵ 2 Sam. 8, 5, 6. 1 Chr. 18, 5, 6.

⁶ 1 K. 11, 23–25.

⁷ 1 K. 15, 19; comp. vs. 8, 18.

⁸ 1 K. 15, 17–21.

⁹ 1 K. c. 20. The following was one of the conditions proposed: "Thou shalt make streets for thee in Damascus, as my father made in Samaria;" v. 34. This refers probably to commercial colonies.

¹⁰ 1 K. c. 22.

reign of Jehoram; and was in each case compelled to retire.¹

The Syrian dynasty was now changed. Benhadad was put to death by his servant Hazael, who seized the throne, and raised the kingdom of Damascus to a high pitch of prosperity and power. He defeated the kings of Israel and Judah; seized upon all the provinces east of the Jordan; levied a contribution upon Jerusalem; and reduced Israel to the condition of a tributary kingdom.² The son of Hazael, Benhadad III, was thrice beaten by Joash king of Israel; who recovered the cities which his father had lost.³ Jeroboam II, the successor of Joash, B. C. 825, drove the Syrians into still greater straits, took Damascus, and extended his conquests to Hamath.⁴ Nevertheless, more than half a century later, we find Pekah king of Israel and Rezin king of Damascus in alliance against Ahaz king of Judah; and Rezin gained possession of Elath on the Red Sea.⁵ In this extremity Ahaz invoked the aid of Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria. This monarch took Damascus, slew Rezin, carried the people into exile to Kir; and thus all Syria about B. C. 740 became a province of the Assyrian empire.⁶ The city is mentioned by Jeremiah; also once by Ezekiel during the exile, in reference to its trade with Tyre; and once by Zechariah after the exile.⁷

Of the fortunes of Damascus during the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires, under the dominion of which it successively passed,⁸ there is hardly a trace in history. The language of Ezekiel, above referred to, shows that it continued to be a mart of manufactures and commerce. After the battle of Issus, B. C. 333, all Syria came under the power of Alexander; and Damascus, where the harem and treasures of Darius had been left, was surrendered to Parmenio by treachery.⁹ In the Syro-Grecian kingdom of the Seleucidæ, the sovereigns established their court, not at Damascus, but at Antioch; and during their wars with Egypt, the regions of Palestine and Coele Syria sometimes came into the hands of the Ptolemies.¹⁰ In B. C. 111, the step-brothers Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus divided Syria between them; the latter received Phenicia and Coele Syria, and fixed his residence at Damascus.¹¹ The Jews

¹ 2 K. 6, 8-23. ib. 6, 24-7, 20.

² 2 K. 8, 28. 29.-2 K. 10, 32-36. Am. 1. 3-5.-2 K. 12, 17. 18. 2 Chr. 24, 23. 24.-2 K. 13, 3. 22.

³ 2 K. 13, 24. 25.

⁴ 2 K. 14, 27. 28.

⁵ 2 K. 15, 37. 16, 5. 6. Is. 7, 1-9.

⁶ 2 K. 16, 7-9. Is. 8, 4; comp. Is. 10, 9. 17, 1 sq. Jos. Antt. 9. 12. 3.

⁷ Jer. 49, 23 sq. Ez. 27, 18. Zech. 9, 1.

⁸ For its subjection to the Chaldeans,

see 2 K. 24, 2. Jer. 35, 11; to the Persians, Arrian. Alex. 2. 11. Strabo 16. 2. 20. p. 756. Q. Curt. 3. 12. 27.

⁹ Arrian. Alex. 2. 15. Q. Curt. 3. 12, 13.

¹⁰ Polyæn. 4. 15. Comp. Zumpt *Annales* pp. 38, 39.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. *Fragm.* 34. 30. Porphyr. *apud* Euseb. p. 62 Scalig. Jos. Antt. 13. 10. 1.

under Hyrcanus took occasion of the weakness of this prince, to extend their territory.¹ After various civil wars and commotions, Demetrius Eucærus, fourth son of Grypus, supported by Ptolemy Lathyrus of Egypt, took possession of Damascus as king; and divided the empire of Syria with his brother Philip.² At the invitation of the Jews opposed to Alexander Jannæus, Demetrius marched into Palestine, and defeated Alexander at Shechem, B. C. 88. On his return he made war against his brother Philip; but through the aid of the Parthians was overthrown and sent to Parthia, where he died.³ His younger brother, Antiochus Dionysius, now seized upon Damascus; ruled over Syria for three years; and fell in a battle with Aretas king of Arabia, B. C. 84. The Damascenes then invited Aretas to be their king, out of hatred to a pretender, Ptolemy Mennæus.⁴ Not long afterwards we find Tigranes king of Armenia in possession of Syria; and he also subdued Ptolemais. Being compelled, however, to defend his own country against the Romans, the latter meantime under Metellus subdued Damascus.⁵ Here Pompey in B. C. 64 received ambassadors and presents from the neighbouring kings; and in the following year all Syria became a Roman province.⁶ The Roman proconsuls resided mostly at Antioch; rarely at Damascus. It was here that the young Herod visited the proconsul Sextus Cæsar, and received from him for a while the government of Cœlesyria.⁷ Here too Herod, after he became king, built a theatre and gymnasium, as in other cities out of his dominions.⁸

In the history of the New Testament, Damascus is celebrated as the scene of the conversion, baptism, and earliest labours of the apostle Paul.⁹ At that time Damascus was under the temporary dominion of a later Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa; and was governed in his name by an ethnarch. Through his agency the Jews attempted to seize Paul; but the apostle escaped from the city, being let down in a basket through a window in the wall.¹⁰—It is singular that Josephus rarely mentions Damascus after the time of the first Herod. Yet great numbers of Jews were resident in the city during that period. The same historian relates, that on one occasion ten thousand Jews were slain by the citizens; and also that most of the women of the city were converts to Judaism.¹¹

¹ Jos. Antt. 13. c. 10.

² Jos. Antt. 13. 13. 4. Porphyri l. c. p. 67.

³ Jos. Antt. 13. c. 14. B. J. 1. c. 4.

⁴ Jos. Antt. 13. c. 15.

⁵ Strabo 11. 14. 15. p. 532. Jos. Antt. 13. 16. 4. ib. 14. 2. 3. Comp. Zumpt Annal. p. 40.

⁶ Jos. Antt. 14. 3. 1.

⁷ Ibid. 14. 9. 2. 4, 5.

⁸ Jos. B. J. 1. 21. 11.

⁹ Acts 9, 2–27. 22, 5 sq. 26, 12. 20.

Gal. 1, 17.

¹⁰ 2 Cor. 11, 32. 33. For the history of Aretas, see in Vol. II. p. 160. [ii. 560 sq.] —Monkish legendary tradition still points out the various spots mentioned in connection with the apostle, as also this window in the wall; although the wall itself has been several times rebuilt.

¹¹ Jos. B. J. 2. 20. 2.

In the following centuries Damascus was the seat of a Christian bishop, who was reckoned second in rank within the patriarchate of Antioch.¹ Magnus of Damascus is enumerated among the bishops of the council of Nicea, and also in the synod held at Antioch in A. D. 340.² Thomas, a monophysite, was bishop of Damascus in A. D. 518 ; and refusing to acknowledge the council of Chalcedon, was expelled by the emperor Justin I.³ Various others are mentioned. At the present day there is a Maronite bishop ; and the nominal patriarch of Antioch resides at Damascus.⁴

In the wild conquests of early Muhammedanism, Damascus in A. D. 635 fell under the power of the Khalif 'Omar. His two generals, Khâlid and Ibn 'Obeideh, invested the city. The emperor Heraclius sent troops to relieve it ; but in vain. After a siege of two months the city was taken, partly by storm and partly by capitulation.⁵ The Khalifs of the house of Ommiyeh fixed their court at Damascus ; which thus became for the time the metropolis of the east. The Abassides resided at Bagdad, and governed Damascus by a prefect.⁶ In A. D. 877, Damascus, and by degrees all Syria, was seized by Ahmed the first of the Tulunides ; and retained by his successors for about thirty years.⁷ They were overthrown by the Khalif Moktefy ; but Damascus came not long after under the rule of the Ikhshidites ; then under that of the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt ; who again were driven out by the Seljuk line in A. D. 1075.⁸ In the middle of the next century, A. D. 1148, the army of the crusaders under the three sovereigns Baldwin, Conrad, and Louis VII, made an assault upon Damascus ; but were compelled to retire.⁹ It then passed into the power of Nureddin, and afterwards of Saladin.¹⁰ In A. D. 1260, Damascus surrendered without resistance to Hulaku the leader of the Moguls ; the castle alone held out, and was besieged and captured.¹¹ In the following centuries the city often changed masters among the various Muslim dynasties. In A. D. 1401 it came under the power of the Tartar conqueror Tamerlane (Timur Leng), who sent a colony of its best artisans to Samarkand.¹² The Mameluks of Egypt afterwards

¹ Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. 834.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. 836

⁴ Ibid. 698.

⁵ Abulfeda Annal. I. p. 222. Elmakin p. 21 v. Hammer's Gesch. des Osman. Reichs, II. p. 481 sq.—Other accounts say that the city was lost through the treachery of the father of John of Damascus ; Elmakin p. 27. Asseman. Bibl. Or. II. p. 97.

⁶ For the succession and history of the Ommiades and Abassides, see Deguignes

Hist. des Huns, Introd. lib. VI. §§ vii, viii. Gibbon's Hist. of the Decline etc. b. i. li. See also above, Vol. I. pp. 390, 393, 400. [ii. 38, 42, 53.] Comp. above, p. 462.

⁷ Abulfeda Annales II. p. 250. Deguignes l. c. Tom. II. lib. IX. c. 1.

⁸ Deguignes l. c. Tom. II. lib. IX. c. 2.

—Ibid. lib. X. c. 1.

⁹ Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzz. III. 1. p. 241, and App. p. 18.

¹⁰ Ibid. III. ii. pp. 31, 161.

¹¹ Wilken ibid. VII. p. 411.

¹² Sherifeddin, Hist. de Timur Bec ou

held possession of Damascus. At length, in the autumn of A. D. 1516, the city was taken by Sultan Selim I; and has ever since belonged to the Turkish empire.¹ It is the head of a large Pashalik, extending from Marrah, half way between Hamah and Aleppo on the north, to Jerusalem and Hebron on the south, and from Hâsbeiya on the west to Tadmor in the east; including the vast plains of Haurân and all the region towards the desert.²

Like the rest of Syria, Damascus has ever been exposed to earthquakes. It seems however never to have suffered from them in the same degree as Antioch, Tiberias, and some other places.³

Such is Damascus and its far famed plain; and such the outline of its long history. Nature would seem to have marked out the spot as the site of an important city; and such it has always been from the earliest ages. The oldest city in the world, unlike most other ancient cities, its prosperity has been comparatively uninterrupted. The waves of many wars have rolled over it; the city and the plain have often been deluged with blood; but the traces of war and pillage have never long remained. The course of its history has been even. It has rarely been the seat of a mighty empire; but rather the head of a petty kingdom or of a subordinate province. Hence, though an oriental city, it has never equalled a Nineveh or a Babylon in the greatness of its power or the grandeur of its edifices; nor does it now resemble them in the depths of their fall or the extent of their ruins. It has flourished, while they have fallen; and even now it continues to flourish amid all the neglect and oppression of Turkish misrule. The glory of Damascus is its splendid plain, sparkling and gushing with streams and fountains from the Barada. Without the waters of this river, the plain would be a desert; with them it is an earthly paradise, luxuriating with fields of the heaviest grain, as also with groves and orchards of the finest fruit. Damascus is still a gem, "the eye of the whole east."⁴

PLACES IN THE ENVIRONS OF DAMASCUS.

There are several places in the vicinity of Damascus, which are of interest as connected with the history and topography of

Tamerlan, par Le Croix, Par. 1723, lib. V. c. 24-27. Tom III. pp. 312-347. Deguignes, Tom. IV. p. 306 sq. Germ. v. Hammer Gesch. der Osman. Reichs II. p. 481 sq.

¹ v. Hammer *ibid*.

² A sketch of the history of Damascus in the last half of the eighteenth century, see in Volney's Voyage II. p. 230 sq.

³ For earthquakes in 1139, 1157, and 1170, see Deguignes Hist. des Huns, II. pp. 474, 494, 527, Germ. For that of 1759, see Volney's Voyage I. p. 276 sq. For the last terrible earthquake of Jan. 1, 1837, by which Safed was destroyed and Tiberias overthrown, see above in Vol. II. pp. 381 sq. 422 sq. [iii. 254 sq. 321 sq.]

⁴ See above, p. 453.

the city and plain ; and there is one at least having relation too with the Bible. Such places are Sâlihiyeh and the Wely upon the ridge beyond ; both of which I visited. It was formerly, also, not unusual for travellers to make an excursion to Saidanâya and its famous convent of nuns ;¹ as also less often to Helbôn.² I would gladly have done the same, but my time was too far spent. In the following October, however, Saidanâya and other places beyond were visited and examined by Messrs Robson, Porter, and Barnett ; and a full account of the excursion and of the convents of that region has been published by Mr Porter.³ By him and Dr Paulding I was also furnished with copious notes respecting Helbôn.—Jôbar, the Jewish place of pilgrimage, half an hour northeast of Damascus, I did not visit.⁴

Sâlihiyeh.—This is a long and very narrow village, stretching for a mile and a half along the foot of Jebel Kasyûn. From the Bâb es-Sâlihiyeh a strait road runs from Damascus N. W. to the southwestern part of the village. The distance is a quarter of an hour. This road is paved with hewn or flat stones, and has a ditch on each side with side walks beyond, next the garden walls, for foot passengers.⁵ It is probably the only road of the kind in Syria. On the southwest of it is the Merj.

Sâlihiyeh lies slightly above the cultivated plain ; and is watered by the Yezid, the northernmost and highest of the canals taken out from the Barada. The village is regarded as a suburb of Damascus. Here are fine gardens and the summer residences of the wealthy Damascenes. The place is supposed to contain fifteen thousand inhabitants. In the mountain side above are several excavated grottos ; some of them quite extensive.⁶ Jebel Kasyûn is here yellow and naked ; almost like the mountains along the Nile, though somewhat less desert.

Kubbet Seiyr.—Passing through the southwestern quarter of Sâlihiyeh, the road winds gradually up the part of the mountain next to the chasm of the Barada. It is a narrow and crooked pass, cut deeply in the limestone rock. On the summit of the ridge, just on the left of the road, is an open Wely, a dome like a small temple, called Kubbet Seiyr.⁷ This spot commands the celebrated view of Damascus and its plain. The

¹ So Maundrell under May 2nd ; also Pococke, II. i. pp. 130–135. Brown's Trav. p. 405. The latter passed thence over the mountain to Ba'albek.

² Pococke *ibid* p. 135. He writes 'Helboue.'

³ Biblioth. Sac. July 1854, pp. 433–455.

⁴ For Jôbar, see Lands of the Bible, II. p. 331 sq.

⁵ Comp. Pococke, II. i. p. 126. Seetzen Reisen I. p. 133.

⁶ Pococke II. i. p. 126.

⁷ This is the current name, by which the Wely is known to the missionaries. Travellers usually speak of it as Kubbet en-Nûsr ; comp. Lands of the Bible, II. p. 370.

view is indeed a glorious one ; though it differs not greatly, in its main features, from that above described as presented from the mound near the eastern gate of the city.¹ Yet as this point is so much higher, being seven hundred feet above the city, the whole prospect is far more map-like and magnificent. It is however less extensive than the other towards the north and northeast ; a portion of that part of the plain being here shut out from view by the projecting shoulder of Jebel Kasyûn.²

Directly below the spectator is the Merj, with the river running through it ; and beyond is the city lying also along the river, mostly on the south ; while the great suburb Meidân (Race-course) stretches along the Haj route south for nearly a mile and a half. All is embosomed in trees ; and the trees in the plain mark in general the extent of the irrigation. Towards the southwest the trees and gardens extend about two miles from the city ; but towards the east they reach as far as the eye can distinguish them. The tract covered by them on that side of the city must be some twelve or fifteen miles in length from west to east along the river ; with an average breadth of some six or seven miles. There are likewise many isolated villages in the southeast, south, and southwest, with extensive gardens and orchards around them.

As the eye looks east and northeast, on the left of the city, the plain seems interminable. Across the city, between E. and S. E. are seen the distant Tellûl beyond the lakes. The latter we could not distinguish. Between S. E. and S. the plain stretches away to Haurân ; the distant mountains of which are dimly seen. Then come the hills of Jebel Mâni'a beyond the A'waj ; and the shorter and lower line of Jebel Aswad on this side. In the southwest these ranges are seen not to connect with the base of Jebel esh-Sheikh ; but to run out as low lines of hills from an elevated plain. Jebel Aswad ends near Kesweh ; so that below that place the course of the A'waj is in the plain.

Just back of the Wely one can also look down into the chasm of the Barada, as it issues upon the plain. It is very narrow, having very little soil at the bottom with trees along the water. Indeed the bed of the valley is every where full of trees. On this side of the river pass down the two great canals, the Yezid and the Taurah ; while beyond the stream are the two smaller branches from above, and another is taken out just here. No road passes along the bottom of the chasm. The rocky sides are precipitous and about six hundred feet high. The strata are very much dislocated and broken.

¹ See above, p. 458.

E. S. E. Chasm at Sâk Wady Barada,

² Bearings from Kubbet Seiyâr : Jebel N. W.
esh-Sheikh, W. by S. Middle of the city

Helbôn.—Parallel to the valley of the Barada, in the north-east, and about an hour and a half distant from it, is another smaller valley, which descends by a straighter course from above Helbôn; breaks through a wall of rock by a chasm to the village of Derij; and then crossing the Sahra to Ma'raba, finds a passage through the last ridge by the chasm which bounds Jebel Kasyûn on the northeast. Here, at its mouth, is situated the village of Burzeh, one hour distant from the east gate of the city, N. 14° E. Helbôn is nearly north of Damascus, three and a half hours distant from it. The general course of the valley from Helbôn to Burzeh is S. S. E. or S. by E. Just above Ma'raba a branch enters it coming from Menin in the north. The upper part of the valley, which spreads out into a fertile tract, is called Wady Helbôn; below the first chasm it takes the name of Wady Derij; while the lower chasm is known as Wady Ma'raba.

There are several fountains in this valley. The first is half an hour above Helbôn, sending forth a stream of pure water from a small cave. In the village itself is a fountain by the mosk. Three quarters of an hour further down, at the mouth of the chasm above Derij, is 'Ain Sahib; its waters drive a mill. From 'Ain Sahib to Ma'raba is an hour and a quarter; the valley here cutting its way through the northern Sahra. At Ma'raba is another fountain; and a stream also comes down from Menin. Between Ma'raba and Burzeh is a distance of about forty-five minutes. From 'Ain Sahib a path leads along the northwest border of the Sahra, S. W. by W. to the head of Wady Bessima; the distance being about an hour.

The rocky walls of the chasm above 'Ain Sahib are almost perpendicular, and are several hundred feet high. A path has been hewn out in the rock along the chasm on the right side of the stream. Over it in one place is a niche, as for a statue; and there are also sarcophagi or tombs excavated in the rock on both sides of the chasm.

Wady Helbôn itself is an hour or more in length, and more open; though still shut in by high and rugged sides. The bottom is a strip of level ground, everywhere well cultivated. In the northern part are many walnut trees; as also apricot and other fruit trees. Throughout the whole extent of the valley there are well kept vineyards. Every available spot is carefully planted with vines. Even places so steep, that the vine dresser can approach them only with difficulty, are made to produce an abundance of grapes. The vine is the chief product of the place. In Damascus the grapes are greatly esteemed for their rich flavour; and from them is made the best and most highly prized wine of the country.

The village of Helbôn is about half an hour below the upper fountain, or nearly midway of the valley. There are many ruins in and around it, but mostly dilapidated; and hewn stones, capitals, friezes, and broken columns, are built into the walls of the modern dwellings. On the west of the village is an extensive ruin, supposed to have been once a temple. On some of the blocks are fragments of Greek inscriptions no longer legible.

The missionaries are probably right in regarding this place as the *Helbon* of Scripture; with the wine of which Tyre was furnished from Damascus.¹ The "wine of Helbon" is still famous; and Damascus must always have been the natural channel for its export.—So far as the mere name is concerned, it is true that Aleppo, in Arabic Haleb, might also represent the biblical Helbon.² But Aleppo produces no wine of any reputation;³ nor is Damascus the natural channel of commerce between Aleppo and Tyre.

Hureiry.—From Helbôn a path leads across the mountains westwards, in two and a quarter hours, to the small village of Efry, an hour north of 'Ain Fijeh. From Efry there is a rugged and difficult path, still across the mountains, (some of them basaltic,) to the village of Hureiry, two and a half hours further west. It is situated on the west side of Wady Hureiry, a long valley which lies parallel to the plain of Zebedâny, and is separated from it by a high range of hills. It runs to the valley of the Barada just below the Sûk; from which the village of Hureiry is distant about an hour and a quarter.

In the village there are some remains of antiquity, consisting of hewn stones and fragments of columns. Near by the public fountain is a stone with a long Greek inscription, now defaced and illegible.

This region is traversed by no great road; and has rarely been visited except by the missionaries, for the purpose of exploring it. Pococke indeed seems to have been the only earlier traveller, whose route came at all in contact with it. He passed from Saidanâya westwards by Menin and then between Helbôn and Derij to the Barada two miles below Fijeh, probably at Bessima.⁴

¹ Ex. 27, 18 "Damascus was thy merchant . . . in the wine of Helbon and white wool."

² See Gesen. Thesaur. p. 473 sq. Heb. Lex. art. חֶלְבֹן. Strabo also speaks of the wine of *Chalybon* in Syria, as among the luxuries of the Persian kings; 15. 8

22. p. 735. Athenæus likewise assigns it to Damascus; I. p. 22.

³ According to Dr Russell, very little wine is produced at Aleppo, and that of a poor quality. Russell's Aleppo, Lond. 1794. Vol. I. p. 80 sq.

⁴ Pococke II. i. p. 135.

SECTION XI.

FROM DAMASCUS TO BA'ALBEK.

I WAS now about to enter upon the third and last division of my journey. My general plan was to visit 'Anjar, Ba'albek, and Ribleh, proceeding as far north as time and circumstances would permit; and then return through the northern parts of Lebanon to Beirût. The Rev. Mr Robson, senior missionary in Damascus, was henceforth to be my companion. He took along his intelligent head servant Jirjis (George), who acted as purveyor and cook; and we were well provided for. Beshârah continued with me, and the tent and general arrangements all remained the same. We hired anew the Druze muleteers, who had brought me from Hâsbeiya; and kept them to the end of our journey.

Monday, June 7th. It took some time to get all things in readiness this morning; and it was 7.35 before we set off from Mr Robson's house. Mr Porter accompanied us for a time on our way. We were half an hour in passing through the city to the Bâb es-Sâlihiyeh; from which we issued at 8.05. Here we were surrounded by a swarm of custom house officers; the first I had seen since entering the country at Beirût. They were very good-natured, their object being merely a *bakhshish*. This my companions well understood; and, keeping on our way, we were at last beyond the reach of their importunities.

After ten minutes we crossed the Taurah, the largest of all the canals, by a bridge; and at 8.20 entered the southwestern end of Sâlihiyeh. Here we crossed the Yezid, the other large canal, which waters the village and its gardens. We now climbed the steep and rocky ascent to the top of the ridge; and at 8.50 reached the Kubbet Seiyâr, elevated seven hundred feet above the city. Here we stopped to admire and enjoy the magnificent prospect of the city and plain spread out under our

feet.¹ It was my last lingering gaze upon Damascus ; and the scene recurs often to my mind as the memory of a glorious vision.

Leaving the Wely at 9.10, we began to descend by a winding, and in one place steep path, towards Dummarr. The road crosses the points of several ridges jutting out on the right. On one of these we met Mr Wood, the British consul, returning thus early from Blûdân. At 9.50 we came to Dummarr, a poor village, on the left bank of the Barada. Near the village is a stone bridge over the river, by which the main road to Beirût crosses to the southwestern side, and passes on along the northern margin of the Sahra to Dimâs. The direct and shortest road to the Sûk and Zebedâny likewise crosses here, and thus avoids the great curve which the river makes towards the north. It strikes the river again at Deir Kânôn.

We desired to visit 'Ain el-Fijeh, and therefore remained on the left bank of the river. In order to reach Bessima, the village next below Fijeh, it is necessary to make a considerable circuit through a part of the northern Sahra ; since the chasm of the Barada just below Bessima is so very narrow and precipitous, as to admit of no road. We kept along the river and the Yezid until 10.10, and then turned north among hills. The Yezid is taken out at a point near Hâmy, a village higher up ; where also is another bridge over the Barada.

We had now crossed the Sâlihiyeh ridge ; but here, instead of a second parallel ridge, as on the Mezzeh road,² there is connected with it a tract of whitish conical hills, which we had seen from that road. Among these we now entered. Here Mr Porter bade us farewell, and returned to Damascus. The road continued to wind among these hills till 10.45, when we came out upon the Sahra ; our course being about N. N. W. The barren tract now before us is an extension of the same Sahra which we had crossed on the other side of the river. It is here less wide, and slopes much towards the southeast. It runs on northeasterly, back of the range of Kasyûn and Kalamûn, for a long distance beyond Menin ; and is said to be separated only by a line of low hills from the plain of Jerûd. We continued to rise upon it gradually, on the same course, directly towards a high rocky ridge before us, which seemed to be its northern boundary. All at once, however, at 11.30, we came to the brow of a deep valley, passing down W. by S. along the base of the high ridge to the river at Bessima. Descending into it we kept on through vineyards and orchards of fig trees, and reached Bessima and the river at 12 o'clock. The high rocky ridge extends from Menin to Bessima ; and through it is broken

¹ For a description, see above, p. 470.

² See above, p. 440.

the chasm below Helbôn. Bessîma lies in a little basin on the Barada, entirely shut in by high ledges of rock, through which the river breaks by narrow clefts above and below the village. The little tract of soil is wholly planted with fruit trees; and the inhabitants are said to get their supply of vegetables from Damascus.

Bessîma is situated at an angle of the Barada; where that river, having pursued a general course of E. S. E. from the village es-Sûk, suddenly turns and runs for an hour nearly due south by Ashrafiyeh to Judeideh. Below Judeideh it turns east for half an hour; and then again south for the same distance; while close in the angle thus formed is situated the village of Hâmy. It afterwards runs southeast, by a winding course at first to Dummar, and so to Mezzeh. The direct road to es-Sûk, which crosses at Dummar, keeps along the stream for half an hour, and then goes on straight to Judeideh; leaving Hâmy on the right and Tasseiya on the left; neither of them visible, though quite near, being concealed by the foliage. The distance between Dummar and Judeideh is an hour and twenty minutes. From Judeideh the road strikes up across the margin of the Sahra on a straight course towards Deir Kânôn; to which it descends by a shallow side Wady. Thence it follows up the right bank of the stream to the Sûk. All the villages between Judeideh and Deir Kânôn are on the left bank.

From Hâmy to Ashrafiyeh Seetzen passed by a direct road across the hills; and probably also a road leads thither from Judeideh along the river. But between Ashrafiyeh and Bessîma, a distance of twenty minutes, there is no road for horses, except along the bed of the stream for much of the way.¹ The only path for persons on foot is through a tunnel, hewn along the bottom of the precipitous cliff of limestone conglomerate. This passage is narrow, but high enough for a man to walk nearly erect. We saw the entrance from Bessîma, and it extends nearly to Ashrafiyeh. My companion had once passed through it, sending his horse around to the other end.

This is the tunnel to which I have already alluded, as being held by some to be the beginning of an aqueduct, by which the waters of the Barada were once conducted to Palmyra.² I have also suggested the difficulties in the way of such an hypothesis. In the absence of all further legitimate traces, it would seem much more probable, that this passage was intended to carry water from the river to the parts of the Sahra below Ashrafiyeh. Yet I am not aware, that any remains of such irrigation now exist. There

¹ Seetzen says, the horses had to wade through the stream six times; Reisen I. p. 138.

² See more on this supposed aqueduct above, pp. 463, 464.

are said also to be traces of an aqueduct on the way to el-Fijeh, which we did not notice.¹

From Bessima the road clings to the river, and enters at once a very narrow, deep, and precipitous chasm, with high rugged peaks on each side, leaving only room for a path along the stream. It is one of the most picturesque spots along the whole river. After a quarter of an hour the sides begin to recede a little ; and just here is the small but beautiful fountain, 'Ain el-Khudra, of the purest water. It is near the river, and runs into it ; and was now surrounded by a plot of fine green sward. The valley of the river now became somewhat more open. At 12.30 we came to the village of Fijeh ; and at 12.35 to the great fountain.

The course of the valley just here is about from west to east ; and the fountain issues from under the northern hill. The road makes a short sweep away from the river, in order to pass above the fountain. The latter bursts forth at once a full large stream, considerably larger than the Barada higher up, and comparing well in size with the great fountain at Tell el-Kâdy ; though the water is less beautiful and sparkling than that at Bâniâs. The stream tumbles and foams along its rocky bed to the Barada, a distance of some twenty rods ; it is so broad and deep and violent, that no one would undertake to ford it. We went with some difficulty to the junction, and found the stream from the fountain to be still the most abundant and powerful ; although nearly one third of it is led off directly from the source by a canal for irrigation. The water of the stream is sweet, pure, and limpid ; while the Barada, as it comes from above, is turbid.

The fountain issues just below the road, from a small cavern with two low openings ; one of which shows the remains of a low arch. Directly over this spot is an ancient platform, partly of rock, and partly of heavy masonry of large squared stones. On this platform, a few feet back, are the remains of a small temple, about ten yards by eleven, built of large hewn stones ; but without a trace of any portico, columns, or other ornaments.

A few feet south of the orifice of the fountain is another lower structure, built up from the bed of the stream. It consists of two parallel walls jutting out southeast from the high bank, each thirty-seven feet long and six feet thick ; joined together in the rear by a wall twenty-seven feet long and four feet thick, resting against the bank. On the top of these side walls are the remains of a very heavy arch of large stones, which would seem to have covered the whole interior, and thus formed a very strong vaulted chamber. The vault must have been at least

¹ I suppose this to be the aqueduct described by Pococke, II. i. p. 136. He says it begins almost a mile below Fijy ; and that he traced it "for about four miles." The accuracy of the statement may be questioned.

fifteen or twenty feet high. Along the outside of the side walls project large slanting stones, like the ornamented ledge or cornice of the platform of a temple.¹ In front, towards the stream, was a sort of large portal, occupying the greater portion of that side. In the back wall within, not far above the ground, is an oblong quadrangular opening, as if a branch of the fountain once issued there; and low down in each of the side walls, towards the front, is likewise an opening as if for the water to flow out. There are also niches in the sides and at the end. Just south of the front lies the fragment of a column, perhaps a pedestal. We could not resist the conclusion, that this structure was once a vaulted platform sustaining a small temple, erected over an artificial branch of the fountain. The workmanship is simple and rude; and points to a high antiquity.

The fountain and the stream below are embosomed in the dense foliage of orchards and groves. We took our lunch upon the huge stones of the ancient temple platform, under the thick shade of walnut and other trees, with the song of nightingales, and amid the rushing of these mountain streams.

In this fountain we have another example of the popular usage, followed also by Arabian geographers, which regards as the source of a river, not its most distant head, but its most copious fountain.* Thus Edrisi writes, that "the waters which irrigate the Ghûtah, come from a source called el-Fijeh, which rises upon the mountain; they flow down from the mountain with a noise and roaring, which is heard at a great distance."² Abulfeda says: "The source of the river of Damascus is under a temple called el-Fijeh. . . . Afterwards it unites with a river called Barada; and from hence come all the rivers of Damascus."³ Yet the true source of the Barada, as we shall see, is several hours further up the mountain.

The valley of the Barada at this point, although tilled in some parts, is shut in by walls not less than eight hundred or a thousand feet in height, sharp, rugged, and picturesque. The mountain ridge, through which the river here breaks in order to reach Bessima, would seem to be a branch running off about E. by N. from the main ridge lying next below the plateau of Deir el-'Ashâyir and Zebedány. This branch ridge terminates at Menin in a high bluff. The interval on the west, between it and the parent ridge, is not depressed; but is mostly high uneven table land, extending quite along on the west of Helbôn. Or,

¹ Compare the platform of the temple at Deir el-'Ashâyir; see above, p. 437.

² This illustrates the case of the Jordan; see above, pp. 412, 413.—So too the fountain of 'Anjar and those of the Orontes near Hürmul.

³ Edrisi par Jaub. I p. 350.

⁴ Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 15.—To the same effect writes Ibn el-Wardi, Excerpt. in Abulf. Tab. Syr. p. 174. Also Lex. Geogr. in Schulten's Ind. Geogr. ad Vit. Salad. art. *Phaiha*.

rather, it may be said to be divided into three mountain ridges by the valleys of Efry and Hureiry, which run south to the Barada. The valley of the Barada, from this point to the Sûk, is somewhat more open ; but it has this branch ridge on the south, and the tract of high table land on the north.

We left 'Ain el-Fijeh at 1.55, following up the road along the left bank of the river. At 2.20 we passed Deir Mukürrin and at 2.35 Kefr Zeit. We were opposite Deir Kânôn, on the south bank, at 2.45 ; and at 3 o'clock were overagainst el-Huseiniyeh, also on the other side of the river. At 3.15 we came to el-Kefr ; and proceeded five minutes further W. N. W. to the ruins of a Grecian temple, on a projecting point, overlooking the river and valley. Here are many fallen columns, measuring thirty-one inches in diameter, and one of them nineteen feet two inches in length. There are also immense Corinthian capitals ; and two corners of a pediment, very massive and much ornamented. The portico was towards the river, and the pedestals of its two columns are still in place. The temple was small, but massive, well wrought and highly ornamented, with a sculptured pediment and double cornice. In the vicinity are hewn stones scattered or built into walls.

Returning to el-Kefr, we left that village at 3.30, and immediately crossed the river by a bridge to the south side. On the north bank, near the bridge, is a broad low Tell, the top of which is cultivated. We now came into the direct road from Damascus, which we henceforth followed. At 3.40 we were opposite the small village of Berheleiya on the north bank. The path now rises along the lower part of the high precipitous hill on the south ; and at 3.55 we had the large village of Sûk Wady Barada below us on the right, on the south bank.¹ Ten minutes beyond this village, the valley, the upward course of which from Deir Kânôn is about northwest, sweeps round to the southwest for ten or fifteen minutes ; and then turns again nearly due west. This short portion of the valley forms the pass of the Sûk, shut in on the southeast by the western end of the high cliff just mentioned, and on the northwest by precipitous rocky cliffs of like altitude. The walls of the chasm are here not more than fifty yards apart. Just in the middle of this pass the river in its deep narrow bed is spanned by a good modern bridge of a single arch ; and the road from this point continues along on the northern bank. We came to the bridge at 4.10 ; and crossing it, stopped for a time

¹ This is the last village in the valley of the Barada. I have been careful, in the preceding account, to give the name and position of every village along the valley. The account of Burckhardt is very im-

perfect, and in some things erroneous ; pp. 2, 3. Yet some later travellers seem merely to have copied from him ; e. g. G. Robinson, *Travels* II. p. 118 ; Russagge, I. p. 173.

to enjoy the grandeur of the scene, and examine the remains of antiquity. All is here wild, desolate, and impressive.

In the village es-Sûk are said to be traces of ancient foundations and dwellings; and on the north side of the stream are columns and other remains in various places. There are many tombs excavated in the cliffs beyond the stream; mostly between the bridge and the angle of the valley below, where it turns south-west. Here, below the bridge, the face of the northwestern hill consists first of a steep slope of earth or debris rising from the river's brink and extending half way up the mountain. On this are scattered many hewn stones, as also columns or fragments of columns, some of which have rolled to the bottom.¹ Above this slope, the limestone rock rises perpendicularly; and in it are excavated the many sepulchres. They are laboriously wrought; and some of them are reached by long flights of steps. The whole cliff is somewhat curved; and forms a sort of amphitheatre. Mr Robson had climbed up to several, and examined them, in the summer of 1848. One which he entered was a square chamber, having two crypts on each side, with two niches in each crypt; also one crypt with four niches opposite the door; besides four niches (*loculi*) in the floor of the chamber itself. Other tombs are similar; some larger and some smaller. Some are simply a recess cut into the face of the rock, about seven feet long and two deep, arched at the top, and in the bottom a single *loculus* for a corpse. All these single tombs had formerly lids of stone, like those of sarcophagi; but all have been opened. In the cliff on the southern bank is a single sepulchral excavation, a little further up the stream. On the top of the northwestern cliff, above the sepulchres, are said to be extensive ancient quarries.

The most remarkable of all the remains is the ancient road excavated along the face of the northwestern cliff, a hundred feet above the modern road and bridge. It begins at the angle of the hill, where the valley bends round from the west; and there is no difficulty in climbing up to it in that quarter. The sides of the chasm are here from six hundred to eight hundred feet in height. The road extends along the face of the cliff for about two hundred yards. It is finely cut through the solid rock, fifteen feet wide. In some parts a thin portion of the rock is left, of

¹ In Maundrell's day some of these columns were yet standing. Speaking of the pass, he says: "Here we entered into a narrow gut, between two steep rocky mountains; the river Barada running at the bottom. On the other side of the river were several tall pillars, which excited our curiosity to go and take a nearer

view of them. We found them part of the front of some ancient and very magnificent edifice; but of what kind we could not conjecture;" see under May 4th. The edifice was doubtless a temple.—Pococke also saw in 1738, two columns with their entablature yet standing, on the north side of the river; II. i. p. 116.

various height, towards the river, as a guard ; in other parts a wall was probably built up. At the northeastern end, this road now breaks off abruptly in a precipice of rock rising from the sloping bank below. If the road was ever continued further, it must probably have been sustained on artificial and temporary supports ; since the ancient aqueduct, which passes just below it, and is carried along the face of the cliff beyond, serves to show, that there has been no fall of the rock nor change in its general features. It is not easy to see how the road was continued ; nor, if ending here, what purpose it could have ever served.—The aqueduct, which is covered over with stones laid aslope, is first seen ten or fifteen minutes higher up the valley ; and can be traced for about the same distance further down.¹

The famous Latin inscriptions, which have been often copied of late years, are found on tablets cut in the smooth wall of rock above the road ; once at the eastern end, and again with slight variations, about eighty yards further west.² The former are the most legible. The following is the correct copy :³

I.

IMPCAESMAVRELANTONINVS
AVGARMENIACVSET
IMPCAESLAVRELVERVSAVGAR
MENIACVSVIAMFLVMINIS
VIABRVPTAMINTERCISO
MONTERESTITVERVNTPER
IVLVERVMLEGPRPRPROVINC
SYRETAMICVMSVVM
IMPENDIISABILENORVM

II.

PROSALVTE
IMPAVGANTO
NINIETVERI
MVOLVSIVS
MAXIMVSI
LEGXVIFQVI
OPERIINSTITVS

According to President Woolsey, these inscriptions may be written out in full thus :⁴

¹ This aqueduct, as I have said in the text, is *below* the excavated road. Krafft seems to speak of it as *above* the same road ; p. 269.

² The variations are mostly found in the short inscriptions. They consist mainly in a different division of the lines, as also *opere* for *operi*. They show that the stonemason did not always do his work accurately.

For copies by Dr De Forest and others, see Biblioth. Sacra, Feb. 1848, pp. 86–90. Copies are also given by Krafft, nos. 32, 33, comp. p. 269 ; by Schulz, Monatsber. d. Ges. f. Erdk. II. p. 205 and Plate, Berl. 1845 ; and by De Saulcy, Narrative II. p. 590 sq.

⁴ In Biblioth. Sacra, Feb. 1848, pp. 85–89.

I. *Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* 'Augustus Armeniacus et' *Imperator Cæsar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus ciam fluminis* 'ci abruptam intercisio' monte restituerunt per 'Julium Verum Legatum pro Prælore provinciæ' Syriae et amicum suum 'impendiis Abilenorum.

II. *Pro salute* 'Imperatorum Augustorum Anto'nini et Veri' *Marcus Volusius Maximus Centurio* 'Legionis XVI Flavia Firma [Fidelis] qui' operi institit toto suscepto.¹

The ancient city indicated by these inscriptions and remains, was situated in part perhaps at the present village; but mainly, as it would seem, upon the northern bank of the river. On that bank, at least, were the road, the aqueduct, the sepulchres, and the temples.

On the summit of the southern cliff, a little further down, and nearly opposite the village es-Sûk, is the Wely or reputed tomb of Neby Habil, the prophet Abel; where, as the Arabs say, Cain buried the dead body of his brother. In June 1851 Messrs Robson and Barnett climbed up to it by a steep and difficult path directly from the Sûk. The cliff is here not less than eight hundred feet high. The tomb is very plain, and remarkable for nothing, except that it is nine yards long. It is partly the foundation of some old wall, which can be traced for more than twice that length.² It is covered over by a Wely with a flat roof; and seems to be a place of frequent resort.

Near the tomb are the ruins of a small ancient temple, about fifteen yards long and nine broad, built of hewn stone. Under the eastern end is a small vault, in which are three sarcophagi. At the same end is an ascent by steps cut in the natural rock. The stones of the temple are large and well dressed; but there are no remains of columns. The two letters A H cut on a stone were the only traces of inscription, which they found.³

This tomb of Abel seems to have been first mentioned by Radzivil about A. D. 1584.⁴ Maundrell a century later suggested a connection between this name and the ancient *Abila* or

¹ "The date of the inscriptions is fixed very nearly by the imperial title *Armeniacus*, assumed on occasion of the triumph held by both emperors after the subjugation of Armenia by Verus. This triumph took place in A. D. 166, and Verus died in A. D. 169. The first inscription, at least, falls within this interval." *Biblioth. Sac.* 1848, p. 89.

² In Maundrell's day the tomb itself was said to be thirty yards long; Maundrell under May 4th.

³ I have given this account of Neby Habil in Mr Robson's own language. It differs very much from that of Pococke in 1738; who professes to have visited the

spot, and yet makes no mention of the very remarkable pass below; II. i. pp. 115, 116. Pococke calls the structure a church, and speaks of two large columns with Doric capitals. He speaks also of a broken Greek inscription in verse, which "makes mention of Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene;" *ibid.* p. 116. All this strikes me as very questionable; especially when taken in connection with the utter confusion of his topographical notices.

⁴ Gumpenberg more than a century earlier speaks of the tomb of Abel; but he obviously refers to Jebel Kasyûn near Damascus; *Reisb.* p. 451. See above, p. 444, n. 3.

Abilene; ¹ and it is not improbable that the name Abel (*Habil*) may be in fact a popular traditional reminiscence of the city Abila. Pococke conjectured that Abila lay near; and heard of "an inscription on a stone near the river;" referring probably to those above given.² No further progress was made in identifying the site of Abila, until in A. D. 1822 the Quarterly Review informed the public, that Mr Bankes had brought home a long inscription, from which it appeared that Abila was situated at this pass.³ This however does not definitely follow from the inscription taken merely by itself. Yet the adjacent necropolis and temple ruins might well remove all occasion of doubt. Indeed the site of Abila is definitely fixed at this point by the ancient Itineraries; which give its distance from Damascus at eighteen Roman miles, on the way to Heliopolis or Ba'albek.⁴ We had now travelled hither from Damascus, with fresh horses and constantly ascending, in about six hours.⁵

The city *Abila* is not itself mentioned until some years after the Christian era. The district round about it bore the name of *Abilene*, but we have no information as to its extent. The earliest notice of this district is by the Evangelist Luke; who merely states, that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, when John the Baptist entered upon his ministry, Lysanias was tetrarch of Abilene.⁶ About ten years later, in the first year of Caligula, A. D. 38, as Josephus relates, Caligula gave to the elder Agrippa, the Herod of the book of Acts, the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, and also "the tetrarchy of Lysanias" or Abilene; and these were confirmed to him by Claudius on his accession, with the specification, that "Abila of Lysanias and whatever was on mount Lebanon" were districts belonging to the emperor himself.⁷ On the death of Herod Agrippa they went to his son, the younger Agrippa, before whom Paul was brought.⁸ This is the latest historical notice we have of the district Abilene. In these gifts and transfers the city is spoken of as "Abila of Lysa-

¹ Maundrell under May 4th. He thinks the name Abel gave name to Abilene.

² Pococke II. i. pp. 115, 116.

³ Quart. Rev. Vol. XXVI. No. 52. p. 388, "There is not, in fact, any position more certainly ascertained than that of Abila of Lysanias . . . Mr Bankes has brought home a long inscription, (not observed by former travellers,) copied from the face of a rock there, in which the Abilenians record the making of a new road to their city." This statement, as now appears, is not quite borne out by the inscription.

⁴ So the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Peutinger Tables, e. g.

Itin. Anton.

Heliopol.

Abila. m. p. XXXVIII.

Damasco. m. p. XVIII.

Tabula Pent.

Heliopol.

Abila. m. p. XXXII.

Damasco. m. p. XVIII.

See *Itineraria*, ed. Wesseling, p. 198. Tab. Pent. ed. Scheyb, Segm. IX. F. See also Biblioth. Sac. 1848, p. 83 sq. Reland Palæst. pp. 527, 528.

⁵ Our usual estimate of travel was three English miles to the hour; but here the continual ascent requires rather three Roman miles.

⁶ Luke 3, 1.

⁷ Jos. Antt. 18. 6. 10. ib. 19. 5. 1 *ἐν τῇ αἰρῶν*. B. J. 2. 11. 5.

⁸ Jos. Antt. 20. 7. 1. Acts c. 26.

nias," to distinguish it from another Abila in Perea, east of Gadara.¹

It thus appears that the specifications of Josephus, referring to a period several years later than the notice of Luke, are in perfect harmony with the latter. Josephus does not indeed definitely mention, that a Lysanias had governed the district as tetrarch ten years before ; but he does speak of his "tetrarchy," and of the "Abila of Lysanias." Nor is there any valid reason, why these expressions of the historian should be referred to an earlier Lysanias, who lived about seventy years before the time specified by Luke ; and who is brought by Josephus into no connection whatever with Abilene.

This earlier Lysanias was a son of Ptolemy the son of Menæus. In the time of Pompey this Ptolemy was lord of Chalcis under Lebanon ; and is spoken of as a powerful and troublesome neighbour to Damascus.² From this latter circumstance, and from this alone, it may perhaps be inferred, that he was also in possession of Abilene, which lay adjacent to the territory of Damascus. Lysanias succeeded him about B. C. 40 ; but was put to death through the intrigues of Cleopatra about B. C. 34.³ Some years later a certain Zenodorus is mentioned as having *farmed* the possessions of Lysanias ;⁴ he also had jurisdiction over Trachonitis and other districts ; but Augustus afterwards took away these and gave them to Herod the Great, B. C. 22 ; and on the death of Zenodorus, B. C. 19, Herod received still more of his territories.⁵

Thus far Josephus makes absolutely no mention of Abilene ; and it is only by possible and perhaps probable inference, that we can in any way connect this earlier Lysanias with it ; and even then not as tetrarch. It is indeed not impossible, but that both Ptolemy and his son Lysanias had possession of Abilene ; that after the murder of the latter it was farmed by the emperor to Zenodorus for the benefit of the family of Lysanias yet in their minority ; and that afterwards the children were reinstated in their rights ; in which case the Lysanias of Luke may well have been the son or grandson of the former Lysanias. If a son, he must have been nearly seventy years old at the time specified by Luke. This is not improbable ; for ten years later (A. D. 38) his territories had reverted to the emperor, perhaps from the

¹ Jos. Antt. 19. 5. 1. ib. 20. 7. 1. So too Ptolemy 5. 14. 4. 'Αβίλα Λυσανίου, comp. Reland Palest. p. 458.—For Abila in Perea, now Abil, see Polyb. 5. 71. 2. Jos B. J. 2. 13. 2. ib. 4. 7. 5. Burckhardt p. 269.

² Jos. Antt. 14. 7. 4, *δυναστεύων Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὕρει*. 13. 16. 3, *ὅς*

βαρὺς ἦν τῇ πόλει γέγων. Comp. 14. 3. 2. B. J. 1. 9. 2.

³ Jos. Antt. 14. 3. 3. B. J. 1. 13. 1.—Antt. 15. 4. 1. Dio Cass. 49. 32.

⁴ Jos. Antt. 15. 10. 1, *Ζηνόδωρος τις ἐμμείσθωνο τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Λυσανίου*.

⁵ Ibid. 15. 10. 1-3.

failure of heirs ; and were given by him, as his own, to Herod Agrippa.—But however all this may be, there is nothing in these previous events and circumstances to affect, in the slightest degree, the entire harmony between Luke and the later notices of Josephus.

The city Abila continued to flourish for several centuries. The date of the inscriptions, as said above, is fixed very nearly by the imperial title "Armeniacus," assumed on occasion of the triumph held by both emperors after the subjugation of Armenia by Verus. This triumph took place in A. D. 166, and Verus died in A. D. 169.¹ The longer inscription at least falls within this interval.—Abila became an episcopal seat within the patriarchate of Antioch. One of her bishops, Jordan, was present at the council of Chalcedon in A. D. 451 ; and another, Alexander, is mentioned under the emperor Justin in A. D. 518.²

From that time onward, all traces of Abila appear to be lost on the pages of history, until the present century.³ This is the more surprising, since the site is very definitely assigned by the ancient Itineraries ; it lay upon one of the great roads from Damascus to the sea coast ; and the place was marked by ruins attesting its ancient splendour, and by a necropolis perhaps more extensive and remarkable than any other in Syria.⁴

Mounting our horses a few rods beyond the bridge in the chasm, we set off again at 4.40, following up the north bank of the stream on a course nearly west. After ten minutes the precipitous character of the hills on each side ceases ; but the valley continues narrow, and the hills high. At 5 o'clock the valley opened out into a narrow meadow-like plain. Just here is a cascade of twelve or fifteen feet in the river. Here too comes in from the southwest a side valley with a brook, being the outlet of Wady el-Kürn, of which I shall speak further on. The brook dries up in summer ; and over its bed are seen the remains of an ancient bridge. Ascending a little and turning around the

¹ Zumpt *Annales* p. 134.

² Le Quien *Oriens Christ.* II. 843. Comp. Reland *Palæst.* p. 529.

³ Even Büsching, near the close of the last century, could only conjecturally fix Abila as being near Neby Habil, on the strength of Pococke's testimony ; XI. i. p. 363. Nor was Ritter able, in his first edition, to make any advance ; Vol. II. p. 436, Berlin 1818.

⁴ Dr Wilson passed this way in June 1843 ; but says : " We did not stop to examine the tombs, or aqueducts, or ruins, which we observed from the road . . . which

have long been supposed to mark the site of an Abila." He publishes the inscriptions from a copy taken by Dr De Forest in 1846 *Lands of the Bible*, 1847, II. p. 373 sq.—M. De Saulcy, who was here in 1851, and whose work was issued in 1853, says : " I am not aware that this inscription has been already published ;" although it was published by Letronne in the *Journal des Savans* for March 1827. M. De Saulcy seems almost to regard himself as the first to identify this spot as the site of Abila. *Narrat.* II. pp. 591, 592 sq.

shoulder of the right hand hill, we came at once, after seven minutes, upon the southern and more narrow part of the plain of Zebedâny. It was a beautiful view, like a meadow, with green fields and green grass, and the river winding through it with a swift current. It was more of an occidental view than I had elsewhere seen. The direction of the plain is very nearly from south to north. Turning down a little from the road, we encamped, at 5.20, on green grass by the side of the deep and swift stream. Ten minutes below us, and opposite the angle of the valley, was a mill and a bridge; over which a road leads to Batrûny, and another more to the left goes to join the road to Beirût.—We were here again amid the verdure of spring, as we had been a week before at Deir el-'Ashâyir. Jebel 'esh-Sheikh now bore southwest.

The Barada, as it here winds through the plain, though deep and swift, is nevertheless still. Our tent was not ten yards from its brink; yet not a murmur nor a ripple reached our ears.

We were again upon the same plateau of the mountain, as at Deir el-'Ashâyir. In respect to the two roads which I had now travelled between it and Damascus, the Sahra is much narrower upon the northern than upon the southern. On the other hand, the broad low ridge between Deir el-'Ashâyir and Dîmâs and the Sahra, is here expanded into the wide mountainous tract lying between our present encampment and Bessîma; skirted on the lower side by the ridge extending from Bessîma to Menin; and on the west by the line of hills between our tent and Wady Hureiry already described.¹ These hills along the plain of Zebedâny are at first not high; but beyond Blûdân and northeast of Zebedâny they rise into the loftiest summits of Anti-Lebanon proper. On the west, the plain, in its widest part, is shut in by a high ridge, which is far more rocky and desolate than that upon the east.

Tuesday, June 8th.—We sent off our muleteers this morning by the direct road for 'Anjar, intending ourselves to take a more circuitous route. Returning to our path of yesterday, we kept on towards Zebedâny, until at 6.50 we came upon the shoulder of a broad low swell jutting out from the eastern hills into the plain. Here Zebedâny was in sight at the northern end of the plain, about an hour and a quarter distant, embosomed in a wide tract of trees and gardens. These orchards and gardens cover all the northern part of the plain; and are similar to those around Damascus.² On the high flank of the mountain, Blûdân was seen nearly east of Zebedâny;

¹ See above, p. 472.

Syria; not excepting those of Damascus.*

² Mr Thomson says of these gardens: Biblioth. Sac. Nov. 1848 p. 762.

*They are the neatest and best kept in

and also much nearer at hand, and lower down towards the base of the hills, the two smaller villages, Bukín and Mūdāya; the latter being nearest to us.

Here too we could overlook the whole plain; and were able to get an idea of its general form, such as we also saw it afterwards from its western side. The whole length of the plain is about two hours and a quarter, or some seven miles. The southern portion, in which we had encamped, is narrow, being not more than half or three quarters of a mile in width; the river flowing along its bottom in a gently winding course. On the west this part is skirted by low hills, which after about an hour turn west by a right angle; and then the plain extends west along their northern base quite to the high rocky ridge on that side. Just here is the widest part of the plain; the distance across it being about an hour. Further north it is gradually contracted on the eastern side; until at Zebedāny it is only two thirds as wide. Just in this southwest angle of the broad part of the plain, is the great fountain of the Barada. The hills on the east become gradually higher and higher; until, as I have said, they rise beyond Blūdān into the loftiest peaks of all Anti-Lebanon; being six thousand eight hundred feet above the sea.¹

The wide valley or plain is terminated on the north side of Zebedāny and its gardens, by a low spur running down west from the mountain below Blūdān. Beyond the village, only a narrow valley with sloping and cultivated sides runs up north from the northwestern quarter of the plain. It is called Wady Zebedāny. After an hour this valley opens out into another plain an hour long by half an hour broad, fertile and cultivated, and having many vineyards and fruit trees. This is called the plain of Sūrghāya, from the village of that name at its northern extremity. In the southeast corner of this plain, at the foot of the hills, is the village 'Ain Hawar, an hour and a quarter distant from Zebedāny. Here, in the centre of the village, is a fine fountain; the stream from which flows down Wady Zebedāny to the lower plain. At Sūrghāya, forty-five minutes from 'Ain Hawar, is another fountain; and its stream flows N. N. W. down Wady Haura, and helps to form the stream of Wady Yahfufeh, which enters the Būká'a at the village of that name. Down this valley passes a main road from Zebedāny to Ba'albek, which indeed we afterwards struck at Neby Shit. Another road leads across the western mountain from Zebedāny to Zahleh.

The stream from 'Ain Hawar, called also Nahr Zebedāny, is exhausted in summer in furnishing a supply of water for Ze-

¹ Rev. J. L. Porter

bedány and its gardens ; while in winter it flows on through the plain, and falls into the Barada. Below Zebedány also, on the eastern margin of the plain, are three smaller fountains. The first is 'Ain Funduk, about half an hour S. S. E. of the village, with a ruined Khán ; then, at intervals of about fifteen minutes, follow 'Ain Sálîh and 'Ain el-Haddád. Their rivulets flow into the plain, and render portions of it marshy.

The general direction of the lofty mountain range above Blûdân, being strictly the backbone of Anti-Lebanon, from the Barada northward, is about N. N. E. That of the less lofty but desolate range on the west of the plain is nearly the same. The latter becomes lower and lower towards the north, and finally sinks down and terminates, as we shall see, at Neby Shit. From the spot where we stood, the direction of the fountain of the Barada was nearest N. W. by W.

I would gladly have turned aside to visit Blûdân, which the British consul and the American missionaries at Damascus have made their summer residence. It lies high up on the mountain side, about four thousand eight hundred and fifty feet above the sea,¹ and more than a thousand feet higher than Zebedány ; being perhaps the highest village in Anti-Lebanon. It possesses fine fountains ; and is surrounded by an abundance of fruit and shade trees of every kind. The air is pure, and the prospect enchanting. But a visit there would have cost a day ; and my time was limited.

We now, at 6.55, turned down into the plain, in order to cross over to the great fountain. Mr Robson had once crossed not far above without difficulty. But we soon got entangled among ditches and small channels of water, coming from the fountains on the east of the plain. We crossed one or two with some trouble ; and then were compelled to turn back. A man tending cattle aided us in this, and afterwards became our guide across the plain. We passed up on the east of the two lower fountains ; and, ten minutes before reaching 'Ain el-Funduk, turned again westward, crossed its brisk streamlet, and at 8.15 struck a well travelled path leading S. S. W. through the plain towards the fountain of the Barada. At the point where we entered this road, we were about forty minutes distant from Zebedány ; having lost about half an hour in our detour. Our path carried us on the west of all the marshy part of the plain. We crossed indeed several channels, mostly on bridges ; but had no further trouble. There was only one channel which seemed a prominent one ; this had now some water, but was not

¹ Or more exactly 4842 Engl. feet. Zebedány, according to Russegger (I. p. 721) the sea. This result, as compared with Mr Porter's altitudes of Blûdân and 'Ain is 4024 Paris feet, or 4292 Engl. above Barada, would seem too large.

large. We supposed it to be the bed of the stream from Zebedány. We came at 8.45 to the left bank of the Barada, here running east, at its northernmost point, opposite to a low mound with a few trees and some ruined walls. This is called Bustân el-'Arab, as belonging to the people of Haush el-'Arab, a small village on the hills further south. Hence we followed up the left bank of the river, about W. by S. and came at 9 o'clock to its upper fountain.

The fountain and head of the river form a small lake, perhaps three hundred yards long by one hundred broad. It is shallow and marshy, apparently not more than two or three feet deep; though in some spots the depth is said to be great. It is full of reeds, flags, water-lilies, and other aquatic plants. The water is nowhere seen to boil up along the surface; but at the western end there are many small springs along the brink. The river runs off at first E. by N. till beyond the Bustân; and then sweeps around to the lower part of the plain. The stream is here large and deep; contrasting strongly with its appearance as it rushes along its rocky bed in the chasms further down the mountain. The fountain is at the foot of the high western ridge; and, so far as I know, has not been before described. It is three thousand six hundred feet above the sea. It lies, at the most, an hour distant from the spot where we first left the Damascus road; so that we lost a full hour in finding (or rather losing) our way by a more circuitous route.

We left the fountain at 9.15, going S. S. W. parallel to the western mountain. The path led over the rough low spurs and hills, which fill up the space south of the broad plain of Zebedány and west of its lower arm. Rising gradually we came at 10.05 to Batrûny, lying at the foot of the western ridge. It overlooks a not unfertile oblong basin towards the east and south; in the southern part of which it has its enclosures of vineyards and fruit trees. We kept on, in the same direction and at about the same level, for half an hour longer; and came to the foot of a long and lofty spur, thrown off eastwards from the western mountain, on the north side of Wady 'el-Kûrn, and forming on this side an angle with the mountain quite to its top. Along the northern slope of this spur ascends the road, which crosses the Barada just below our last night's encampment, and goes to join the road to Beirut. We fell into this road;¹ and ascended by it westwards along the spur. At 11 o'clock we came out upon the top of the high western ridge; and had a wide view towards both the east and the west.²

¹ Bearings at 10.40: Zebedány N. E. ² Bearings at 11: Chasm of the Sûk E. by N. Chasm of the Sûk E. S. E. Jebel by S. Chasm at Silihyeh E. S. E. esh-Sheikh S. S. W.

Looking back, we had in the northeast the sweet vale of Zebedâny with the lofty summits of the Blûdân range beyond. Towards the east was the broad mountainous region through which the Barada breaks its way to the Sahra. We had yesterday seen the eastern face of the mountain, which runs from Bessima to 'Ain Sâhib and Menin. We now saw its western face, crested like its eastern with a ridge of rocks; and higher towards the northeast than it is at the Barada. The top is a rough and elevated plateau of almost a triangular form. West of this is another ridge, separated from the former by a valley, which runs up from the Barada near Fijeh, by the village Efry, to the west end of Wady Helbôn. This ridge becomes more elevated towards the north; and about three hours north of the Barada forms one of the highest summits of that portion of Anti-Lebanon. Next follows Wady Hureiry, separating this middle range from that which borders the plain of Zebedâny, with the high summits north of Blûdân.

In the south, the view towards the southern part of the same plateau, around Deir el-'Ashâyir, was obstructed by the high broken ground along Wady el-Kûrn, included between the spur by which we had just ascended, and the lower ridge lying along above Khân Meithelûn.

Before us also we now had Jebel esh-Sheikh in the S. S. W. and likewise portions of Lebanon, including Jebel Keniseh and the road from Damascus, which passes near it; these latter being seen over the top of another and lower ridge of Anti-Lebanon still before us. This latter encloses the basin or plain called Sahil Judeideh, which now lay far below at our feet. Its southern extremity was not far distant on our left. In its south-eastern quarter, perhaps a mile from us, was seen the entrance to Wady el-Kûrn, by which it is drained. Through this valley comes up the main road from Damascus to Beirût, by Dîmàs; and, crossing the plain obliquely about N. N. W. it enters Wady Za'rîr and descends to the Bûkâ'a. This road on leaving the fountain and Khân Meithelûn immediately ascends the hill on the right; and following up a shallow Wady reaches in forty minutes the right bank of a deep Wady, coming down from near Yûntah and Helwa, and called by Burckhardt Wady Helwa; ¹ the village of Sûrghâya bearing from that point N. 36° E. At the same point Wady Helwa is joined by Wady el-Kûrn; and the united valley runs to the Barada just above the Sûk.² The sides of Wady el-Kûrn are high, and in many parts precipitous mountains, with many projecting rocks, some caverns, and an abundance of stunted trees and bushes. Being thus wild and

¹ Trav. p. 208.² See above, p. 484.

entirely uninhabited, it is a noted rendezvous for banditti, whenever the country is disturbed. From its junction with Wady Helwa to the entrance of the plain of Judeideh is an hour and a half. The valley forms the southern boundary of the district of Zebedâny.¹ From the spot where we now stood, Helwa is visible, beyond the basin of Judeideh, bearing S. 63° W. distant about one hour and twenty minutes. This mountain range is cleft to its base by Wady el-Kûrn; but extends thence unbroken to Wady Yahfûfeh, in a direction about N. 25° E. Its greatest elevation is nearly six thousand feet above the sea. North of Sahîl Judeideh the western ridge unites with it; and the whole range runs out and terminates at Neby Shit.²

We now turned nearly a right angle, and began to descend very gradually about N. by W. along under the western brow of the ridge we had just crossed. After ten minutes we had splendid views of Jebel Sûnnin and the mountain above the cedars, both of them resplendent with their crowns of snow. The descent continued gradual. At 11.30 we reached a small level plateau, half way down, with a low ridge between it and the plain. Through this ridge a Wady breaks steeply to the plain below; this we followed down northwest, and came at 11.45 to the eastern margin of the plain. Back of this ridge, towards the northeastern part of the plain, on the side of the eastern mountain, is the small village of Kufeir Yabûs; which, however, we did not notice.³ Crossing the plain obliquely N. N. W. we fell into the Damascus and Beirût road at 12.05, at the mouth of Wady Za'rîr.

This is a singular plain. Its length is nearly the same with that of Zebedâny, perhaps two and a quarter hours; its breadth not usually more than half an hour. Its general direction is from S. by W. to N. by E. parallel to the plain of Zebedâny; but further south. It is of course higher than that plain; being drained by the long route of Wady el-Kûrn to the Barada just below the foot of the latter plain. It corresponds in position to the basin of Kefr Kûk; that is, both lie west of all the higher ridges of Anti-Lebanon, in nearly the same line with these ridges. They are separated by a broad tract of high table land.

¹ This description of the road up Wady el-Kûrn is from the manuscript journal of Dr E. Smith in 1844.

² The Rev. J. L. Porter crossed the mountain at this place in 1852, on his way from Blûdin to the summit of Hermon. His road led from here southwest, descending and passing the entrance of Wady el-Kûrn, and then ascending, and crossing the high plateau near Mezra'at ed-Deir and Yûntah to Kefr Kûk. Biblioth. Sacra,

Jan. 1854, pp. 41-44.—The Rev. W. M. Thomson, in passing from 'Anjar to Zebedâny in 1848, crossed this ridge much further north, and descended directly to Zebedâny; Biblioth. Sac. Nov. 1848, p. 762.

³ From a point on the Beirût road, half way between the entrance of Wady el-Kûrn and Wady Za'rîr, the village of Kufeir Yabûs bears N. 25° E. Ma. Journ of Dr E. Smith.

The Sahil Judeideh is drained eastwards to the Barada ; while the basin of Kefr Kûk is without an outlet, and is a hundred feet lower than the fountain of the Barada.

The Sahil Judeideh is a desert tract. There are a few bushes and stunted trees around the opening of Wady el-Kûrn and on other portions of its sides ; and there is probably some tillage and perhaps water at Kufeir Yabûs, which we did not see. But with these exceptions, the plain has not a tree, nor a shrub, nor a drop of living water ; nor is there a human habitation on it or its borders. It is untilled and wholly desert ; except the tufts of thistles and furze thinly scattered over it. And all this too, just midway between the plateau of Zebedâny and the Bûkâ'a, two of the most luxuriantly fertile plains in the world. Those plains are well watered, while this tract is without water.

We were now, so to speak, upon the water-shed between the plain of Damascus and the Bûkâ'a. The ridges and plateaus lying east of us, in the region immediately north of the Barada, were the following : Jebel Kasyûn ; the plateau of the Sahra ; the ridge extending from Bessima to Menin ; the valley running up by Efry ; the ridge west of this valley ; Wady Hurciry ; the lofty Blûdân range ; the plateau of Zebedâny ; the western ridge or Jebel Zebedâny ; Sahil Judeideh. Between the latter and the Bûkâ'a there now remained only the low ridge before us.

Entering the mouth of Wady Za'rîr we ascended very gently northwest for fifteen minutes, and came at 12.20 to the watershed, where the valley begins to descend in a N. N. W. direction. The same name continues for twenty minutes longer. At 12.40 we passed a large tree, where the name changes to Wady Harir. This valley winds a good deal ; but has a general course northwest, until it enters the margin of the Bûkâ'a, at the base of Anti-Lebanon. It is quite narrow, the bottom being little more than the bed of a winter torrent. The descent is very considerable, but is nowhere steep. The valley is shut in by hills neither very high nor precipitous. There is no cultivation in it whatever ; but the hills on each side are clothed with bushes and stunted trees, chiefly oak, and a species of tree which bears a berry resembling a haw, but longer, and called Za'rûr. It is from the abundance of this tree in the eastern or upper part of the valley, that it is there for thirty-five minutes called Wady Za'rîr. We came to the mouth of Wady Harir at 1.30 ; the whole distance from the plain of Judeideh being therefore nearest an hour and a half. This valley furnishes a very convenient road through this ridge of Anti-Lebanon ; as Wady el-Kûrn also does through the ridge next east.¹

¹ In 1848, the Rev. W. M. Thomson Zebedâny ; see Biblioth. Sac. Nov. 1848, passed by a direct route from 'Anjar to p. 762. He ascended by Wady 'Anjar,

At the mouth of Wady Harir is a small Khân for travellers, a miserable and filthy hole. We stopped here for lunch; and I was too much exhausted not to be glad of an opportunity for rest, even in such a place.

We were not yet in the plain of the Būkâ'a itself. Before us was a line of elevated hills, beginning a little further on our right, and stretching far to the south, parallel with Anti-Lebanon and not far distant from its base. Between the two is a narrow plain or valley, higher than the Būkâ'a; it here slopes down northwards, and is from fifteen to twenty minutes broad. This is the line of hills and intervening valley, which I have already described as extending northwards from Wady et-Teim, and forming indeed a continuation of that valley.* Mejdél 'Anjar was now in sight opposite to us; and on one of the loftiest hills, an hour and a half further south, is situated Sultân Ya'kôb. The line of hills is interrupted only by Wady Faltj, half an hour south of that village.—Towards the north the range sinks down gradually by low hills to the plain. On the northernmost of the higher hills stands the temple of Mejdél, fronting towards the N. N. E. Mejdél itself lies in the deep notch or saddle between that hill and the one next south; the village, with its minaret, looking mainly towards the east.†

Leaving the Khân at 2.35, we crossed the narrow valley, and came in twenty minutes to Mejdél. Here, as we were passing up through the village, the dogs made an assault upon Jirjis' mule. This set the mule to kicking, and the dogs to howling; threw off Jirjis; and sent the mule racing and kicking into the fields. Order was at length restored, without much damage to man, mule, or dogs. Mejdél is a large and apparently thriving village. Many of the dwellings had the courts and adjacent side of the house whitewashed; and were altogether neater than I had elsewhere seen in the villages. The minaret is an old square tower of better appearance and architecture than usual. This, with a cornice carried around it high up, led me to suppose, that it may perhaps be of earlier date than Islam itself. Mejdél is mentioned by Abulfeda, as on the way from Ba'albek to Wady et-Teim.‡—We ascended to the temple from the south, and reached it in ten minutes from the village.

The position of this temple is very striking. The great valley is here seven or eight miles broad from mountain to moun-

twenty-five minutes south of Neba' 'Anjar. After two hours he passed a water-shed into Wady Midar; up which valley he rode for two hours more. At the head of it is a pass leading directly over to Zebedany. This route would seem to lie north of the Sahil Judeidéh; but the Wady Mâ-

dar, which is described as desert, probably runs into the Sahil; since it is said to be drained to Wady el-Kûrn.

* See above, pp. 428-430.

† Bearings from the Khân: Mejdél W. N. W. The temple N. W. by W.

‡ Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 20.

tain; and its direction is in general about from S. W. by S. to N. E. by N. Placed upon this northernmost high point of the long line of hills extending from Wady et-Teim, the temple looks northwards along the magnificent vista of the Būkâ'a, carpeted with verdure and beauty, and shut in on the right by the lofty wall of Anti-Lebanon, and on the left by the still loftier snow-capt ridges of Lebanon itself.

The body of the temple, so far as we could fix the northern end, measures eighty-two feet long by forty-six feet wide. It had a portico with several columns towards the north. These are all displaced and prostrate in utter ruin; though they would appear to have been again laid confusedly together for some purpose.¹ The diameter of the columns at the base is four feet; and higher up, three feet nine inches. Immense Doric capitals lie scattered among them, as also fragments of the sculptured pediment. On the east side the top courses of the wall are gone; and the whole surface of the stones is eaten away by the weather. Here, in the fourth course from the bottom, we measured two stones, each twenty-one feet long, and five feet eight inches high; and we afterwards found one of like dimensions in the western wall. At the southern end also the lower courses are much worn away by the weather; and in the upper courses the stones are smaller and are bevelled. The western wall is the most perfect; the stones being here well preserved and finely bevelled. The bevel is the same as at Jerusalem, perhaps a little deeper; it is well cut and entire. On the west side too are seen the remains of an ornament, which I here noticed for the first time; namely, a narrow projection or belt along the whole side, both near the bottom and again half way up. At the southwest corner is the appearance of a square pilaster; but so much worn by the weather as to be doubtful.

The grand portal, within the portico, was fourteen feet six inches broad, with sculptured side-posts, each twenty-four feet high by six feet wide and four feet three inches thick. On each side of it is a smaller door-way. The sides of the interior were originally decorated with half columns, with two niches one above the other between; that is alternately niches and a column. These are much dilapidated. In one corner next the portico is the fragment of a double fluted column of rose coloured limestone.² The interior measures nearest sixty feet in its whole length by thirty-five in breadth; the altar at the south end occupying twelve and a half feet. Before it there seems to have

¹ Possibly at some time or other as a Muslim fort; though there is now no appearance that the temple was ever put to such a use.

² There are similar columns in the lesser temple at Ba'albek, as we saw a few days afterwards.

been a partition. The inside courses on the level of the floor consist of four stones on each side; the two largest of which in each wall we found to be twenty-one feet long by five feet eight inches high. These correspond to the fourth outside course in the eastern wall, and the third in the western.

The height of the temple is from thirty-five to forty feet to the cornice; a portion of which remains. On the west side there are eleven courses of stones, none of them less than three feet thick, and some of them much more.

This antique temple, next to the lesser one at Ba'albek, is the finest and best preserved ruin in or near the great valley. It is simple, massive, and beautiful; and obviously of a severer and earlier type than any we had seen, and also than those of Ba'albek. Yet not the slightest allusion to it is found in history. Chalcis under Lebanon was indeed near at hand; yet the writers who speak of that city, make no mention of the neighbouring temple. Even at the present day, it is only within the last few years, that the structure has been recognised as an ancient temple; although overlooking for centuries, and that quite near at hand, the great road between Damascus and Beirut. No early traveller mentions it.¹ Seetzen in 1805 visited and described it; but his journal has lain unknown until the present time.² Burckhardt was twice in the vicinity, at 'Anjar and near Mejdél, but makes no allusion to it.³ As late as A. D. 1844 it is still spoken of by travellers as a castle or a tower.⁴ I find it first noticed as an antique temple in A. D. 1847.⁵

About three quarters of an hour south of Mejdél on the western base of the same line of hills, is the village of Zekweh (or Dhekweh), with the ruin of another smaller ancient temple. The interior measures thirty-seven feet in length by nineteen in width. The porch is five feet deep and the walls two feet thick. The columns are plain, with Corinthian capitals. Sarcophagi and large stones from ancient buildings are scattered around; and there are excavated tombs in the side of the hill.⁶

From the temple of Mejdél, besides the glorious prospect up the long vista of the Bûkâ'a, with the snowy summits of Keniseh

¹ Not even Abulfeda, who has a notice of Mejdél; Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler p. 20.

² Seetzen, *Reisen*, Berlin 1854, I. p. 263.

³ Trav. pp. 8, 31.

⁴ Dr Hogg in 1833 mentions it as "a large castellated building;" Visit etc. II. p. 86. Dr E. Smith in 1844 speaks of Mejdél 'Anjar as perhaps a third of a mile distant from the road, "with the ruined tower on the hill back of it." So late as 1851, Kremer mentions these ruins as those of "a chapel, probably resting on ancient

foundations;" Mittel Syrien und Damasc. Wien 1853.

⁵ E. G. Schulz passed this way in 1847, with Philip Wolfe. The latter speaks of this structure as "the ruins of a heathen temple;" *Reise ins Gelobte Land*, p. 187. They did not visit it.

⁶ Dr De Forest in *Journ. of Am. Oriental Soc.* Vol. III. p. 363. Dr De Forest had already visited this ruin, as well as that at Mejdél; and also the less important remains not far from Hummârah and 'Aithy; *ibid* pp. 361, 362.

and Sünnin near at hand on the left, and the glittering heights above the cedars in the distance, there were other matters of interest close around us. Below us in the northeast were the ruins of 'Anjar, and the great fountain beyond.¹ From the latter a large stream flowed off first W. N. W. and then swept round southwest to join the Litâny. The range of hills on which the temple stands, sinks down into a line of low Tells; on and around the northernmost of which lies the village of Neby Za'ûr with a conspicuous Wely.² The road from Damascus to Beirût is seen issuing from Wady Harîr and passing obliquely across the plain on the north of Mejdel. It reaches the bridge over the stream from Neba' 'Anjar in an hour and ten minutes from Wady Harîr. This bridge is called Dâr Zeinûn from an adjacent village; and the river is already too deep to be forded.³ The road then leaves Bürr Eliâs on the right; and after forty minutes from the said bridge, and ten minutes beyond el-Merj, the Litâny is crossed by a low bridge of three arches. The water is deep and of a clayey colour. The road begins to ascend the mountain, passing through the village of Mekseh on the first ascent, an hour from the bridge of the Litâny. Ten minutes further up, the road from Zahleh comes in; and twenty minutes above the junction is the Khân el-Mureijât. At the foot of the mountain, further south, is the large village Kübb Eliâs; and ten minutes above it is the castle of the same name, said to have been built by the celebrated Druze chieftain, Fakhr ed-Dîn. A rough path up the mountain leads in forty minutes from the castle to Shûkîf eth-Thaur, a spot so called from the figure of a bull, which is cut on the north side of a detached rock at the foot of a rugged precipice. The figure is five feet high, and the body eight feet long. From this point, a further ascent of forty minutes brings the traveller into the usual Beirût road at the top of the mountain.⁴

Returning from the temple to Mejdel, we left at 4.20 for 'Anjar. After twenty-five minutes we crossed the Damascus and Beirût road; and came at 5 o'clock to the ruins of 'Anjar. They lie upon a slope, where the high narrow plain sinks down

¹ Bearings from the temple of Mejdel: Mejdel S. Khân at mouth of Wady Harîr S. E. by E. 'Anjar, ruin, N. 50° E. Neba' 'Anjar N. 65° E.

² This Wely is said to be built out of the ruins of an ancient temple, with sarcophagi and other remains round about; so H. Guy's Relation, II. pp. 33, 34. Ritter Erdk. XVII. p. 182.

³ W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1848, p. 760.—From this bridge, in 1844, Dr Smith took the following bearings: Mûallakah beyond Zahleh 5°. Bürr Eliâs

346°. Jedithah 321°. Mekseh 313°. Khân el-Mujeirât 308°. Kübb Eliâs 303°. el-Merj 288°. Estûbl 259°. Mejdel 194°. Neby Za'ûr 151°. Dâr Zeinûn 144°. 'Anjar, ruin, 113°.

⁴ Dr De Forest in Journ. of the Am. Orient Soc. III. pp. 365, 366.—Dr De Forest descended from the temple of Mejdel towards the west, and came in an hour to the Litâny, by the village of Estûbl; and in an hour and a-half more to Kübb Eliâs.

rapidly northwards to the lower alluvial tract along the river from Neba' 'Anjar. Here are the remains of the walls and towers of a fortified city ; or rather, perhaps, of a large citadel. Its form is nearly a square with eight or nine towers on each side. The wall was built externally of hewn stones, some of them large, and all well dressed.' They are now mostly fallen down ; and the ruins of wall and towers still mark the former line. We measured the wall on the north, which is the shorter side. The length is nearest three hundred and thirty-five yards, or somewhat less than one fifth of a mile. The longer side we estimated at a quarter of a mile. There are no remains of buildings within the enclosure, except slight foundations ; among which we stumbled upon three columns, and there may be more. The dwellings were probably built of small broken stones, as at the present day ; and many such stones are scattered around. The fortification would afford room for a large population ; and a still larger number may have dwelt outside of the walls. The whole reminded me strongly of the citadel of Baniás ; though this at 'Anjar covers a larger extent of ground, and its towers perhaps were less massive.—The place had its supply of water from the great fountain fifteen minutes distant ; the waters of which were probably elevated in a high reservoir, and so conducted to the town and fortress.

In the history of the crusaders we read, that in the summer of A. D. 1176, while Saladin was occupied in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, king Baldwin IV. made an expedition from Sidon into the Büká'a. Crossing mount Lebanon, he came to a place situated in a fertile tract with abundant fountains, called *Messaara* (Meshghūrah) ; thence descended to the valley *Bacar* (el-Büká'a), a land flowing with milk and honey, which was held to be the ancient Iturea. In this plain they came to a place, the modern name of which was *Amegarra*, surrounded by strong walls, and exhibiting in its edifices many tokens of its ancient splendour. Some held it to be Palmyra ; but there can be no question, that it was 'Anjar, or as the Arabs then wrote it, 'Ain el-Jürr. Here the crusaders plundered and burned at their leisure ; the inhabitants having all fled to the mountains.¹

'Anjar is mentioned likewise by Abulfeda in connection with the fountain. He writes the name 'Ain el-Jürr ; from which in popular usage has come the form 'Anjar. He says there are here "great ruins of stones."² Yet although the ruins lie

¹ According to Burckhardt, the wall was twelve feet thick ; Trav. p. 8.—Mr Thomson gives the number of towers at thirty-two ; Biblioth. Sac. 1848, p. 761.

² Will. Tyr. 21. 11. Tuch in Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges. IV. p. 512. Ritter XVII. p. 226.

³ Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 20 : "At

'Ain el-Jürr there are great ruins of stones. It is situated a long day's journey to the south of Ba'albek. Near it is a village called el-Mejdel ; and it lies on the road leading from Ba'albek to Wady et-Teim. From 'Ain el-Jürr springs a great river, that runs into the Büká'a." Comp. p. 93.

within fifteen minutes of the great Beirût and Damascus road, and in full view, Seetzen and Burckhardt were the first travellers to visit and describe them ; and very few have done it since.¹

As early as December, 1847, I was led conjecturally to connect these remains with the ancient *Chalcis under Lebanon*, mentioned by Josephus.² The historian relates that Pompey marching southwards from his winter-quarters, probably at or near Antioch, about B. C. 63, demolished the citadel that was at Apamea on the Orontes (now Kul'at el-Mudik) ; passed through the cities Heliopolis (Ba'albek) and *Chalcis* ; and, crossing the mountain which shuts in Cœlesyria, proceeded from Pella to Damascus.³ Of this Chalcis, Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, already mentioned above under *Abila*, was then lord.⁴ Strabo likewise speaks of Chalcis in connection with Heliopolis, as subject to the same Ptolemy.⁵ This Ptolemy was succeeded by his son, the earlier Lysanias ; whose possessions, after his murder by Antony, were farmed by Zenodorus, as already related.⁶ Many years later, the emperor Claudius in the first year of his reign, A. D. 51, bestowed Chalcis on Herod, a brother of the elder [Herod] Agrippa with the title of king ; and gave him also the oversight of the temple at Jerusalem, and the right of appointing the high priests.⁷ After his death, about A. D. 48, Chalcis went to his nephew, the younger Agrippa, mentioned in the book of Acts.⁸ He held it during four years ; and was then transferred, with the title of king, to the provinces formerly held by Philip, his father's uncle, and afterwards by his father, viz. Batanea, Trachonitis, Abilene, and others.⁹ The further fortunes of Chalcis are unknown.

The preceding notices, and especially the march of Pompey, go to show, that Chalcis under Lebanon was situated in the Bükä'a south of Ba'albek.¹⁰ Its probable connection with *Abila* also implies a position near the passes of Anti-Lebanon. All these circumstances point to the strong fortress at 'Anjar as the

¹ Seetzen, *Reisen* I. p. 262. Burckhardt p. 8. Lord Lindsay in 1837, *Letters* II. p. 375. W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sac.* Nov. 1848, p. 761. The spot is mentioned in Dr Smith's manuscript *Journal*, 1844 ; and is merely named by P. Wolfe in 1847, p. 187.

² Jos. B. J. 1. 9. 2, ἡ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀβδύρῃ Χαλκίς. *Antt.* 14. 3. 4.

³ Jos. *Antt.* 14. 3. 2.

⁴ See above, p. 483.—Jos. *Antt.* 14. 7. 1. B. J. 1. 9. 2.

⁵ Strabo 16. 2. 10. p. 753. Strabo here mentions, that this Ptolemy was in possession of the plain Marsyas and the mountainous tract of the Itureans ; comp. *ibid.*

§§ 17, 18. p. 755. It is hence probable that Strabo's plain of Marsyas was the Bükä'a ; and then the Chalcis of the latter passage is the same with the preceding.

⁶ See above, p. 483.

⁷ Jos. *Antt.* 19. 5. 1. *ib.* 19. 8. 1, 3. *ib.* 20. 1. 3.

⁸ Jos. B. J. 2. 12. 1.—Acts 25, 13. c. 26.

⁹ Jos. *Antt.* 20. 7. 1.

¹⁰ There was another ancient Chalcis, now Kinneserin, a few miles south of Aleppo ; Abulfed. *Tab. Syr.* p. 117. Roland pointed out the distinction between the two cities ; *Palæst.* p. 315. Cellarius confounded them ; *Notit. Orb.* II. pp. 363, 364.

remains of the ancient *Chalcis*. Nor are there any other like remains in all the valley, which can be referred to it.¹

From the ruin of 'Anjar, we came in fifteen minutes due east to the great fountain, Neba' 'Anjar, at the foot of Anti-Lebanon; called also sometimes Birket 'Anjar, as rising in a small reservoir or pool. Here we found our tent already pitched some rods below the fountain, on green grass, in the meadow-like tract, through which the copious river already cuts its way in a deep winding channel.² The fountain is quite large; not as abundant indeed as those of Fijeh and Tell el-Kâdy; but nearly or quite equal to that at Bâniâs. It issues just at the foot of Anti-Lebanon; but yet high enough above the low plain to drive some half a dozen mills. The strata of the mountain here dip under the plain; and the water boils up in its *Birkeh*, which is lined with masonry, just in front of the dip. From this pool the river descends upon the mills, and then rushes away to the alluvial tract below; where its course at first is W. N. W. The water is limpid and fine. Ruins of walls and foundations of large hewn stones are seen around the pool. There may once, perhaps, have been a temple here; though, possibly, these may be the ruins of an elevated reservoir for raising the water, so as to conduct it to the neighbouring town and fortress.

Neba' 'Anjar is regarded by the inhabitants as a partially intermitting fountain. Burckhardt was told by the people of the mills, that the water "stops at certain periods, and resumes its issue from under the rock eight or ten times in a day."³ According to Mr Thomson "there is at all times a large stream boiling up; but at irregular periods there is a sudden and great increase of water; sometimes only once a day; while at other times the increase occurs six, eight, or even ten times a day."⁴ We also made inquiry; and the reply was, that the fountain never wholly intermits; but varies every few hours in the quantity it sends forth. Still, as no traveller has personally observed the phenomenon, and the reports vary, the question arose in my mind, whether, after all, the occasional rise of water in the *Birkeh* is perhaps anything more, than would naturally occur on shutting it off suddenly from one or more of the mills.⁵

¹ The sum of the remarks in the text may be found in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for Feb. 1848, pp. 90, 91; with a further reference to the subject in the same work for Nov. 1848, p. 761. — Ritter likewise maintains the identity of 'Anjar with Chalcis; *Erdk.* XVII. pp. 185–187. Yet mistaking my language in one place (p. 761) for that of Mr Thomson, he erroneously ascribes to the latter the first suggestion of Chalcis.

² Bearings from Neba' 'Anjar: Temple

of Mejdal W. S. W. 'Anjar, the ruins, W. Zahleh N. 20° W. Neby Za'ûr, Wely and village, N. 60° W. 1½ m. dist.

³ Trav. p. 9.

⁴ In *Biblioth. Sac.* 1848, pp. 760, 761.

⁵ So far as I know, the fountain has been described only by Burckhardt and W. M. Thomson; see the two next preceding notes. Seetzen mentions it briefly *Reisen* I p. 263. Comp. Ritter, *Erdk.* XVII p. 181.

Abulfeda speaks of the stream from Neba' 'Anjar as "a large river that runs into the Būkâ'a."¹ As he nowhere else alludes to a river in the Būkâ'a, it would seem that he held this fountain to be the head of the Litâny, in the same manner that he describes the Barada as springing from Fijeh; regarding not the remotest, but the most copious fountain as the source of the river.² The stream from Neba' 'Anjar, enlarged by the waters of the two lesser fountains further north, is usually much larger, at the junction, than that of the Litâny; the more northern sources of which in summer become exhausted in the plain.³ Neba' 'Anjar is regarded by the natives as the source of the river.⁴

At this place a branch of the great alluvial plain of the Būkâ'a runs up between the southern line of hills and another which (as we shall see) begins further north; it reaches quite to the base of Anti-Lebanon; and thus forms an outlet for the stream from the fountains. I am not aware, that the elevation of this portion of the Būkâ'a has ever been ascertained. That of Zahleh, two and a half hours distant, is given by Dr De Forest at three thousand and seventy-one feet;⁵ by Russegger at three thousand and ninety-three English feet;⁶ so that at Neba' 'Anjar the elevation cannot well be over three thousand feet. Hence it would follow, that 'Ain Barada, in the plain of Zebedany, is only some six hundred feet higher than Neba' 'Anjar in the Būkâ'a. The level of the Būkâ'a rises gradually towards the north almost to Lebweh; and its elevation at the water-shed, as compared with the barometrical measurement at Ba'albek, cannot be less than four thousand feet above the sea. In its general character, therefore, this great valley is a vast and lofty mountain cleft, eight or nine miles wide; and the summits by which it is shut in, as viewed from its plain, have from three to four thousand feet less of altitude, than as seen from the Mediterranean and its shores.

Wednesday, June 9th.—The river, as it flowed by our tent, was running in a channel eight or ten feet deep, with perpendicular banks; and was not easily fordable. In order to proceed northwards we returned to the mills, and there forded the stream, which was rushing down in several channels. Leaving the mills at 6.35, we kept along the foot of Anti-Lebanon; and

¹ Tab. Syr. p. 20. See above, p. 496, n. 3.

² For this principle, as applied in the case of the Barada, see above, p. 477; also in the case of the Jordan, pp. 412, 413 sq. Comp. Ritter XVII. p. 180.

³ Burckhardt describes the stream from 'Anjar, in September, as having "more than triple the volume of water of the Litâny;" p. 8. So too Mr Robson's Notes.

⁴ So Dr Smith, Bibl. Res. 1st edit. III. App. p. 143.

⁵ Ms. Letter.

⁶ Russegger's specification is 2900 Paris feet; Trav. I. p. 697—Russegger's results with the barometer, as compared with those of Mr Porter with the aneroid, seem to be a hundred feet or more greater; see above, p. 453, n. 5.

came at 6.55 to Neba' Shemsin, the other chief fountain in this region. This, though not more than one third as large as Neba' 'Anjar, is yet a fine fountain. It bursts forth under strata of rocks, which dip under the plain at an angle of 45° or more; and flows off into the low alluvial tract to join the stream from 'Anjar. On the south side of the fountain are the square foundations of some rude modern structure. About half an hour further north is another smaller fountain, called Neba' Beida. It lies west of our road; and was said to be only a fourth part as large as Neba' Shemsin. Its small stream runs also to the river from 'Anjar. These three fountains were all we could hear of in the region of 'Anjar.'

As we advanced, there was on our left, at 7.15, a high Tell, a quarter of a mile distant, standing isolated in the plain. Half a mile north of it begins another range of hills, lying parallel to the base of Anti-Lebanon, similar to those south of Mejdal; and, like them, shutting in a narrow and elevated valley. These hills continue, with some little interruption and irregularity near Neby Shit, all the way to Ba'albek, where they disappear; that place being situated just at their northern extremity. Their general direction, like that of Anti-Lebanon, is about N. E. by N. Our course to-day was nearest N. 40° E.

At 7.35, Zahleh, situated at the foot of Lebanon, was seen in a line with the south end of the range of hills. We soon after struck a great road, coming down from Zebedány to Kefr Zebad just before us, and passing on around the southern hill to join the Beirút road below Mekseh. This is a branch of the road already mentioned as leading across the mountain from Zebedány to Zahleh.² At 8 o'clock we reached Kefr Zebad. This village, like our road, lies on the east of the line of hills, within the narrow higher valley, which is here drained towards the south. The hills on the left are high in this part; and on one of them, a conical point called Jebel esh-Sha'ir, are said to be the remains of an ancient building; but no columns. At 8.20 the small village of 'Ain was on our right.³ The next place is Kuseiyeh, a large village at the top of the acclivity, opposite to the watershed of the narrow valley. We passed through it at 8.55. On the hill side to the left, above the village, are the foundations, and one or two courses of the walls of some structure apparently ancient, about forty feet long by twenty wide. The stones are well dressed; and may perhaps be the remains of a small temple. There is no appearance of columns. At Kuseiyeh the

¹ Burckhardt speaks of a fourth fountain, which he heard of but did not visit, still an hour further north; p. 9. It may exist in one of the villages; but has no connection with 'Anjar.

² See above, p. 486.

³ Dr De Forest saw at 'Ain a Corinthian capital, and some antique hewn stones; Journ. of Am. Or. Soc. III. p. 360.

direct road from Zebedâny to Zahleh comes down from Anti-Lebanon, and passes on through a notch in the line of hills into the great plain.¹

At 9.15 there was on our left a deep gap in the line of hills, through which we had a fine view of the great plain below. In it, just in the nook of the hills beneath us, was the village of Hashmush a quarter of a mile distant; said to have near it the remains of an ancient structure. We came at 9.25 to the village of Deir el-Ghüzâl, lying high on the eastern slope of the line of hills; or, rather, on a ridge between two of the hills; while from it a Wady runs down steeply westwards to the Būkâ'a. Just out of the village and above it, looking down into the deep Wady and out over the great plain, are the massive foundations of an ancient temple, with fragments of two large columns. Many of the stones of the temple have rolled far down into the valley. Among these is a small altar, with an inscription only just legible enough to see that it was in Greek. Here we stopped twenty minutes.

Setting off again at 9.45, our general course still N. 40° E. we came at 10 o'clock to Ra'ith, a small village on a lower hill.² Beyond it the water-bed of this northern part of the higher narrow plain turns W. N. W. and passes out into the Būkâ'a. We crossed it at 10.10; it is called Wady Sahûr. The hills now continue as low spurs running out from Anti-Lebanon, and terminating sometimes in bluffs. Crossing these spurs we came at 10.35 to Mâsy, situated on a like hill. Here, just west of the village, are the remains of a mosk, which seems anciently to have been a church; some say of St. John, but I do not know on what authority. There are columns measuring twenty-nine inches in diameter; and at the southwest corner is a stone with a Latin inscription; but so illegible that we could make out nothing except the name *LONGINUS*.—We now had before us the lower portion or little plain of Wady Yahfûfeh. Beyond it we could see our road to Neby Shit crossing a higher ridge running out from Anti-Lebanon, and terminating in a high Tell west of the road; the course of this latter being about N. N. E. On the right, Wady Yahfûfeh was seen breaking down through the low outer ridge of Anti-Lebanon by a wild gorge.

Leaving Mâsy at 11 o'clock, we descended steeply into the little plain of Wady Yahfûfeh; and came at 11.10 to its pretty stream, here tolerably large, and well used up for irrigation. The road follows up the right bank of the stream almost to the village of Yahfûfeh, situated near the mouth of the gorge; and

¹ See above, p. 486.

² Here Dr De Forest found "small Corinthian capitals and fragments of col-

umns;" Journ. of Am. Or. Soc. III. p 360.

then turns up a valley towards the north. Having no guide we mistook the way, and climbed the hill directly without a path; but came to the road again about forty rods west of the village. We now crossed the high ridge before us, having the high Tell on our left; and descending and crossing a deep valley on the other side, running out N. by W. we ascended to Neby Shit on our right, reaching it at 12.15. Here we looked round for a shady place for lunch and rest; and finding an unoccupied house newly whitewashed, we took possession of the porch, and made ourselves comfortable. The owner saw us, and kept watch at a distance. It seems the Turkish officers take possession of houses when they please, and compel the people to serve them. The owner therefore kept thus aloof; but on our invitation he came and sat with us, and made us quite at home.

Neby Shit (Seth) is a very large village, lying half way up the western declivity of the western and lowest ridge of Anti-Lebanon. Lower down, directly north, on a rocky ledge next the plain, lies the village er-Rumâdy, a mile and a half distant. Below it, on this side of the ledge, is a deep well cultivated valley running out southwest to the Būkâ'a. The village of Neby Shît takes its name from a conspicuous Wely of the "Prophet Seth;" whose body, according to Muslim tradition, is here deposited. Near by is a good mosk. The view from this village is extensive towards the north along the great valley; while opposite is Lebanon with its rugged sides and snow-crowned summits.

Here at Neby Shit comes in one of the main roads leading from Zebedâny to Ba'albek. It has already been described from Zebedâny as far as to Sürghâya.¹ Thence it follows down the stream of Wady Haura (or Sürghâya) half an hour, to its junction with the stream coming down Wady Ma'rabûn from the north-east; which latter is crossed by an ancient bridge. The village of Ma'rabûn is situated a large half hour up this valley, in a meadow-like basin with many fruit trees; similar to the plains of Zebedâny and Sürghâya, with which it lies nearly in the same line. Below the junction, the valley takes the name of Wady Yahfûfeh, which cuts its way through the western ridge to the plain below by a winding rugged chasm, often between precipices and everywhere narrow. Its general course is about northwest, till half an hour from Neby Shit it turns westward through its gorge above Yahfûfeh to the plain. The road follows the chasm till in sight of Yahfûfeh; and then ascends and crosses the ridge to Neby Shît. The whole distance from Sürghâya to the latter village is about two hours and a quarter.²

¹ See above, p. 486.

² J. L. Porter, in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, p. 660.

At this point too, may be said to terminate the western or outer ridge of Anti-Lebanon, lying west of the plain of Zebedâny, through which also Wady Yahfûfeh has broken its chasm. This ridge thus far has gradually become lower and lower; and here, turning more to the northeast, it runs into and unites with the next and higher range, that of Blûdân. This latter is strictly the back-bone of Anti-Lebanon. Running here about N. by E. it thus comes out to the Bûkā'a; and slowly converging with Lebanon it gradually contracts the breadth of the Bûkā'a in its northern part beyond Ba'albek.

From Neby Shit northwards, the eastern part (at least one fourth) of the Bûkā'a is a terrace or higher plain, sometimes with hills, lying along the base of the eastern mountains. It is skirted on the west, towards the lower plain, by a line of hills; but with wide openings and many interruptions. The surface of the terrace slopes towards the west; but is irregular, gravelly, and almost a desert.

We set off from Neby Shit at 1.25, and made a great descent to the bottom of the valley under Rumâdy; here are fruit trees and other cultivation. Leaving Rumâdy on its hill above us on the left, and ascending gradually, we came out upon the terrace, and proceeded along the half desert plain and among the hills. At 2.45 the rocky and desert channel of Wady Shabât, with a small stream, cut its way down through the terrace, by a very deep and rugged chasm from the mountain to the lower plain. This valley has its commencement not far from Wady Ma'rabûn; and a more northern road from Sûrghâya to Ba'albek leaves the Yahfûfeh road at the bridge; passes up Wady Ma'rabûn for about three quarters of an hour; then crosses a low ridge into Wady Shabât, and follows down the latter for a time northwest; when, leaving it gradually and passing over naked rocky slopes, it joins our road twenty minutes beyond where we crossed the Wady. We came to this junction at 3.05. This road is said to be not longer than that by Neby Shit; while it is better and more level, though less interesting than the other. There are no rocky hills to cross; and no narrow and difficult defiles to wind through.¹

At 3.10 the village of Bereitân bore from us W. by N. about a mile distant, on the south side of a gap in the line of hills. Here are many ancient sepulchres. Keeping on over the desert tract, at 4 o'clock another deep and rugged chasm, like the former, passed down through the terrace, called here Wady et-Taiyibeh, from a village further down between the hills; though

¹ J. L. Porter, in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, pp. 660, 661.—I suppose this to be the route by which Dr Wilson travelled from Zebedâny to Ba'albek, though his description is not definite; *Lands of the Bible*. II. pp. 375, 376.

we heard also the name of Wady Hijrabân applied to its upper part. At 4.35 there was a fork of the road ; one branch going more to the right to the fountain of Ba'albek, while we took the other, turning down more to the left through an open gap in the hills. In the bottom of this gap we passed at 4.45 the little village and fountain of 'Ain Burday. Following now the base of the next hill, we came at 5 o'clock to the town of Ba'albek, situated at the northwestern extremity and angle of the high terrace and line of hills, which here break down and cease ; while an arm of the alluvial plain runs up eastward to the fountain.

The road which we had thus taken from Mâsy by Neby Shit, and indeed quite from 'Anjar, had virtually led us out of the Būkâ'a ; so that, properly speaking, we were the whole day long not in the great plain at all ; but on higher ground east of the line of hills. This smaller side valley is a singular formation ; and may be said to extend from Wady et-Teim to Ba'albek, with interruptions mainly at 'Anjar and Neby Shit. The great plain itself, as seen through the openings in the hills, is superbly rich and beautiful ; a gem lying deep in its setting of mountains, and fringed with the brilliant snows of Lebanon. The Būkâ'a thus far is everywhere well watered. The mountains begin further south to converge and make it narrower ; and north of Ba'albek its character is wholly changed.

From Mâsy northwards there is another road, leading along the western base of the line of hills, and of course skirting the eastern margin of the great plain.¹ After crossing the stream of Yahfûfeh it ascends a steep hill ; and, leaving the village of Kûna ten minutes on the right, passes along a shallow valley west of the high Tell mentioned above ; and reaches in forty-five minutes a place of quarries and excavated tombs. Fifteen minutes further, across the valley running out below Neby Shit, is the village of Sir'in ; and in twenty minutes more the road passes west of and under Rûmâdy. Then follows Tûbshâr in fifteen minutes ; 'Ain el-Kuneiseh in ten minutes more, a modern hamlet on the left ; and, after still twenty-five minutes one comes to Bereitân. Thence to Taiyibeh is thirty-five minutes ; at forty-five minutes further the village of Dûris is ten minutes on the left ;² and another half hour brings the traveller to Ba'albek.

¹ This road was taken by Dr De Forest in travelling from Ba'albek to 'Anjar ; Journ. of Am. Or. Soc. III. pp. 358, 359. —Schubert also followed the same road, at least from Sir'in, which he writes Zahrain ; III. p. 314.

² Dûris is on the direct road between

Zahleh and Ba'albek. Near this village is what might seem to be a small temple, described by Burckhardt as surrounded by eight beautiful granite columns ; Trav. pp. 11, 12. But, according to O. v. Richter, the columns are merely planted in the ground without order, and one or more of them

The ancient quarries of Ba'albek are in the western base of the last hill, eight or ten minutes south of the town and temples. Here may still be seen the mode of quarrying the ordinary stones used for the massive structures of the adjacent city. They were ordinarily hewn out from the perpendicular face of the rock in an upright position, by cutting away an interval of about six inches between them, and the rock behind and at the sides; leaving them half hewn or smoothed. Many such stones, so separated except at the bottom, still stand there like massive square pillars. In the same hill, nearer the city, are several sepulchral excavations.

The great stone of all, so celebrated by travellers, lies in a slanting position, in a direction from east to west. We measured it as follows :

						Feet.	In.
Length	.	.	.	.	.	68	4
Width	.	.	.	.	.	17	2
Height	.	.	.	.	.	14	7

For what particular spot this stone was intended, it is difficult to say; as there would seem to be no place for it in the plan of the present structures. In judging of it as it now lies, the actual dimensions seem absolutely incredible. A person approaching takes for granted that he can place his hand upon the top of it; but finds himself on trial falling short by at least one half.

On the low ridge or swell between this last hill and a small knoll perhaps half a mile further north, stand the two larger temples. The ancient city wall runs from their south-western corner in an easterly direction up the hill to near its top; thence northwards down the hill and far into the plain which extends towards the fountain; and then north of west to the said knoll. The fourth side we did not trace. The wall was faced with hewn stones, and had square towers at frequent intervals. The whole construction reminded me much of the walls and towers at 'Anjar; except that the area here enclosed is much more extensive. The walls and towers are now in ruins; and the modern town, which lies mostly on the east of the temples, is nothing

bottom upwards; forming a Muslim Turbeh or Wely; p. 80. So too Lt. Col. Squire, in Walpole's Travels in various Countries of the East, p. 307. The like conclusion is expressed still more definitely and strongly by De Saulcy; Narrat. II. p. 639. It is obviously the same structure, which Pococke more than a century ago speaks of as "a Mahometan sepulchre of an octagon figure;" II. i. p. 108. The fine

columns were of course brought from Ba'albek.

¹ In the angle formed by the city wall on this hill, formerly stood the Doric column described by Pococke and Wood; Pococke II. i. p. 107. Wood p. 17. It had already been overthrown in 1802; Squire in Walpole's Travels in the East, p. 306. The remains are described by De Saulcy; Narrat. II. p. 615 sq.

more than a mean village of larger size.¹ There are here many trees of various kinds, especially walnut trees.

The large and beautiful fountain of Ba'albek is fifteen minutes south of east from the temples, in its own sweet valley or depression in the plain; which here runs up to the base of Anti-Lebanon on the north of the hills and terrace. The whole vale is rich and meadow-like. The water boils up in several places; two of which are built up with a low semicircular wall. On the stone-work of one of the fountains Maundrell found a Greek inscription, containing the name of a Christian bishop.² The water is limpid and fine, and runs off murmuring in a pretty river; as large perhaps as the stream from Neba' Shemsin. Just by the fountain are the ruins of a mosk, with a single row of columns along the middle; perhaps once connected by arches and aiding to support the roof. On the north side is a square court.³ The stream from the fountain passes down to the temples. Its natural channel is on the north of them; but branches are now carried along also on the south of the temples, and supply water for several mills. The whole stream is afterwards exhausted in the plain by irrigation; and none of it reaches the Litâny, unless in winter. The remotest permanent source of the Litâny is understood to be at a village called Haushbeh, nearly west of Ba'albek, at the foot of Lebanon; and the stream, an hour or two below the fountain, is about half as large as that of Ba'albek.⁴

The elevation of Ba'albek above the sea, is, according to Russegger, 3496 Paris feet; according to Schubert, 3572 Paris feet.⁵ The medium is 3584 Paris feet, or 3769 feet English.

We pitched our tent on the south, overagainst the lesser temple, and opposite to the usual entrance at the present day. We found here other companies of travellers; and among them several artists diligently occupied in sketching. One party was encamped at the eastern end of the large court of the great temple itself; and we regretted that we had not done the same; having yielded rather hastily to the apparent difficulty of bringing in our baggage animals. We gave ourselves up for the evening to the astonishment and enjoyment which the wonders of the scene inspire; leaving a more careful examination of the details until the next morning.

¹ In Burckhardt's time Ba'albek contained about seventy families of Metâwileh, and twenty-five of Greek Catholics; p. 15. There has probably been little change since.

² Maundrell Journ. May 5th, ult.

³ The smaller fountain visited by Burckhardt, which he calls Jûsh, is higher up on

the side of Anti-Lebanon; Trav. p. 16. We neither saw it, nor heard it spoken of.

⁴ So Mr Robson, who had visited the fountain, and crossed the stream some distance further down. Comp. Burckhardt Trav. p. 10.

⁵ Russegger Reisen I. p. 702. Schubert III. p. 322.

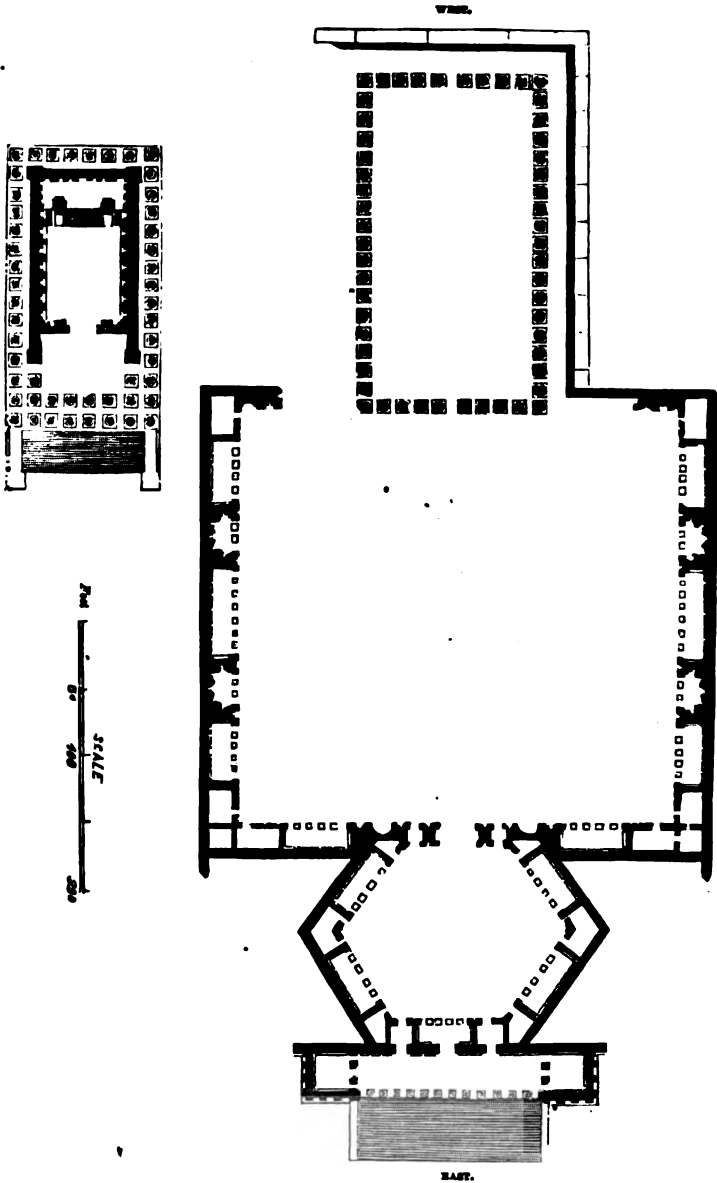
THE TEMPLES.

The temples, the ruins of which now constitute the wonderful attractions of Ba'albek, are two in number; the greater and the lesser.¹ The former, with its magnificent peristyle and vast courts and portico, extended a thousand feet in length from east to west. It stands upon an artificial vaulted platform, elevated from twenty to thirty feet above the adjacent country. Besides the dilapidated ruins of the courts and portico, there now remain only the six southwestern columns of the lofty peristyle; and these are still the crowning glory of the place. The lesser temple stands likewise upon its own similar, though less elevated platform.² It is on the south of the greater temple; is parallel with it; and its front is a few feet east of the eastern line of the great peristyle. It had no court; and its length is less than one fourth part of that of the greater temple with its courts. It was finished, and that most elaborately, and the larger portion of it still remains; while not improbably the larger temple was never completed.

It is not my province to describe or dwell upon the plans and noble architecture of these ruins. All I wish to do is, in the fewest words, to present such a sketch as will enable the intelligent reader to gain a correct general idea of the place; and such also as will put the future traveller in a situation at once to comprehend the outline of the ruins, and thus be saved the time and labour of studying them out for himself without a guide. This last unfortunately was our own case. We had with us Maundrell's work, which contains a tolerable description of the lesser temple, but hardly refers to the greater. Yet, since the folios of Pococke and Wood, no traveller, with the exception of Volney, has ever given a plan of the ruins, nor even a description of their main parts and features. We examined for ourselves, without plan or guide; and while I have since been gratified to find our results as to the plan corresponding entirely with those of Wood and Dawkins, yet we should have been great gainers had we possessed even the slightest outline. True, whoever visits Ba'albek in order to study the architecture of its remains, will make himself acquainted with the splendid and costly works in which they are depicted. But such is not the object of most travellers, nor was it ours. I insert therefore a mere outline of the original ground-plan of the two temples, as reduced by Volney from that of Wood and Dawkins; with a brief description.—

¹ The small circular temple further east, guarded as standing upon the same platform will be noticed hereafter. with the greater temple. *Biblioth. Sac.*

² It has sometimes been erroneously re- 1843, p. 85.



The main material is everywhere the compact limestone of the region, quarried from the adjacent hills.¹

¹ Wood and Dawkins Ruins of Baal- measurements; and I give in the text
bec, fol. Lond. 1757, Plate III. Comp. those of Wood and Dawkins, except
also Volney, II. p. 216.—We made few where otherwise specified.

In respect to the general plan, it must everywhere be borne in mind, that many parts, and especially the south side, have been greatly disfigured and obscured by the Saracenic erections of the middle ages; when the whole area of both temples was converted into a Muslim fortress.¹

THE GREAT TEMPLE.—The eastern front presents the remains of a magnificent *Portico*, one hundred and eighty feet long, flanked at each end by a square tower or pavilion. The floor of the portico is elevated some twenty feet above the ground; and the wall below it is built of large undressed stones; indicating that here was an immense flight of steps leading up into the portico. These however have wholly disappeared; having doubtless been employed in the Saracenic works.

The portico was about thirty-seven feet in depth. It had twelve columns in front, of which only the pedestals now remain. The diameter of the columns was four feet three inches; with an interval of nine and a half feet between them. On two of these pedestals were cut (with abbreviations) the following inscriptions, copied by Wood and Dawkins, but now nearly illegible.²

I. *Magnis Diis Heliopolitanis pro salute Antonini Pii Felicis Augusti et Julię Augustę matris domini nostri castrorum Senatus patrię . . . columnarum dum erant in muro inluminata sua pecunia ex toto libenti animo solvit.*

II. *Magnis Diis Heliopolitanis . . . oriis domini nostri Antonini Pii Felicis Augusti et Julię Augustę matris domini nostri castrorum . . . ntonianę capita columnarum dum erant in muro inluminata sua pecunia . . .*

The pavilions at the ends of the portico are built of very large stones; we measured the size of one stone, twenty-four feet five inches long. They are ornamented on the outside with a belt or cornice on the level of the portico; there are also pilasters at the corners, and two intervening ones on the sides. In front, near the bottom of each, is a door leading to the vaults beneath the platform. The top of each pavilion has been rebuilt by the Saracens. On the same level with the portico is a square room in each, thirty-one feet wide by thirty-eight feet deep; and entered from the portico by three doors. These rooms are highly decorated with pilasters, niches, cornices, and once probably with statues. The same is true of the back wall of the portico.

The great portal leading from the portico to the temple

¹ One of these structures is a clumsy quadrangular fort, directly abutting upon the front of the lesser temple.

² These inscriptions are cut in the long slender style of letters, which is regarded as marking the period of Septimius Severus, at the close of the second century. M. De

Saulcy therefore regards them as a roving testimonial in behalf of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, afterwards Caracalla, the son of Severus and the empress Julia Domna. Narrat. II. p. 623.—M. De Saulcy considers the two inscriptions as being nearly identical.

courts is seventeen feet wide. On each side of it is a smaller one, ten feet in width.

These portals lead into the first court, which is in form a *Hexagon*. Its length between east and west, from side to side, is about two hundred feet; its breadth from angle to angle about two hundred and fifty feet. On the eastern side, and on each of the sides towards the north and south, was a rectangular *exedra*, a room or recess like the side chapels in Romish churches, with four columns in front of each; and with smaller irregular rooms intervening. The recess on the east formed a vestibule before the entrance from the portico. The *exedrae* were doubtless roofed over; but all is now in ruins.

The western side of the Hexagon was occupied by a broad portal fifty feet wide, with two side portals each of ten feet, leading into the *Great Quadrangle*, the vast court directly in front of the temple proper. This area measures about four hundred and forty feet in length from east to west, by about three hundred and seventy feet in breadth, including the *exedrae*. Beginning at the portals in the middle of the east side, and proceeding towards the north, we have next to the smaller portal an immense niche, eighteen feet wide, intended apparently for a colossal statue. Then comes a rectangular *exedra* with four columns in front; and this is followed by a room next the corner, closed up in front except by a door. This room, in front, joins upon a similar one on the north side of the court; and both connect with a small square room between them in the angle. Proceeding west along the north side of the court, we have first a rectangular *exedra* with four columns in front, then a semicircular one with two columns; and next, occupying the middle of this side, a longer rectangular *exedra* with six columns in front. Then follows, as before, in corresponding order, a semicircular *exedra* with two columns, a rectangular one with four columns, and a room with a door next the corner. On the western side of the court, between this corner and the great peristyle, a distance of one hundred feet, there were no *exedrae*. Proceeding from the eastern portal of the court southwards, and thence along the southern wall, the arrangement of the rooms and *exedrae* corresponded entirely to those just described along the other side. The *exedrae* were thirty feet deep; and were doubtless once roofed over. It was in the fronts of these *exedrae*, that the columns of Syenite granite from Egypt would seem to have been employed. Many of these columns, twenty-nine inches in diameter, are still strewed around, especially in the southern part of the court.¹ Their bases and capitals are

¹ One of these granite columns, of the same diameter, is mentioned by M. De Sauley as lying in one of the vaults beneath; Narrative II. p. 626.

supposed by Wood to have been of the same material as the other parts of the temple. The *exedrae* were decorated within and without with pilasters and also with niches; the latter having either scollop work above or pediments. Along the front of the *exedrae* above was an entablature with an elegantly sculptured frieze.—In the middle of the western part of this court are the remains of a raised platform or esplanade; on which would seem to have been two rows of pedestals, three in a row, as if for statues or sphynxes. These remains are mentioned by Volney;¹ but not by Wood and Dawkins.

Fronting upon this great quadrangle was the vast *Peristyle*, measuring two hundred and ninety feet in length by one hundred and sixty in breadth. On each side were nineteen columns, with capitals of the Corinthian order;² and at each end ten, counting the corner columns twice; that is, fifty-four in all. The diameter of these columns is given by Wood as seven feet at the base and five feet at top. Our measurement gave to some of them a diameter of seven feet three or also four inches.³ The distance between the columns was usually eight feet; in the middle of the eastern front, a little more. The height of the shafts was about sixty-two feet, with a richly sculptured entablature of nearly fourteen feet more;⁴ making in all nearly seventy-six feet.⁵ The columns were mostly formed of three pieces; many of which now lie scattered on the ground. They were fastened together by iron pins or cramps, a foot long and a foot thick; and sometimes two of these were employed, one round and the other square.⁶ So solidly were the parts thus joined together, that in some instances the fall of the columns has not separated them. One of the most revolting forms of the ruthless barbarism under which these splendid ruins have suffered, is still seen in the cutting and breaking away of the bottom of the columns yet standing, in order to obtain these masses of iron!

These rows of columns stood upon immense walls, built up nearly fifty feet above the ground outside. The eastern wall rested against the platform of the grand quadrangle; from which there would seem to have been an ascent to the level of the great peristyle. The southern wall is now mostly covered by the rubbish of ages. That on the west is concealed by the gigantic masonry yet to be described. The northern wall is free. It is built of *bevelled* stones, well wrought and finished. Courses of

¹ Tom. II. p. 218. They are also referred to in Roberts' Sketches, Explan. of Plate: *Eastern Portico, Baalbec.*

² The order of all the columns throughout the temple and courts, is supposed to have been the Corinthian.

³ So too Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 383.

⁴ Wood and Dawkins, Plate XXIII.

⁵ *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 383.

⁶ Wood, p. 23.

longer stones alternate with layers of shorter ones. The thickness of these courses is very uniformly three feet eight inches; and from the present surface of the ground outside to the pedestals of the large columns above, there are thirteen courses, or about forty-eight feet. In the southern wall the courses of stones were similar; and the elevation probably the same. Whether on the level of these walls above there was a vaulted esplanade, enclosed by the peristyle; whether this was surmounted by a *cella* within the latter; or whether the esplanade and peristyle alone served the purpose of a vast hypæthral temple; can perhaps never be determined. It may be, that the latter is not the least probable hypothesis.

This magnificent peristyle, thus elevated some fifty feet above the adjacent country, formed of course a conspicuous object in every direction. Even now, the six western columns of its southern side, the only ones which yet remain upright, constitute the chief point of attraction and wonder in all the various views and aspects of Ba'albek. In the time of Wood and Dawkins, A. D. 1751, nine columns were yet standing.

Not less wonderful than the other parts of the great temple are the immense external *Substructions*, by which the walls supporting the peristyle are enclosed and covered; if indeed that term can be properly applied to huge masses of masonry, on which nothing rests.¹ This external substruction wall is found on the north side and west end of the peristyle; and exists also probably on the south side beneath the mounds of rubbish. It is marked by Wood as everywhere twenty-nine and a half feet distant from the walls supporting the columns; and as being itself ten feet thick.

The most imposing of these substructions is the western wall, as viewed from the outside. It rises to the level of the bottom of the columns, some fifty feet above the surface of the ground; and in it is seen the layer of three immense stones celebrated by all travellers. Of these stones, the length of one is sixty-four feet; of another, sixty-three feet eight inches; and of the third, sixty-three feet; in all one hundred ninety feet eight inches. Their height is about thirteen feet; and the thickness apparently the same, or perhaps greater. They are laid about twenty feet above the ground; and below them are seven others of like thickness, and extending somewhat beyond the upper ones at each end.² It is obvious, that these huge blocks formed the covering

¹ Wood and Dawkins give to these the name of *subasement*, with a like question as to its strict propriety.

² Dr Wilson speaks here of "one stone overlooked both by Maundrell, and Wood and Dawkins, probably because irregularly cut in the outer surface, though of undi-

vided mass, which is sixty-nine feet in length, thirteen in depth, and eighteen in breadth;" *Lands of the Bible* II. p. 381. This statement I am unable either to confirm or to contradict. Like all former travellers, except Dr Wilson, we observed no such stone.

and marked the extent, of the west end of the great temple, corresponding to the breadth of the vast colonnade above. The wall extending from these blocks southwards is of inferior materials and probably modern.—It was doubtless these three enormous stones, that gave to the great temple its ancient epithet of *Trilithon*.¹

On the north, the substruction wall is only about twenty feet in height, and was never completed. It also is built up of cyclopean work; immense stones laid as brought from the quarry, but never dressed smooth. Here are nine stones, measuring on an average thirty-one feet in length, nine feet seven inches in breadth, and thirteen feet in depth.² In speaking of the huge block still lying in the quarry, I have said that there would seem to be no place for it in the plan of the present structures.³ Still, it may not be impossible, that the said block was intended to be placed upon this very wall, in a line with the similar course at the west end; but for some reason the work was abandoned, and the wall left in its present unfinished state. In this way, the noble inner wall of bevelled stones, sustaining the line of columns above, has remained open on this side to public view and access.

Under the northern and southern sides of the great quadrangle, which project far beyond the peristyle and the hexagonal court, are long vaulted passages extending quite through from outside to outside. There is at least one like transverse passage connecting them; and probably more. Other passages and rooms beneath the platform are also described.⁴ The arch of the vaults is circular; and on the walls are seen fragments of Latin inscriptions, and occasionally a bust.⁵ In the days of Maundrell and also of Pococke, the only entrance to the platform and courts of the great temple above was through these vaults; emerging somewhere near the lesser temple.⁶ The vaults we did not examine, except by looking in at the entrances.

Along the external face of the northern wall of the great court, are seen occasionally bevelled stones; but not laid with any regularity. Midway of the height of this wall, some thirty feet from the ground, runs a belt or ledge like a cornice, similar to that on the pavilions in front. Opposite the middle of the

¹ *Ἱερὸν τριλῖθον*, Chron. Pasch. I. p. 561 ed. Dind. p. 303 Par.

² Lands of the Bible II. p. 382.

³ See above, p. 505.

⁴ Ritter Erdk. XVII. i. p. 236. H. Guya, Relation II. p. 24.

⁵ These are mentioned by Maundrell, May 5th; by Pococke, who speaks of two busts, II. i. p. 111; by De Saulcy II. p. 626 sq. —Maundrell says that some of the inscrip-

tions are reversed; and De Saulcy reports that the bases of all the sides are of the "gigantic material" of an earlier vault; p. 625.

⁶ Maundrell says: "You pass in a stately arched walk or portico, one hundred and fifty yards long, which leads you to the [lesser] temple;" May 5th. Pococke II. i. p. 111.

court is a small doorway with sculptured sides, leading apparently to the vaults. The southern wall of this court was probably similar.

LESSER TEMPLE.—This temple is called the *lesser* only in comparison with its gigantic neighbour. With this exception, it is probably by far the largest ancient structure remaining in western Syria. It stands upon its own less elevated and vaulted platform, wholly without the area and plan of the large temple; and had apparently no direct connection with it. The style of architecture is regarded by Wood and Dawkins as coeval and identical with that of the great temple; the order being everywhere Corinthian. It had no court whatever beyond its peristyle and porticos.

This temple, as I have said, stands parallel with the peristyle of the larger temple; its front extending a few feet east of the southwest corner of the great quadrangle. It was approached from the east by a flight of thirty steps, having at each end a low sculptured wall surmounted by a pedestal fifteen feet high, intended doubtless for statues. This flight of steps is described by De la Roque in A. D. 1688, as if then still existing.¹ The spot is now covered by the walls of the Turkish fort.

The whole length of this temple, including the colonnades, is nearly two hundred and twenty-five feet; its breadth about one hundred and twenty. The *cella* measures, on the outside, one hundred and sixty feet long, by eighty-five feet broad. It is surrounded by a magnificent peristyle, of fifteen columns on each side and eight at each end, counting the corner columns in both numbers. At the eastern end there was a second interior row of six fluted columns; and then two other columns between these and the ends of the side walls, which are here extended to form the vestibule.² This double colonnade formed the eastern portico; which is now destroyed, except the pedestals; and its place partially covered by the Turkish walls. The columns are composed of two or at most three immense blocks, six feet three inches in diameter at the base, and five feet eight inches higher up. These blocks are very closely joined together, so that even the edge of a penknife cannot be inserted; and were fastened by iron cramps or pins, without cement. So solidly is this done, that although one of the columns on the south side has slipped from its pedestal and fallen against the wall of the *cella* with such force as to dislodge several of the stones, yet it is itself unbroken, and remains

¹ Voyage de Syrie etc. I. p. 108, Amst. 1723. Maundrell in 1697 says nothing of the steps.

² De la Roque describes four other columns of the portico, as standing between

the ends of the two side walls of the vestibule. Nothing of this appears in the plan of Wood and Dawkins; and Pococke also questions De la Roque's statement; II. i. p. 108.

leaning against the *cella*. Here too the bottoms of the columns have been broken away, in order to get at the iron cramps. Along the sides and west end, the interval between the columns is eight and a half feet; and their distance from the wall nine feet eight inches. In the eastern portico, the interval between the columns is the same; except between the middle columns of each row, where it is eleven and a half feet. The two rows are here nine and a half feet apart; and the inner row is at the same distance from the single columns; and these again the same from the walls of the vestibule. The height of the columns is forty-five feet, including the Corinthian capitals. Upon them rested an entablature seven feet high, composed of a double frieze or cornice elaborately wrought.¹ This entablature was everywhere connected with the walls of the *cella* by immense slabs of stone, somewhat concave below; and having the lower surface exquisitely sculptured in fretwork. In the middle of each slab is a hexagon, enclosing a bust or figure of a god, hero, or emperor; and towards the corners of the slabs are smaller rhomboids with similar figures. Among them a Leda and a Ganymede may be distinguished; but all have been more or less defaced. These slabs thus formed a ceiling of indescribable beauty over the colonnades. Many of the columns have fallen, bringing down with them their entablatures and blocks of ceiling; and these all lie scattered either singly or in heaps below. At present there are on the south side only four columns still in their place; on the west, six; and on the north, nine.² In A. D. 1751, there appear to have been nine in place upon the south side, and eight (the full number) at the west end.³

The vestibule before the great portal is twenty-four and a half feet deep. This portal is the gem of the whole temple. The elaborateness and exquisite finish of its sculpture surpasses anything found elsewhere.⁴ It is twenty-one feet four inches broad; the height is undetermined, because of the heaps of rubbish by which it is blocked up below. The sides are each of a single stone with elegantly carved ornaments. The top was composed of three huge blocks, sculptured elaborately on both sides and below. Here on the lower surface is the celebrated figure of the crested eagle, beautifully wrought, holding in his talons a caduceus, and in his beak the strings of long garlands

¹ Roberts Sketches of the Holy Land; Explan. of the Plate: *Western Portico, Baalbec*.

² Roberts Sketches, *ibid*.

³ Wood and Dawkins, *Plates*.

⁴ The following is the judgment of Mr Roberts the artist: "This is perhaps the most elaborate work, as well as the most

exquisite in its detail, of anything of its kind in the world. The pencil can convey but a faint idea of its beauty. One scroll, alone, of acanthus leaves, with groups of children and panthers intertwined, might form a work of itself." Sketches: *The Doorway, Baalbec*

extending on each side, where the other ends are borne up by flying genii. The crest shows that this is not the Roman eagle ; but, as the same figure is found in the great temple of the sun at Palmyra, Volney and others regard it as the oriental eagle, consecrated to the sun.¹ When Pococke, and also Wood and Dawkins, sketched this portal, it was still in a perfect state ; but in the shock of the earthquake of A. D. 1759, the middle stone of the lintel slipped and sunk between the two others, and now hangs suspended by the middle.² The eagle is thus separated from the genii on each side.

The *cella* is without windows, or any apertures for light. Whether there was ever a roof is perhaps doubtful. With the exception of its colonnades, it may have been hypæthral, or mainly so. Adjacent to the portal on each side are massive pillars, each enclosing a spiral staircase leading to the top. Along the sides of the interior are fluted half columns, with intervening niches below and above ; these have projections in the bottom of each like pedestals, as if for statues. The lower niches are finished above with scollop work ; the upper ones with triangular pediments (tabernacles). In the corners next the portal are double fluted columns, as at Mejdcl. The length of the nave is about ninety feet ; its breadth seventy-four. Mr Wood speaks of two lines of foundation walls running through its length ; which probably served to divide off side aisles, when the temple was converted into a church. The plaster seen upon the walls is supposed to belong to the same era. The *sanctum* or place of the altar occupied thirty-six feet at the west end of the *cella*. It was raised above the nave ; and several steps led up to it.³ At each end of the steps was a door leading down to the vaults.⁴ Above was one or more fluted columns on each side, forming or supporting a screen between the nave and the *adytum*.

GENERAL FEATURES.—Such in brief detail is the general outline of these splendid ruins. But no description can convey more than a very imperfect idea of their overpowering grandeur, or their impressive decay.

The elevation of the platforms and the external walls prevent access to the interior at the present day, except along the western end of the lesser temple, and so between the latter and

¹ Volney, *Voyage* II. p. 227.

² In Volney's time this stone had sunk eight inches ; *Voyage* II. p. 222. It is now sunk lower ; De Saulcy says about two yards ; II. p. 604.

³ De la Roque speaks of thirteen steps ; L. p. 115.

⁴ Pococke descended into these vaults,

and found two rooms, which he does not describe ; II. i. p. 109.—On the side of the staircase leading down to these chambers, Burckhardt found the Cufic inscription, which he copied ; pp. 12, 13. For conjectural readings of this inscription, see Gesenius' *Notes on Burckhardt*, I. p. 496 Germ.

the great peristyle of the larger temple. And what an entrance ! Here are accumulated vast heaps of mighty ruins ; immense shafts of broken columns ; gigantic architraves, cornices, and ceilings, all exquisitely sculptured ; all now trodden under foot, and forming perhaps the most imposing and impressive avenue in the world !

That which at once and mainly strikes the traveller is the singular symmetry of proportion ; which gives an air of perfect lightness and beauty to the most massive materials. On approaching from the south, and beholding the light and graceful columns yet standing around the lesser temple ; and then viewing and measuring the fallen shafts below ; it seems impossible that the two could ever have belonged together. It is only after going up to the pedestals and surveying them close at hand ; and striving to grasp the standing columns, which three men together can hardly clasp around ; that the mind can even begin to reconcile the apparent contradiction. In like manner the vast entablatures scattered below seem many times larger than the airy architraves above. Still more impressive in their vastness, yet apparent lightness, are the yet larger and taller columns of the peristyle of the great temple. In this respect the first impression of the whole is absolutely overwhelming.

These temples have been the wonder of past centuries ; and will continue to be the wonder of future generations, until barbarism and earthquakes shall have done their last work. In vastness of plan, combined with elaborateness and delicacy of execution, they seem to surpass all others in Western Asia, in Africa, and in Europe. They are like those of Athens in lightness, but surpass them far in vastness ; they are vast and massive like those of Thebes, but far excel them in airiness and grace. Yet the very elaborate and ornate character of the structures appears to militate against the idea of high antiquity. The simplicity and severity, which reign in the temple at Mejdé, are here no longer seen. The gigantic substructions on the west and northwest, and perhaps the massive foundation work of the great platform, seem alone to point to an earlier origin and a remoter age.

CIRCULAR TEMPLE.—Thirty or forty rods east of the great temples, stands a very small one, having apparently no connection whatever with the others, but very elaborately ornamented and finished ; a perfect gem in its way. The *cella* is circular, or, rather, semicircular. It has around it externally eight Corinthian columns, with a roof or entablature projecting from the *cella* separately to each column. This gives it at a distance the appearance of an octagonal structure. Between the columns are niches as for statues. The interior has two tiers of columns,

one above the other; the lower Ionic, the upper Corinthian. In the days of Maundrell, Pococke, and Wood, the building was used by the Greek Christians as a church.¹ According to Maundrell it was even then "in a very tottering condition;" and now it has many crevices and seems ready to fall.²

HISTORY.—There is no question I believe, as to the identity of Ba'albek with the ancient *Heliopolis* of Syria, mentioned by several writers nearly cotemporary with the Christian era. Strabo speaks of it as being, with Chalcis, under the dominion of Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, already mentioned above.³ Pliny refers to it incidentally as near the sources of the Orontes, between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon.⁴ Josephus narrates, that Pompey, marching from Apamea on the Orontes, passed through the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and came to Pella.⁵ Ptolemy likewise enumerates Heliopolis among the cities of Cœlesyria.⁶ No other notice has yet been found, which is not later than the third century after Christ.

The name Heliopolis, "City of the Sun;" implies that this city, like its namesake in Egypt, was already consecrated to the worship of the sun. Indeed the sun was one of the chief divinities in the Syrian and Asiatic worship; and to him was applied in their mythology, as well as to Jupiter and some other gods, the name of Baal or Lord.⁷ The mythology of Egypt had a strong influence upon that of Syria;⁸ and it would not be unnatural to suppose a connection between the forms of sun worship in the two countries. Indeed, this is expressly affirmed;⁹ and Macrobius, in the fifth century, narrates, that the image worshipped at Heliopolis in Syria was brought from Heliopolis in Egypt.¹⁰

Be all this however as it may, there is no historical notice

¹ Maundrell, May 5th. Pococke II. i. p. 108.

² Comp. De Saulcy, II. p. 607.

³ Strabo 16. 2. 11. p. 753.—See above, p. 497.

⁴ H. N. 5. 18 or 22, "amnis Orontes, natus inter Libanum et Antilibanum juxta Heliopolim."

⁵ Jos. Antt. 14. 3. 2.

⁶ Ptol. Geogr. 5. 14.

⁷ Gr. Ἡλιούπολις.

⁸ Movers, die Phönizier, I. pp. 157, 159, 163, 167, 169 sq. 180. Hence the name *בַּעַל שֶׁמֶשׁ*, *Baal Shemesh*, "Lord of the Sun," in a Palmyrene inscription; Movers ibid. p. 174. So too Macrobius Saturnal. 1. 23. Comp. Gesen. Heb. Lex. art. *בַּעַל* no. 5.—For the name Baal as used of other gods, Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, see Movers ibid. Gesen. Heb. Lex. l. c.

⁹ Movers l. c. pp. 57, 235 sq.

¹⁰ So Lucian or the author of the tract *de Syria Dea*, § 5, "Ἐχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Φοίνικες ἱερὸν, οὐκ Ἀσσύριον, ἀλλ' Ἀλεγπτιον, τὸ ἐξ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν Φουσίαν ἀπικετο. Ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ ᾔσκησα, μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἐστι."

¹¹ Macrobius Saturnal. 1. 23, "Assyrii [i. e. Syri] quoque Solem sub nomine Jovis, quem Dia Heliopoliten cognominant, maximis ceremoniis celebrant in civitate, quæ Heliopolis nuncupatur. Ejus dei simulacrum sumtum est de oppido Ægypti, quod et ipsum Heliopolis appellatur, regnante apud Ægyptios Senemure; perlatumque est primum in eam per Opium, legatum Deleboria, regis Assyriorum, sacerdotesque Ægyptios, quorum princeps fuit Partemetia, diuque habitum apud Assyrios, postea Heliopolim commigravit."

earlier than the fourth century, which speaks of Heliopolis as a seat of heathen worship. The fact rests solely upon the name, in connection with the gigantic earlier substructions of the great temple. We can hardly account for this silence of the older historians, if the magnificent structures, which we now behold in ruins, existed in their day.

Whether this City of the Sun is anywhere alluded to in the Hebrew Scriptures, is a question perhaps not yet fully settled. It has sometimes been held to be the same with *Baal-gad*.¹ But this place, as we have seen, is more probably to be sought at Baniās; and some of the reasons have been assigned why it could not well have lain so far north as Ba'albek.²—By the same writers *Baalath* is likewise regarded as identical both with Baal-gad and Ba'albek. We read indeed that "Solomon built Gezer, and Beth-horon the nether, and Baalath, and Tadmor in the wilderness;"³ and therefore Baalath is assumed to be Ba'albek solely on account of the juxtaposition of the name with Tadmor. But in another passage this order is reversed; and we read that Solomon built Tadmor, store cities in Hamath, the two Beth-horons, and Baalath.⁴ The argument is thus destroyed; and further, Josephus says expressly, that the Baalath thus fortified by Solomon was near to Gazara (Gezer) in the land of the Philistines.⁵ It was therefore no other than the Baalath of the tribe of Dan.⁶—A third name brought into the like connection by the same writers is *Baal-hamon*, once mentioned in Canticles;⁷ where it is said, that Solomon had there a vineyard, which he let out to keepers at a thousand pieces from each. But Solomon would hardly have selected Ba'albek as a favourable spot for a vineyard; especially for one of such extent and value.⁸

More probable is it, that the prophet Amos alludes to Heliopolis and its idol-worship, where he speaks of the "plain of *Aven*" (Bikath Aven).⁹ The Seventy appear to have so understood the passage; since they here give the Hebrew *Aven* by

¹ Heb. בַּגְדָּא, Josh. 11, 17. 12, 7. So Iken de Baal-hamon et Baal-gad, in his Dissertatt. philol. theol. Michaelis Suppl. p. 197, 201. Rosenm. Bibl. Geogr. I. ii. pp. 280, 281. Ritter Ersk. XVII. p. 230.

² See above, pp. 409, 410.

³ Heb. בִּתְרוֹן, 1 K. 9, 17. 18.

⁴ 2 Chr. 8, 4-6.

⁵ Jos. Antt. 8. 6. 1. Comp. Reland Palestina p. 778 sq.

⁶ Josh. 19, 44.

⁷ Heb. בִּתְרוֹן בַּגְדָּא, Cant. 8, 11. So

likewise Wilson, Lands of the Bible II. p. 384.

⁸ In *Baal-hamon*, the latter word, *Hamon* (חֲמֹן), is by some taken for *Amon* or *Ammon*, the Egyptian Jupiter. So Michaelis Suppl. I. c. p. 201. Rosenm. I. c. p. 281. Wilson I. c. But this Egyptian name occurs in Hebrew as חֲמֹן, Jer. 46, 25. Nah. 3, 8. Gesenius refers Baal-hamon to the Βελαμών or Βαλαμών of Judith 8, 3, among the hills of Samaria, near Dathan. This is more probable, if such a place actually existed; see above, pp. 337, 338.

⁹ Heb. אֶבֶן-חַמֶּת. Am. 1, 5 and marg.

On, the domestic name of the Egyptian Heliopolis.¹ The allusion would then be to the great plain of the Būk'ā, or Cœlesyria; of which Heliopolis was always the chief city.² And this accords well with the context.

The chief notices of Heliopolis during the second and third centuries, are from coins of the city. Of these many yet remain, struck under most of the emperors from Nerva to Gallienus.³ Of the earliest, those under Nerva and Adrian, the former have the legend COL. IVL. HEL.; and the latter C. I. HEL. LEG. H. The device on both is a colonist driving two oxen; and this is continued on many of the coins of the later emperors; as also the legend COL. IVL. AVG. FEL. Heliopolis therefore had the rank of a Roman colony; and the further inference is drawn, that a colony of military veterans was sent hither, as also to Berytus, by Julius Cæsar or by Augustus.⁴ About the close of the second century, Septimius Severus bestowed upon the city the *jus Italicum*, a boon granted to favoured provincial cities.⁵ There are no coins of the city under the Antonines; and only one under Commodus, not differing particularly from those of Nerva and Adrian.

But in the absence of coins and of all other ancient testimony, we find, singularly enough, in John of Antioch, surnamed Malala, a writer not earlier than the seventh century, the notice, that "Ælius Antoninus Pius erected at Heliopolis, in Phenicia of Lebanon, a great temple to Jupiter, one of the wonders of the world."⁶ However strange it may appear, that no cotemporary writer has alluded to this temple of Antonine, yet the general fact of its erection by him accords well with various other circumstances. The elaborate and ornate style of the architecture belongs, as we have seen, to a late period. The massive substructions, indeed, were probably those of an earlier temple;

¹ Sept. *ἱεῖον ὄν*, Vulg. *campus idoli*. The Heb. *יָאֵל* or *יָאֵל* for Heliopolis in Egypt, is pointed as *יָאֵל* or *יָאֵל* Gen. 41, 45. 50. 46, 20, and as *יָאֵל* Ez. 30, 17. In all these examples the Seventy and Vulgate give it by *Ἡλιούπολις*, *Heliopolis*. The former nowhere have *ὄν*, except in Amos l. c.

² The Heb. *בְּקָא* and Arab. *Būk'ā* are strictly one and the same word, signifying "a cleft or plain between mountains."

³ See Eckhel Doctr. Nummorum III. p. 334 sq. More fully in Mionnet Descr. des Méd. V. pp. 298-305. Suppl. VIII. pp. 208-212.

⁴ Eckhel l. c. p. 334. Comp. above in Vol. II. p. 494. [iii. 442.]

⁵ So Ulpian, who was a native of Tyre;

de Censib. lib. I, "Est et Heliopolitana, quæ a divo Severo per belli civilis occasionem Italiae coloniae rempublicam accipit." Comp. Smith's Dict. of Ant. art. *Colonia*, p. 317.

⁶ J. Malala Chronogr. ed. Dindorf, in Corpus Scriptor. Hist. Byzant. ed. Niebuhr, p. 280 Dind. p. 119 Ven. "Ἡλῖος Ἀντωνίνος Πῖος . . . ὅστις ἔκτισεν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τῆς Φοινίκης τοῦ Λιβάνου ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς μέγαν, ἕνα καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑπτὰ θαυμάτων.—Here the writer probably refers to a *Baal Zéus*, *Jupiter Baal*, just as we elsewhere find a *Baal Ἡλίου* (בַּעַל שֶׁשֶׁל הַשֶּׁלֶשׁ) *Sun Baal*; comp. Movers l. c. pp. 173, 174 See above, p. 518, n. 8.—Possibly Antonine rebuilt the great temple of the Sun; and erected the lesser temple to Jupiter Baal.

which may have been left unfinished, or perhaps been overthrown by earthquakes. The inscriptions above given¹ point also to an epoch earlier than Septimius Severus ; since they can hardly be regarded as being coeval with the pedestals on which they are inscribed.

Here again the testimony of the later coins is of avail. Many of these indeed retain the device of the colonist and his oxen ; while others, and especially some of Septimius Severus, exhibit for the first time the figure of a *temple* with the legend COL. HEL. I. O. M. H.² One has a temple with a portico of ten columns, seen in front ; another has a temple with many columns in a peristyle, with steps, seen from the side. These correspond to the greater and lesser temples ; and evidently imply that the two were then extant. How they should first appear on the coins of Severus is not so easily explained. Perhaps there were earlier coins with the like device, which are now lost ; or, possibly the temples were begun by Antonine, and only finished fifty years later under Severus.—The coins of subsequent emperors continue to represent the temples, sometimes under different forms ; and one coin of Valerian has two temples.

From the votive inscriptions above given,³ it would seem to follow, that the greater temple was not only dedicated to the worship of the sun as Baal, but was a PANTHEON consecrated to all the gods of Heliopolis. The lesser temple was then that erected to Jupiter Baal. The architecture of both shows them to have been built at about the same epoch. The lesser temple was finished ; the greater probably never. The extent and pomp of the Syrian worship of the sun appears from the fact, that Julia Domna, the empress of Septimius Severus, was the daughter of Bassianus priest of the sun at Emesa (Hums) ; and that Helio-gabalus, himself a priest of the sun in the same city, became emperor and assumed the title : “Invictus Sacerdos Augustus, Sacerdos Dei Solis.”⁴ The worship of Venus was also predominant at Heliopolis ; and people came together there to prostitute their wives and daughters.⁵ The licentiousness and the intolerance of heathenism were alike prevalent, as appears from the story of the martyr Gelasinus ; the scene of which was Heliopolis in A. D. 297, under the reign of Diocletian.⁶ Gelasinus was an actor, and was to appear before the people assembled in

¹ See above, p. 509.

² In full: *Colonia Heliopolis Jovi Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano*.

³ See above, p. 509.

⁴ See his coins, etc.

⁵ Euseb. Vit. Const. 3. 58, ἐπὶ τῆς Φοιτικῆς Ἡλιουπόλεως· ἐφ’ ἧς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκό-

λαστον Ἡδονὴν τιμῶντες προσήματι, γαμεταῖς καὶ θυγατρῶσιν ἀναίδην ἐκπορνεῖν συνεχώρου.

⁶ Chron. Pasch. ed. Dindorf p. 513. p. 276 Par. The Chronicon says 269 years after Christ's ascension.

the theatre for the public games. Having embraced Christianity he declined his part, and was thrown by his fellow-actors into the reservoir of the bath, full of warm water, in mockery of his baptism. Having been taken out and dressed in white garments, he still refused to appear in the theatre, crying out: "I am a Christian; I saw the terrible glory in the bath, and I will die a Christian." The people rushed madly upon him, thrust him out of the theatre, and stoned him. His relatives buried the body in the neighbouring village Mariamme, where he was born; and there a chapel was erected to his memory.

When the power of the state, under Constantine, began to be wielded in favour of Christianity, a check was given to the debaucheries and licentious rites of heathenism. The temple of Venus at Apheca (Afka) in Mount Lebanon was destroyed;¹ and a new law or imperial rescript warned the people of Heliopolis against continuing the dissolute practices of their worship, and exhorted them to receive the better faith.² At the same time the emperor founded here an immense Basilica;³ consecrated a bishop with his presbyters and deacons; and all this in a place still devoted to the worship of demons. Even from the language of Eusebius himself, there would seem to have been but few Christians in the city. By the *founding* of a church we are probably to understand the conversion of the great temple into a Basilica.⁴

The heathen rites and customs of the people were too deeply seated to be at once eradicated; and the accession of Julian the Apostate (A. D. 361) to the imperial throne, was the signal for the violent suppression of Christianity, and the re-establishment of heathen rites.⁵ It was at this time, that the people of Heliopolis distinguished themselves by their deeds of violence and cruelty. Timid virgins consecrated to the service of God, and shrinking from the public gaze, were exposed naked in the market place, a spectacle and scoffing to all.⁶ This was done, according to the historian, in revenge for the former restraints upon their heathen pollutions. In Heliopolis also, Cyril, a deacon, who in the days of Constantine had manifested great zeal for the truth, and had himself broken in pieces many idols, was not only slain by the idolaters; but in their hatred they even cut open his body and tasted of his liver.⁷ In like manner,

¹ Euseb. Vita Const. 3. 55.

² Ibid. 3. 58. Sozomen H. E. 1. 8. ib. 5. 10.

³ Euseb. ibid. *οἶκον εὐκτήριον ἐκκλησίας τε μέγιστον . . . καταβαλλόμενος.*

⁴ This testimony of Eusebius is mostly repeated by Gregory Abulpharagius (Barhebraeus), in the thirteenth century; see

his *Historia Dynastiarum*, ed. Pococke, Oxon. 1663. p. 85.

⁵ Theodoret H. E. 3. 6.

⁶ Sozom. H. E. 5. 10.

⁷ Theodoret H. E. 3. 7. The historian relates, that all who took part in this horrid act, lost first their teeth, then their tongues, and lastly their eyes.

numerous Christians, banished by persecution from Alexandria, were sent to Heliopolis, as a place where there were no Christians, and where no man could bear to hear the name of Christ; and here after a while they were distributed to the mines.¹

Under Julian's immediate successors, the tide again slowly turned in favour of Christianity. In A. D. 379, Theodosius the Great ascended the throne. Of him it is related, that while "Constantine during his reign only shut up the temples and fanes of the Greeks, Theodosius also destroyed them; as likewise the temple of *Balanios* at Heliopolis, the great and renowned, the Trilithon; and converted it into a Christian church."² This mention of the *Trilithon* shows definitely, that the writer refers to the great temple.³ The name of the god, *Balanios*, is most probably only a different form for the *Baal Heliou*, 'Lord of the Sun,' which we have found elsewhere.⁴ What portion of the great temple was thus used for Christian purposes, we are not informed. Perhaps a church may have been erected within the great court;⁵ or, possibly, the lesser temple, which seems to have been used as a church, may have been reckoned as part and parcel of the Trilithon.

The name of the bishop instituted by Constantine, is not recorded.⁶ About the middle of the fifth century two others are mentioned; one, Joseph, at the synod of Antioch about A. D. 443; the other, Peter, under the emperor Leo.⁷

In the seventh century the fiery zeal of the followers of the false prophet urged them on to conquest; and as early as A. D. 636, all Syria, including Damascus, Heliopolis, and the other cities, had become subject to the victorious leaders of the new faith.⁸ From this time onward for three centuries, a veil of darkness covers the City of the Sun. D'Herbelot indeed affirms, but without specifying his authorities, that it continued to be a powerful city under the Khalifs of the house of 'Ommyyah;⁹ that is, for a century after the Muhammedan conquest. When it reappears again in history, two circumstances had taken place,

¹ Theodoret H. E. 4. 22. p. 179 ed. Reading.

² Chron. Pasch. ed. Dindorf, p. 561. p. 303 Par. *Κωνσταντίνος ὁ αὐτίμος βασιλεύσας τὰ ἱερὰ μόνον ἐκλείσεν καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὗτος Θεοδοσίος καὶ κατέλυσεν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιουπόλεως τὸ τοῦ Βαλανίου τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον τὸ τρίλιθον, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανῶν.*

³ See above, p. 513.

⁴ Aram. *ܒܠܝܐ ܗܠܝܘܐ*, *Baāl Ḥāliou*, see above, p. 518, n. 8. The change of *l* into *n* is not uncommon in Syriac and Greek, as in other languages; e. g. Dor.

ἡνδον, βέντιστος, for *ἡλδον, βέλτιστος*; see Gesen. Thesaur. under *ב*, p. 727. So Ritter XVII. i. p. 241. De Sauley II. p. 630.

⁵ This is the opinion of M. De Sauley; II. p. 631.

⁶ Euseb. Vita Const. 3. 58.

⁷ Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. pp. 843, 844. Comp. Cave Scriptor. Eccl. Hist. p. 309.

⁸ Weil Gesch. der Chalifen, 1846, I. p. 80. Greg. Abulpharag. Hist. Dynast. ed. Pococke, p. 112 Lat. Comp. Theophan Chronogr. p. 282 Par. p. 521 Classen.

⁹ Biblioth. Orientale, art. *Balbek*.

which form main characteristics in all the notices of Arabian writers.

The first of these circumstances is the change of name. The city reappears, not as Heliopolis, but as Ba'albek. That the latter name corresponds to the former in the first part at least, no one doubts; but as yet no satisfactory etymology or origin of the latter portion has been discovered.¹ No ancient form is known, either in Hebrew or Aramæan, from which it can be well derived. Some of the Frank historians of the crusades write the name *Malbec*.²

The other circumstance referred to above, was the early conversion of the great temple and its courts into a fortress. It is mainly as a fortress that Arabian writers speak of Ba'albek.

The earliest Arabian authors, who mention Ba'albek, are el-Isthakhri and Ibn Haukal, about the middle of the tenth century.³ Their notices are brief, and quite similar to each other. The latter writes: "Here are gates of palaces, sculptured in marble; and lofty columns, also of marble; and in the whole region of Syria there is not a more stupendous or considerable edifice." No further notice of Ba'albek occurs for more than a century. As a fortress, the possession of it was important in the frequent wars waged between the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt and the various dynasties of northern Syria. Near the close of the eleventh century, and not long before the arrival of the crusaders, after several alternations, Ba'albek passed finally, in A. D. 1090, from the Egyptian rule under that of the Seljuk princes of Aleppo and Damascus.⁴ In A. D. 1134, the place was an object of strife to the latter among themselves.⁵ Five years later, in A. D. 1139, Ba'albek surrendered to the victorious arms of Zenki, the celebrated Atabek chieftain; after whose death it reverted, in A. D. 1145, to the Seljuk prince of Damascus.⁶

¹ Perhaps the suggestion of A. Schultens is the most probable, viz. that the syllable *bek* comes from the Arabic root *bakka*, 'to be compressed, thronged'; see Freytag's Lex. I. p. 144. Hence *Ba'albek* would signify "Ba'al's throng," or place of multitude. The city Mecca is also sometimes called *Bekkah*, perhaps by alliteration. See A. Schultens's Index Geogr. in Vit. Salad. art. *Baalbechum*.—Others regard the syllable *bek* as for the Egyptian word *BAKI*, "city;" and then Ba'albek would correspond fully in meaning with Heliopolis. But to form such a compound with a foreign word is against the genius of the Semitic tongues; and probably no analogous example can anywhere be found. See Michaëlis Suppl. in Lex. Heb. p. 198

sq. Rosenm. Bibl. Geogr. I. ii. pp. 280, 316.

² Will. Tyr. 9. 15. ib. 21. 6, 8. Jac. de Vit. c. 45 *Maubech*. Adrichom. p. 109.

³ el-Isthakhri, das Buch der Länder, übers. von Mordtmann, Hamb. 1815, p. 37. Onseley, the Oriental Geogr. of Ebn Haukal, 4to, Lond. 1800. This last work is held by some to be only a copy of the first; see Mordtmann's Preface to *Is thakhri*.

⁴ De Guignes Hist. des Huns, II. pp. 386, 387, 388, Germ.

⁵ Ibid. p. 434, Germ.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 474, 483, Germ. Wilken, Gesch. der Kreuzz. II. p. 685. Comp. Reinaud, Chroniques Arabes etc. p. 70.

To the middle of this twelfth century belongs the notice of Edrisi the geographer. He describes Ba'albek as situated in the midst of a fertile and abundant region, and surrounded by vineyards and fruit trees. He speaks also of the two temples; and refers to the tradition, which even then regarded the greater temple, with its immense stones, as a work of the times of Solomon.¹ Some ten years later, Benjamin of Tudela likewise mentions the "stones of enormous size" laid up without cement, as the supposed work of Solomon assisted by the genii.² During the same century no less than three earthquakes are recorded, in the years 1139, 1157, 1170; by which all Syria was more or less desolated. Aleppo, Hamah, Hums, and, in connection with the last, Ba'albek, are specially enumerated, as having been overthrown, and many of the inhabitants buried under the ruins.³

In A. D. 1174, the formidable Saladin, who three years earlier had made himself master of Egypt, appeared in Syria, and seized possession of Damascus, Hums, Hamah, and the other towns of Coëlesyria.⁴ Two years later, in the summer of A. D. 1176, while Saladin was occupied in the region of Aleppo, Raymond, Count of Tripolis, in concert with king Baldwin IV, whose expedition to the Būkā'a and 'Anjar we have already recounted,⁵ led his troops by way of Byblus (Jebeil) and across the mountain by the strong post *Manethera* (el-Muncitirah) near Afka, and so made an inroad upon the district of Ba'albek, plundering and burning whatever came in his way. The two expeditions met afterwards in the middle of the Būkā'a; defeated the Saracen troops from Damascus; and each returned laden with booty to their head-quarters on the coast.⁶

One line of Saladin's descendants continued to be lords of Damascus and the adjacent region, including Ba'albek, until near the middle of the thirteenth century.⁷ After their expulsion by the Egyptians, Ba'albek probably followed the fortunes of its more prosperous neighbour, the provincial capital Damascus. In A. D. 1260 it was captured by the general of Hulagu the Mogol Khān; who laid the fortress in ruins.⁸ There exists no further notice of the place during that century.

Early in the fourteenth century the princely geographer of Hamah, Abulfeda, describes Ba'albek as an ancient city enclosed by a wall, with a large and strong fortress; and situated amid

¹ Edrisi par Jaubert, I. p. 353 sq.

² Asher's Benj. of Tudela, I. p. 86 Engl.—Rabbi Benjamin holds Ba'albek to be the Baalath of Scripture; which (he says) Solomon built for the daughter of Pharaoh. 1 K. 9, 18. 2 Chr. 8, 6.

³ De Guignes Hist. des Huns, II. pp. 474, 495, 527, Germ. Reinaud, Chroniques Arabes p. 146.

⁴ De Guignes, ibid. pp. 533, 542, Germ. Reinaud, Chroniques Arabes, p. 176.

⁵ See above, p. 496.

⁶ Will Tyr. 21. 11. Tuch in Zeitschr. d. morg. Ges. IV. p. 512 sq. Ritter XVII. p. 227 Wilken III. ii. p. 169.

⁷ De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, Introd. pp. 502, 503, Germ.

⁸ De Guignes l. c. III. p. 273.

trees, and running streams, and an abundance of all good things.¹ At this time one of the quarters of the city was called *Makriz*; and here was born, in the year 1367, the celebrated Arabian historian Takieddin Ahmed, better known by his more usual appellative, *el-Makrizi*.² At the very close of the century, in A. D. 1400, Ba'albek surrendered to the powerful Tartar conqueror, Tamerlane (Timur Leng); who directed his march this way from Hums to Damascus. The conqueror made no delay, but hastened on to Damascus; as the winter was approaching.³ This appears to be the latest historical notice of Ba'albek in oriental writers.

Ba'albek seems at that time to have been as yet unknown to Frank travellers after the crusades. It was remote from any of the great roads, which connected Damascus either with the coast, or with the more northern cities of Syria. Hence for a hundred and fifty years, until the middle of the sixteenth century, we find no further notice of Ba'albek.⁴ At that time, A. D. 1548, the French traveller Belon was the first to pass this way; and he briefly describes the place, much in the same way as an intelligent passing traveller would do at the present day. The great temple was still a fortress; and within it were then standing nine lofty columns.⁵ Thevet, another French traveller, was at Ba'albek about A. D. 1550; but seems to add nothing to Belon's account.⁶ The same remark applies to the German Melchior von Seydlitz in A. D. 1557; and to Radzivil in A. D. 1583.⁷

In the next century, Quaresmius, about A. D. 1620, briefly describes Ba'albek. The good father was probably not very particular in his observations; as he speaks (somewhat doubtfully) of fifty-five columns then standing. Much more important were the visits of De la Roque in 1688, and Maundrell in 1697. Both these travellers give descriptions and sketches of the ruins; but the account of De la Roque is by far the most complete. It is singular that Maundrell makes but a single allusion to any portion of the great temple, viz. the row of Corinthian pillars, "very great and lofty."⁸

¹ Abulf. Tab. Syriae, ed. Köhler, p. 103.

² D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. art. *Makrizi*.

³ Sherifeddin, Hist. de Timur Bec ou Tamerlan, par La Croix, Par. 1723, lib. V. c. 23. Tom. III. pp. 311, 312. De Guignes l. c. IV. p. 306 Germ. Ritter XVII. p. 244.

⁴ Adrichomius (1590) makes no reference to any modern traveller; pp. 108, 109.

⁵ P. Belon, Observations etc. 4to. Par. 1555. p. 153. Germ. in Paulus' Sammlung, Th. II. p. 5.

⁶ A. Thevet, Cosmographie universelle, I. 6. c. 14.

⁷ M. v. Seydlitz in Reissab. p. 490. Radzivil in the same, II. p. 148.

⁸ De la Roque Voyage en Syrie, 12mo. Amst. 1723, Tom. I. pp. 97-153.—Maundrell's Journey, under May 5th. The following is all that relates to the great temple: "About fifty yards distant from the [lesser] temple is a row of Corinthian pillars, very great and lofty; with a most stately architrave and cornish at top. This speaks itself to have been part of some very august pile; but what one now sees

During the eighteenth century, we have the drawings and explanations of Pococke about A. D. 1737 ; the great work of Wood and Dawkins in A. D. 1751 ; and the elegant description of Volney, in A. D. 1784. From the latter we learn the cause and progress of the destruction of the temples, which had taken place since the visit of Wood and Dawkins ; and which is still continued in a less degree by the ignorance and ruthless barbarity both of the people and the Turkish officials. The great earthquake of A. D. 1759 left standing only six of the nine columns of the great peristyle, as depicted by Wood and Dawkins ; and of the twenty-nine which they found around the lesser temple, only twenty were left.¹ The same earthquake partially dislodged the central stone over the grand portal of the lesser temple ; though it has now sunk much lower than in Volney's day.

Whoever desires to obtain a correct idea of the general plan, and many of the architectural details of these magnificent ruins, will do best to consult the great work of Wood and Dawkins.² General views of the more picturesque portions are also found in the later sketches and engravings of Cassas, Laborde, and Roberts.

of it is but just enough to give a regret,
that there should be no more of it remain-
ing."

¹ Volney, *Voyage* II. p. 222.

² The Ruins of Baalbec, fol. Lond.
1757.

SECTION XII.

FROM BA'ALBEK BY RIBLEH TO EL-HUSN.

BEYOND Ba'albek, towards the north, the character of the Būkâ'a undergoes a great change. Hitherto, from Kâmid northwards, its main features are those of a broad, level, fertile plain, occupying the greater portion of the great mountain cleft; with only a narrow parallel valley or terrace along the foot of Anti-Lebanon, separated from the lower plain by a line of hills. The average breadth between the mountains we estimated as from two and a half to three hours, or from seven to nine miles. Near Neby Shit, as we have seen, the lower western ridge of Anti-Lebanon terminates; and the higher dorsal ridge forms further north the wall of the Būkâ'a.¹ This converges gradually towards Lebanon; and the great valley becomes narrower, as far at least as to the water-shed near Lebweh.

Thursday, June 10th. We spent the early morning hours in completing our examination of the ruins; and also visited the fountain. At 10.15 we set off from our encampment near the temples; and in ten minutes were at the northern gate in the ancient city wall. Both on the northeast and northwest of the town are cemeteries; and I was struck with the form of the tomb stones placed at each end of the graves, and resembling entirely those customary in New England. Here, however, there were also low side-pieces connecting them, and thus enclosing the grave in a parallelogram.—Our course was now northeast, towards Nahleh.

Before us now was a rise of land, bordering on the arm of the plain which runs up eastward to the fountain. As we drew near to Ba'albek from the south, it had the appearance of a ridge running out across the valley from the eastern mountain. It now turned out to be the southern end of a wide gravelly slope,

¹ See above, p. 503.

extending down westwards from Anti-Lebanon and reaching half way or more across the whole valley ; a vast sloping tract, having a very uneven surface, with spurs or ridges running down it from the mountain, with deep Wadys between them. It is a sort of continuation of the desert plateau south of Ba'albek ; and extends north to the water-shed near Lebweh. The whole of this tract is barren and desert quite to Lebweh ; except a little cultivation in the deeper valleys, and a few poor fields of grain around two or three villages. The lower tract or plain, towards the western mountain, appeared as a continuation of the fertile portion of the Būkā'a ; and seemed well cultivated.

We rose upon this desert slope ; and at 11 o'clock struck a small rill of water serving for irrigation, and brought around the hills from a small fountain southeast of Nahleh. Five minutes later Deir el-Ahmar, near the foot of Lebanon, bore N. N. W. At 11.40 we came to Nahleh, situated on the southern bank of a very deep narrow rugged ravine, which cuts down through the slope, from far up in the mountain to the western plain below. A stream flows along the bottom, and there is a fine fountain under the village. The latter is merely a collection of hovels.

Here too are the remains of an ancient temple in the middle of the village. It stood upon an elevated platform of masonry, like that at Deir el-'Ashāyir.¹ Two courses of large stones are visible below, which form the foundation. Then there is a course with a large moulding, like a cornice inverted. Above this are two courses, the upper one with a cornice or ledge, and forming the floor of the platform, now about twelve feet above the ground. The platform projects thirteen and a half feet beyond the body of the temple on each side and at the west end. The eastern end of both temple and platform is broken away and destroyed. The remaining portion of the temple itself measures seventy-eight feet in length by forty-two feet in width. The stones are large ; many of them being ten or twelve feet long. Some seem to have a rude bevel, which perhaps is accidental. Of the body of the temple only a few courses remain ; and within these and on the platform, the inhabitants have built up their hovels. In the courts of other dwellings, and outside of the village, are seen many large hewn stones.

On a hill east of the village are the foundations and traces of an earlier town. In the same hill are several excavated sepulchres. These Mr Robson, my companion, had visited in 1848. One consists of a long passage ; on each side of which are excavated five recesses, and one at the end opposite the entrance. In each of these eleven recesses are three sarcophagi

¹ See above, p. 437.

or *loculi* cut in the rock side by side. The plan of the other sepulchres is similar ; but their extent varies greatly.

Beyond this hill, in a valley southeast of the village, is a small fountain ; from which the water was anciently brought to Nahleh by an aqueduct, two or three miles long. Portions of it still remain, well built and plastered with cement. But the water is now conducted in rude open channels towards the south, to irrigate the fields belonging to Ba'albek. One of these rivulets we had crossed on our way hither.

At 12.45 we left Nahleh. Descending into the ravine and crossing the brook on a stone bridge of one arch, we again ascended on a northwest course until 1 o'clock. We then went north along the slope ; and at 1.45 were opposite Yûnin, a small village on our right. Here the great slope is interrupted for half an hour. A broad shallow Wady with a stream runs out from the foot of the mountain. In this is the village, with a fountain, at the base of Anti-Lebanon ; having also a glen in the mountain back of it. We came at 1.55 to the brook in the valley. It was led along the slope in several streams, and was wholly used up for irrigation. At this point we could already perceive the effect of the convergence of the mountains ; the great valley being not more than two hours in width. Our road was here about one third of the breadth of the plain distant from the eastern mountain. Deir el-Ahmar bears from Yûnin N. 64° W.

South of Deir el-Ahmar, on the way from Ba'albek to that village, an hour and a half N. N. W. of Ba'albek, and in the western part of the plain, stands an isolated column, of the Corinthian order. It is elevated upon a pedestal or platform of five steps ; and, besides the base and capital, consists of fourteen or fifteen blocks of stone, each about three feet thick. On the north side is hewn a smooth tablet ; but with no trace of an inscription.¹ It may have been a monument erected possibly in some relation to Ba'albek or its boundaries ; or more probably to commemorate some historical event now unknown. By the natives it is called el-Maghazel, "the spindle."²

In this part of our road we had a fuller view of the northern portion of the eastern declivity of Lebanon. Below the lofty ridge over the cedars, and rather more than half way up the mountain, is a broad uneven terrace, divided by irregular shallow valleys into two or three parallel but irregular ridges. These extend northwards along the whole length of Lebanon ; and run out into several smaller ridges. All these and the whole lower

¹ Maundrell, May 6th. Pococke II. i. p. 107. Wilson, Lands of the Bible, II. p. 386.

² W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1848 p. 700.

part of that mountain, appear well wooded, that is, for Lebanon ; chiefly with stunted oaks (Sindián), which are kept stunted, because the people constantly let their goats and sheep feed on the young twigs.¹ From this terrace the lofty dorsal ridge rises very steeply, composed entirely of naked rock. At this time every hollow in it was filled with snow ; and at the top the snow appeared almost unbroken along the ridge. But there was understood to be an unusual quantity of snow the present season.

Before reaching Ba'albek, and also to day, my companion had several times inquired after the local name of this northern part of Lebanon. One called it Jebel Bsherreh ; another Jebel Libnân. One man of Yûnin named it el-Miskiyeh, ' the waterer ; ' but called it further south, Libnân. Others spoke of it simply as el-Jebel.

Our path now lay along the western part of the great slope on a course about N. by E. We were evidently approaching the water-shed of the great valley, which as yet had never been fully determined ; and our attention was therefore awake. After a time the village of Resm el-Hadeth came in sight before us on our left ; lying at the foot of a rise of land, which at first seemed to extend westward quite across the valley and so form the water-shed. But the people told us, that a narrower valley extended up further north, just west of the village, as we indeed saw ; and that the water there still flowed from the north. We were opposite the village at 3.05 ; situated about half a mile west of our road. We now rose along the gentle ascent, on a N. N. E. course ; and soon struck a pretty brook, which is led down southwest to the village from a stream and fountain lying further north and east.

At 4 o'clock we came out upon the highest tract or ridge ; and could for the first time look off towards the north. Here the lone monument of Hürmul became visible, and we had a view of the whole northern part of the Būká'a. A little stream was led down by an artificial channel from towards the eastern mountain along the top of the broad ridge. Near by our path it was divided into two branches, in order to water two small tracts or depressions on different sides of the ridge ; one branch running off southwest, and the other northwest. The old bed of the stream is a Wady a few rods further north, and lower ; it runs off northwest and north. Here, then, I suppose, is the water-shed in this part of the great valley ; nor can it vary much from this line in the more western part.²

¹ So Mr Robson, who had travelled through that region of the mountain.

² The only published notice as to the water-shed of the Būká'a is that of the

Rev. W. M. Thomson, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1848, p. 698. Mr T. passed south along the west side ; and speaks of the water-shed as in a long field of grain west

We now kept on our course, gradually descending, towards the fountain of Lebweh, which is east of the village. Before reaching it we struck a canal for irrigation, which is led off at first southwest, along the southern border of the low plain west of the fountain. Following this up, we reached the fountain at 5 o'clock, and encamped for the night.

This is a very large fountain of fine limpid water, gushing out in four different places from under a broad tract of coarse gravel, lying west of a ledge of limestone rocks. This ledge is connected with higher ground running back east to the mountain. The body of water which here bursts forth, is perhaps even greater than at 'Anjar. Besides the four principal streams, there are also three or four smaller ones; and it would seem only necessary to dig in the gravel, in order to have any number of fountains. Besides the canal along the south side of the low plain, another is carried along its northern margin; and a third higher up and larger, is led along the valley, northwards, near the road, quite to el-Kâ'a. The rest of the waters run down into the basin west; and render it fertile, meadow-like, and beautiful. The stream flows off northwest towards the foot of Lebanon; and breaks down along the western side of the great valley, by a deep, narrow, rugged chasm, through a rocky and desert tract, to the fountains of the Orontes towards Hürmul.

In the middle of the basin, on a low Tell among the streams, is the poor village of Lebweh, fifteen minutes distant from the fountain, bearing W. N. W. It has the marks of an ancient site; though little now remains but heaps of rubbish, with here and there a broken column or a disfigured capital. On the north brow of the Tell are seen the foundations and lower walls of some large structure; perhaps a temple. A few miserable hovels constitute the present village.¹

We were here opposite to the cedars of Lebanon, situated beyond the high dorsal ridge. On this side of the mountain we could see the lower ridges running down and out towards the northeast.

of Lebweh.—In Oct. 1852, Dr De Forest passed up the valley on the west side; and found the watershed somewhere south of the village of Sha'ad; from which village the water runs northwards. The exact position of this village is not marked; but I suppose it to be not much, if any, farther south than Lebweh. From it to the fountains of the Orontes, Dr De Forest had 4½ hours of ordinary travelling. We were 5 hours from Lebweh to the same fountains, without baggage, but by a more circuitous route. *Ma. Journ.*—Dr De Forest gives the elevation of the water-shed at 8127

feet; which however is several hundred feet lower than Ba'albek according to Rnasegger and Schubert; see above, p. 506.

¹ Mr Porter passed by this route to Hums in Oct. 1853. He was at the village of Lebweh. *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, p. 663.—Belon, the French traveller, was here about A. D. 1548, and speaks of "an ancient Roman structure" then standing, built of massive stones; *Observations etc. Par.* 1555, p. 154; and in *Paulus' Sammlung*, Th. II. p. 6.

Lebweh is mentioned by Arabian writers as a fortified place. In A. D. 1132, it was seized along with er-Râs, by Muhammed, then lord of Ba'albek.¹ Here too, in A. D. 1170, Shehâb ed-Din, with two hundred horsemen, fell in with three hundred Frank horsemen; put them to flight; and slew among others the chief of the Hospitalers, who at that time had possession of el-Husn, then known as Husn el-Akrâd.²

The name Lebweh seems also to point to a higher antiquity. It corresponds well to the *Libo* or *Lybo* of the ancient *Itinerarium Antonini*; but the distance from Ba'albek can only be made to coincide by an easy emendation, viz. by reading XXII instead of XXXII Roman miles.³ I shall recur again to this topic further on, when treating of Râs Ba'albek.

Friday, June 11th. We broke up from the fountain of Lebweh at 6.55; and after some minutes struck the eastern bank of the canal, by which a large portion of the water is led along through the arid tract before us. Indeed, so hard and barren is the soil, that even the water seems to produce no effect; except where there is immediate contact. The usual road keeps near this canal quite to Râs Ba'albek. At 7.25 there was on our right ten minutes distant, a Wely with a few houses and trees, called Neby 'Othmân. It has a small fountain. We now left the canal; and turning northeast towards 'Ain, rose along the ascent, and at 7.45 reached the village.

'Ain is a small village, with scattered building stones and traces of former dwellings; but nothing marking any great antiquity, and no very large stones. There are said to be some excavated sepulchres west of the village. It is watered by three small fountains, near by; and has many trees and vineyards. It lies high up on the roots or spurs which here run down from Anti-Lebanon; and is a conspicuous object for a considerable distance around, especially towards the south and west. We could see that these roots or spurs form a barren slope towards the west, extending through the whole valley, quite to the base

¹ De Guignes Hist. des Huns, II. p. 434, Germ.

² Ibid. p. 527.

³ Itin. Antonini, ed. Wess. p. 198:

Emesa (Hums)	
Laudicla . . .	m. p. XVIII.
Libo . . .	" XXXII.
Hellupoli . . .	" XXXII.

The same distances are given on p. 199 in the *reversed* order, but with the name *Conna* for *Libo*. From Ba'albek to Lebweh we were 5h. 40m.; which (as we shall see further on) is nearest 22 Roman miles. As the whole distance between Ba'albek and Hums is known, not improbably the original specification stood thus:

Emesa		
Laudicla . . .	m. p.	XVIII.
Libo . . .	"	XXXII.
Hellupoli . . .	"	XXII.

Thus the mere transfer of X from one line to another removes the difficulty. It may at first have been occasioned by the oversight of a copyist; or possibly in order to make the numbers coincide with those of the reversed itinerary. See more below, under Râs Ba'albek.—Rennell on his map of Syria (Atlas to accompany, etc.) has referred Libo to Lebweh; and Mr Thomson suggests the same identity, Biblioth. Sac. 1848, p. 699. Ritter XVII. p. 169.

of Lebanon. Through this tract the stream from Lebweh passes in its deep narrow chasm. Hereabouts is perhaps the narrowest portion of the great valley.

This place can hardly be the *Ain* mentioned in the book of Numbers as west of Riblah.¹ Indeed, as the Hebrew word in that passage has the article, it probably refers to *the fountain* of the Orontes, which is southwest of Riblah.²

We now continued still gradually to rise towards the north-east until 8.20; when we reached the top of the ascent, and came out suddenly upon the brow of a very deep narrow chasm, with another like ridge beyond it.³ In the bottom of this chasm, a little higher up, lies the village of Fikeh. It was as if the deep ravine, the continuation of a wild gorge in the mountain just back, had here cleft just the middle of a broad high ridge from top to bottom. It goes down through the barren tract above mentioned, and meets the Lebweh. By a steep and winding descent we reached the bottom, and crossed the stream just below the village at 8.35. The brook is small, and is soon exhausted by irrigation. The village is not visible from the other road along the canal. It is of good size; and the narrow valley is well cultivated.

The road up the northern side of the ravine is less steep and difficult than on the southern. At 8.45 we were at the top; and had now on our left a range of conical hills parallel to the mountain, with this high ground between. We descended gradually northeast; and soon saw again the monument of Hür-mul, and had a view of the lake of Kedes towards Hums. We came at 9.10 to Râs Ba'albek.

The present village er-Râs is poor and half in ruins. It lies in the interval between the last two of the conical hills. An immense gorge in the mountain back of the village, here runs out as a broad shallow depression between these two hills to the western plain. Up this gorge, which cleaves the mountain almost to its base, passes (as we were told) a road to Nebk, said to be nine hours distant. There is a fine, though not large fountain in the lower part of the village. Below the fountain are many gardens and fruit orchards, extending out beyond the hills into the plain; and serving to mark the place, when seen from a distance. The people are all Greek Catholics. There is a convent in the upper part of the village near the gorge; a

¹ Num. 34, 11 "to Riblah on the east side of 'Ain."

² Heb. תְּרִבְלָה סְקֵרָה לַמָּיִם, lit. 'to the fountain; that is, "the border shall go down from Shepham to Riblah on the east to [of] the fountain" Num. 34, 11. The

article is not elsewhere found with מַיִן as a proper name.

³ From this point the villages of 'Ain and Lebweh were seen in a line, bearing S. 50° W. Comp. Biblioth. Sac. 1854, p. 664.

modern structure dedicated to the Virgin.¹ There is also a convent in ruins.²

This place, now in such deep decay, was evidently in former times a town of importance, at least as far back as the early ages of Christianity. In the middle of the village are seen the foundations of a large ancient church; of which the east end, with a large semicircular recess in the middle and a smaller one on each side, is distinctly marked by a course of large and well dressed stones, still in their place. On the west of the village, south of the fountain, are the ruins of another church about a hundred feet long by fifty feet wide, having one large recess in the eastern end; of which eight or ten feet are still standing above the ground. There would seem to have been a court connected with it on the west and south sides. Five minutes further west is another ruin, built of large stones; but there is not enough remaining to mark its character. A subterranean aqueduct appears to have brought water to it from the fountain. Near it are the foundations of another structure of large stones. The stones of this ruin, and of the church on the west of the village, are of hard conglomerate; while those of the church in the middle of the village are of limestone.—Everywhere in and around the village are the foundations and other traces of ruined buildings; as also many hewn stones, some of them large and well dressed.

The question arises, what ancient Christian city this could have been? To this question I was long unable to find a satisfactory reply. But from a careful comparison of the distances, and of all the historical notices appertaining to this region, I have been led to recognise in er-Râs the ancient *Conna* of the Itinerary of Antonine.

This Itinerary gives us the distances between Emesa (Hums) and Ba'albek in both directions; as in the note below.³ The intermediate distances are the same in both. *Laudicia* (*Laudicea*) is marked in both as eighteen Roman miles south of Emesa; and this is apparently correct. The *Peutinger Tables* mark the same interval at twenty Roman miles; and *Ptolemy* gives it at fifteen degrees of latitude.⁴ Midway between Lau-

In this convent Mr Porter lodged a year later; *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, p. 664 sq.

² Bearings from er-Râs: North end of Lebanon N. 5° E. Mon. of Hümmul N. 2° W. Village of Hümmul N. by W. Ribleh N. 85° E. Zerrâ'a N. 89° E. Lake of Kedes, middle, N. 22° E.—Comp. *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 665 sq.

³ *Itin. Antonini*, ed. Wess. pp. 198, 199. The whole distance between Ba'albek and Hums was 82 Roman miles; thus:

Going South.			
Emesa			
Laudicia	.	m. p.	XVIII.
Lib	.	.	XXXII.
Hellupoll	.	.	XXXII.
Going North.			
Hellupoll			
Conna	.	m. p.	XXXII.
Laudicia	.	.	XXXII.
Emesa	.	.	XVIII.

⁴ *Tab. Peutinger.* ed. Scheyb, *Sagm.* X
Ptol. Geogr. 5. 14.

dicia and Heliopolis, there occurs Libo in the one case, and Conna in the other. We have already seen, that Libo is probably to be identified with Lebweh, from the likeness of the names; and requiring only an easy emendation in the text of the Itinerary.¹

The distance thus given between Heliopolis and Emesa is eighty-two Roman miles. Our mode of travelling was light and rapid; and our time from Ba'albek to Ribleh (allowing three quarters of an hour for our *detour* to the fountains of the Orontes) was thirteen and a half hours. From Ribleh to Hums Mr Porter travelled the next year in seven hours.² The amount is *twenty and a half* hours. In October 1853, Dr De Forest likewise travelled from a point opposite Ba'albek to Hums, by way of Sha'ab, Hümul, and Zeiteh, fording the Orontes south of Tell Neby Mindau; and his time also was *twenty and a half* hours. Our rate of travel, therefore, as compared with the ancient Itineraries, was *four* Roman miles the hour. But from Ba'albek to er-Räs, our time was eight hours lacking five minutes, or nearest *thirty-two* Roman miles, the exact distance of *Conna* from Heliopolis according to the Itinerary.³

This ancient *Conna* of the Itinerary is probably the same with the *Cunna* of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.⁴ Other notices go also to show, that it was the seat of a bishop, in the province known as Phenicia of Lebanon. In the acts of the fourth council of Chalcedon in A. D. 451, is found the subscription of "Dada bishop of *Chonachara*;" and the same occurs elsewhere.⁵

¹ See above, p. 533.

² Bibliotheca Sacra, 1854, p. 674 sq.

³ In the French collection of the Itineraries, with maps by Lapie, as also in the edition by Parthey and Pinder and on their map, the two specifications of the *Itin. Antonini* are regarded as referring to two different routes between Heliopolis and Laodicea, along the east and west sides of the great valley; and then *Libo* is fixed at Hümul, and *Conna* at er-Räs. See *Recueil des Itinéraires anciens* par le Marq. Fortia d'Urban; avec dix Cartes par Lapie; Paris, 1845, p. 55. *Itin. Antonini* ed. Parthey et Pind. p. 328, 352.—But against this view there are several considerations: *First*, from Ba'albek to Hums the road naturally leads along the east side of the valley, and not the west side. Mr Thomson and Dr De Forest who travelled along the west side, did not touch Ba'albek at all. *Secondly*, if *Libo* were at Hümul, then *Conna* must have been at el-Kä'a opposite to it. *Thirdly*, this could not have been the true site in either case; because

both Hümul and el-Kä'a are at least forty Roman miles distant from Ba'albek, midway between it and Hums; contrary to the requirements of the Itinerary. The true view probably is, that one road lay like ours, by the fountain of Lebweh and across the hills by er-Räs; the other more in the plain by the village of Lebweh and along the canal. The former would strike er-Räs (*Conna*), and not Lebweh (*Libo*); the latter would pass at Lebweh and not at er-Räs.—It was only after the results in the text above were all definitely made out, that I became aware of the suggestion of Lapie, as to the identity of *Conna* and er-Räs. Comp. Ritter Erdk. XVII. p. 170.

⁴ *Notit. Dignitatum*, ed. Böcking, I. p. 85, 382. Earlier editions have the reading *Cuma*; ed. Genev. 1623, p. 223.

⁵ Gr. *Δόξα πόντος Χονακάρων*, Act. 6. Comp. le Quien *Oriens Christ.* II. 847 849. Car. à St. Paulo Geogr. Sacra. Amst. 1704, p. 295 et n. The text of this latter work reads *Comoara*; and a Greek *Μαχας Χονόκαρα*. Is perhaps the present

In an early Greek *Notitia* also we find the name *Saltus Gonaiticus*, and in a Latin one the name of *Konokora*, mentioned as a diocese in this province, between Laodicea and Jabruda.¹ All these forms refer apparently to one and the same place.² With this diocesan character the extensive remains of ancient churches at er-Râs well correspond.³

Sending off our muleteers direct to Ribleh, we set off from er-Râs at 9.55, taking the road towards Hümul. This leads N. by W. obliquely across the rocky and desert plain. At 10.30 we crossed the canal or artificial branch from Lebweh. It is here a large stream; and is used to drive three mills in succession, and not far apart. But so utterly sterile is the soil, that no effect whatever is produced by this abundance of water on the land adjacent; not even along the banks of the canal. It goes to el-Kâ'a; and there, in a lower tract and richer soil, causes great fertility. We kept on through this desert, occasionally interrupted by low rocky ledges and chasms, until 12 o'clock. Here we left the road; which continues to the village of Hümul, crossing the Orontes by a bridge. Turning to the left, we found ourselves too far north; and had therefore to lean a little south of west in order to reach the great fountain. We came to it at 12.40, lying here in a narrow chasm, from three hundred to four hundred feet deep; and sinking down so suddenly, that a person approaching from the east has no suspicion of its existence till he stands upon the brink.

The high desert tract or slope, which we had crossed to-day, running down west from Anti-Lebanon, crowds the Nahr Lebweh and its deep narrow chasm quite against the base of Lebanon. As we saw it here, above the fountains of the Orontes, the chasm is very narrow, with perpendicular sides, and only a slender strip of land at bottom. The stream from Lebweh seemed to us here quite as large as at its source; notwithstanding the branches led off at first for irrigation, and the large canal to el-Kâ'a. We

name *er-Râs* merely a translation of the Greek *τὸ κεφα*, the head, in the latter part of these forms?

¹ Gr. *Σάλτον Γοναϊτικόν*, Reland Palest. p. 217. See *Parergon* to the work of Car & St. Paulo, as above, p. 50, 51, 62.

² Rennell, with whom Ritter agrees, connects also the *Zadva* of Ptol. 5. 14, with Conna. But *Zadva* is there mentioned in the order: Heliopolis, Abila, Sarna, Damascus; though, according to the longitude specified, it was east of Damascus. At any rate it cannot be brought into connection with Conna and er-Râs. Ritter XVII. p. 171.

³ In an Arabic manuscript by Macarius, bishop of Antioch, written in A. D. 1635,

the names *Comoara* and *Χομόκαρα* of p. 536, n. 5, are referred to the village *Kâra*, on the direct route from Hums to Damascus. This seems, however, to be mere conjecture; and if that place were even the seat of a bishop, the name would correspond better to the *Karotea* of the Lat. *Notitia*; see *Parergon* as above, p. 62.—The same writer says that *Ma'lûla* represents *Seleucia* of Damascus, which I do not understand. But *Ma'lûla* may well correspond to the *Κλίμα Μαγλοῦδον*, *Klima Magludorum*, of the Greek *Notitia*, an episcopal seat; Reland Palest. p. 217. *Parergon*, ibid. p. 50, 51.—For a notice of the above manuscript I am indebted to the Rev. Mr Porter.

drew the conclusion, that the stream must have received accessions in its course ; perhaps from fountains along the base of Lebanon. This appears to be actually the case. In August 1846, Mr Thomson travelled up this valley for an hour from the Orontes fountain to a place called el-Mertj, having fountains and willow trees. For an hour and a half above el-Mertj, he proceeded along the east side of this winding valley ; and then crossed to the west side, at a great fountain called simply 'Ain. It is large enough to drive several mills ; and around it are large blocks of hewn stone. The chasm, along which the combined stream from Lebweh and this 'Ain flows, is only a few rods wide, usually with perpendicular banks thirty feet or more in height. Its bottom is cultivated. At and above the fountain 'Ain, its bed rises to the general level of the adjacent tract, and branches off into three or four well watered and beautiful plains. Mr Thomson travelled up the western one of these, passing the village of Sha'ab. Another one, doubtless, is the meadow-like basin of Lebweh.¹

The chasm here, at the fountain of the Orontes, is close under Lebanon ; so close, indeed, that to one approaching from the east, the chasm seems to be some little way up the base of the mountain itself, above the plain. The main fountain is in a wider expansion of the chasm ; at a point twenty or thirty yards east of the junction with the Nahr Lebweh. It issues from under the eastern bank of the chasm ; not from under Lebanon. The rock above it is limestone, the strata of which have a great dip. We judged the fountain to be about two thirds as large as that at Fijeh ; but the water is not as fine. Other smaller fountains are reported as issuing further down, also from under the eastern cliff ; but they are not marked, unless by the increase of the volume of water. At the main fountain are several noble trees. We took our lunch under a large plane tree on the very brink ; the water gurgling up all around us. The descent is very steep and difficult ; though we managed to lead down our horses.²

From the fountain the stream first runs west and joins that from Lebweh. The river then turns sharply around a high point projecting westward ; and for a short time takes an easterly course. The deep chasm winds much as far as to the bridge of Hürmul. Afterwards the river runs north along the western part of the great valley for a time, with many windings ; and then turns more easterly to Ribleh. Below the fountain the enlarged stream seemed to be about equal to the Barada below Fijeh ;

¹ W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sacra*, Forest gives at 2118 Engl. feet. That of the bridge on the Hürmul road is 1789 1848, p. 698.

² The elevation of this fountain Dr De feet. Ma. Lett.

the Nahr Lebweh above being somewhat larger than the upper Barada. The chasm is everywhere narrow and jagged; and has, so far as we saw it, high precipitous banks. Of course the stream imparts no fertility to the higher tracts adjacent to the chasm; nor anywhere, indeed, except just in the bottom along the very brink of the water.

Ancient writers, as Strabo and Pliny, speak only generally of the sources of the Orontes, as being in the great valley of Coelesyria near Lebanon.¹ Abulfeda erroneously describes its remotest fountain as at er-Râs instead of Lebweh; but relates, that most of the river springs from a place called Mûghârat er-Râhib (Monk's cavern); and thence flows northwards till it passes Jûsieh. The modern name of the river is el-'Asy (the rebellious); and it is still commonly spoken of as having its beginning at these fountains.² Here is a fourth example of that popular usage in this region, which regards as the source of a river, not the remotest, but the most copious fountains. The other instances are the Jordan, the Barada, and the Litâny.³

The Mûghârat er-Râhib, or Monk's cavern, spoken of by Abulfeda, still exists. Where the stream, having turned around the high projecting point, flows eastward for a little time, on the right hand side, high up in the precipice looking north, is the excavated convent now known among the common people as Deir Mâr Marôn. It is only a few hundred yards distant from the great fountain, towards the northeast. The precipitous cliff is here about three hundred feet high; and the cavern is about two thirds of the way up. The hill on the opposite side of the river is less precipitous; and rises to the height of some four hundred feet. The monks took advantage of a shelf of overhanging rocks; cut away more deeply underneath it; and then built up in front breastworks and outer walls with loopholes; thus forming a covered gallery along the face of the precipice. Behind this they then excavated rooms and cells, mainly in two stories; but also some cells in a third story. These are all small; and are now dark, dirty, and desolate. No one dwells there; though it was said, that one or two monks had remained there for a time within a few years. In the autumn of 1853, Mr Porter found the cavern occupied as a shelter for flocks of sheep and goats.⁴ The place had formerly been visited by Mr Barker, Mr Thomson, and probably others.⁵

It is a popular belief, that Mâr Marôn, the reputed founder

¹ Strabo 16. 2. 7, 19. pp. 750, 756.
Plin. H. N. 5. 18 or 42, "Amnis Orontes, natus inter Libanum et Antilibanum juxta Heliopolis."

² Abulf. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, pp. 149, 150. Bibl. Res. Ed. 1, III. App. 144, 145.

³ See above, pp. 413, 477, 499.

⁴ Biblioth. Sac. 1854, p. 667.

⁵ W. B. Barker in Journ. of the R. Geogr. Soc. 1837, p. 99. W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1847, pp. 405, 408; also ibid. 1848, p. 697.

of the sect of the Maronites, once dwelt in this cavern. Hence its present name ; which would seem to have been unknown to Abulfeda, who speaks of it simply as Mūghārat er-Rāhib.¹ But the story is apparently a mere legend ; as is perhaps Mār Marōn himself. In all the historical accounts of the Maronites to which I have had access, there is nothing to connect Mār Marōn in any way with this spot or this region.² The great convent said to have been founded in his honour after his decease, and called Deir Mār Marōn, was, as some say, at Hamah ; or, according to others, at Apamea, now Kūl'at el-Mudik.³

We left the height above the cavern at 2.45 ; and took a direct course, without path, about E. by S. to the monument of Hürmul. At 3.20 we crossed the road to Hürmul, which we had before left ; and passing over and among low hills covered with loose trap, we reached the monument at 3.45. This is a singular and perhaps inexplicable structure. It stands out prominently on a high mound projecting far out into the great valley from the west ; and it is thus seen for a great distance in every direction. The Orontes on the west and northwest, flowing in its deep chasm, is nowhere visible ; but the village of Hürmul with its trees is seen on the slope beyond the river, nearly an hour distant.⁴ The monument now bears the name of Kamt'a el-Hürmul ; while Abulfeda speaks of it as Kāim el-Hürmul.⁵

The Kamt'a stands on a pedestal having three steps of black basalt, each fourteen inches high. On this rests a story twenty-nine feet six inches square, surrounded above by an ornamental cornice. Above this is a second story somewhat drawn in and less in dimensions ; and upon this last rests a pyramid built up of smaller stones. The lower story has (including the cornice) twelve courses of stones, each twenty-three inches thick ; the second story has ten courses, apparently of the same thickness ; and the pyramid has thirteen courses, not so thick. Hence the height may be thus reckoned :

					Feet. In
Pedestal	.	.	.	.	3 6
Lower Story	.	.	.	.	23
Second Story	.	.	.	.	19 2
Pyramid	.	.	.	about	15
Total					60 8

¹ Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 150.

² See Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. 1-51. Quaresmius l. p. 95 sq. De la Roque Voyage de Syrie et du Mt. Liban, II. pp. 10-120.

³ At Hamah ; see Le Quien l. c. col. 1. At Apamea ; Le Quien ibid. col. 5. De la Roque l. c. II. p. 32. Comp. Quaresm. l. p. 96.

⁴ According to Dr De Forest, the elevation of the site of the Kamt'a above the sea, is 2407 feet. That of the village of Hürmul is 2171 feet. The bridge over the river between the two is 1789 feet. Ma. Letter.

⁵ Tab. Syr. ed Köhler, p. 150. Abulfeda wrote in the early part of the fourteenth century.

The height therefore may be estimated at not less than sixty feet, nor more than sixty-five feet.

The whole structure, except the pedestal, is of limestone. The sides face the four cardinal points. The southwest corner is fallen down from top to bottom, showing that the interior was built up solid with smaller squared stones. There are pilasters at the corners in both stories; but they are without capitals, except a small cornice. In the upper story there are two intervening pilasters on each side. The upper portions of the sides of the lower story are occupied by sculptures in relief, representing hunting scenes. These are much broken and worn away by the weather; and are too much defaced to be fully made out. The drawing borders rather on the grotesque. The following is an outline.

On the *east* side are dogs attacking a larger animal before and behind. Yet so defective is the drawing, that this animal has been held by some to be a wild boar; and by others, a bull. The legs and feet are not those of a boar; and with our glasses we saw distinctly what seemed to be horns. On this side are also a bow and other implements of hunting.

On the *north* side are two stags, one standing and the other lying down; as to which there is no question. Also quivers and perhaps a coil of rope.

The *west* side exhibits three animals, which are difficult to be made out. One of them resembles a cat, and may be intended for a panther. The other two are less distinct. Some speak of an elephant in the middle, a bear in front, and a bull behind.¹

On the *south* side a dog seizes an animal from behind. The head of the animal is gone; and this whole side of the monument is much broken away.

We searched carefully for some inscription, and examined the whole surface with our glasses. But in vain; nothing of the kind appears. On the west side, below the sculptures, are many scratches and scrawls, made probably by Arab visitors; but no inscribed letters. We examined them the more carefully, because these scrawls had been reported as inscriptions.²

No explanation of this remarkable monument has yet been given; nor am I aware, that any historical notice of it exists before the present century, except the simple mention of it by Abulfeda.³ In certain respects, it may be said to correspond to the isolated column in the plain northwest of Ba'albek; which also is yet unexplained.⁴ The Kamu'a was first made known to

¹ J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, p. 669.

² *Tab. Syr.* ed Köhler, p. 150.

³ See above, p. 530.

⁴ *Comp. ibid.* p. 668.

the public by the Rev. Mr Thonison; who in September, 1846, returned by this route from Aleppo to Beirût.¹ It has since been several times visited by the missionaries and others.

From the Kamû'a there is a wide and interesting view. The northern end of Lebanon is near at hand; while Anti-Lebanon is seen again diverging on the north of er-Râs; and apparently sweeping off from that point northeasterly in the arc of a great circle, which bounds the broad plain of the Orontes on that side.² In a clear day not only the lake of Kedes is visible, but also the castle of Hums. Towards the south we could just distinguish the glittering summit of Jebel esh-Sheikh. The village of Hürmul lies half an hour beyond the stream, north-west, on the high slope. The village is divided into several hamlets by narrow glens, in which are brooks of fine water. There are many walnut trees around the village. The climate is said to be unhealthy.³

We set off from the monument at 4.45; taking a straight course for Ribleh across this most desert tract of low hills, ridges, and valleys. The hill on which the Kamû'a stands is covered with loose trap, and the same continues for much of the distance; making it very difficult for the horses to pick their way. At 6.25 our course was crossed, from west to east, by what seemed to be a line of wells recently dug, or at least cleared out, similar to those near Damascus, by which a stream of water is brought to the surface of the ground. But how or why such wells should be found here, I am unable to explain; since no water could be hoped for except from the river. The excavations were here in 1848. We had sight also of eight gazelles feeding. The sun went down upon us behind the peaks of Lebanon; but still for seventeen minutes longer his beams continued to gild the opposite summits of Anti-Lebanon. The hills

¹ See his report in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1847, p. 405; also ib. 1848, p. 695 sq.—Buckingham saw the Kamû'a from the road on the east side of the plain; and merely speaks of it as "a high and large tower, seen at a great distance, and called Koor-mee;" *Arab Tribes* p. 489.—In the folio work of Cassas is a plan purporting to represent a sepulchral monument on the way between Hums and Ba'albek. It was probably meant to be a sketch of the Kamû'a, seen perhaps only from the east side of the great valley; but it is exceedingly imperfect and unlike. —From a letter of Mr Farren, formerly British consul at Damascus, in Lord Lindsay's *Letters* (Note 53, p. 433, edit. 4,) it would seem that he had visited the Kamû'a before Mr Thomson; but no date is given.

² Mr Porter says, that the spurs and line of hills which lie before the eastern mountain from 'Ain to er-Râs, and which terminate near the latter place, cause the mountain here to have this appearance of retreating. He supposes the main ridge to maintain a straight course on the north of er-Râs and throughout. *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1854, p. 666.

³ W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1848, p. 694 sq.—Bearings at the Kamû'a el-Hürmul: Hürmul 815°. Fountain of the Orontes 265°, 2 m. Ris Ba'albek 1861°. Jebel esh-Sheikh S. 20° W. Ribleh N. 48° E. Tell Neby Mindau N. 37° E.—By Mr Thomson in 1846: Lake of Kedes, west side, 24°. Castle of Hums 39°. Jâsieh, modern, 60° el-Kû'a 119°.

gradually disappeared, and the country grew continually lower as we advanced. The desert character of the surface also began to diminish; and thin stunted grass was occasionally seen among the tufts of furze. At 7 o'clock we descended a slope, and came at once upon the first canal led off from the 'Asy on this side. It is said to have formerly carried water as far as to Júsieh. We were now again on soil capable of tillage. We crossed one or two other like streams, not without some difficulty in finding the proper fords, as it was now quite dark; and came at 7.35 to our tent, already pitched on the bank of the Orontes. Our day's work had been a hard one, and we were not sorry to give ourselves to rest.

On opening the door of our tent next morning, we found ourselves directly upon the bank of the river; not indeed the *green* bank; for although the ground is here only six or seven feet above the water, yet the grass was quite dry, and the surface dusty. The soil of all this region, and of the plain thus far, is very hard, and the water scarcely penetrates it laterally; so that the influence of the water is felt only by contact, or from its actual distribution over the surface. The course of the river was here from west to east, apparently a long reach; but it soon swept round to the north, in which direction it continues in a winding course. Ribleh is situated at the elbow.

Our tent stood near the ford of the river. The bottom is hard; and such is said to be the case throughout the region. The water at this time hardly came up to the horses' bellies. There was much crossing in both directions; horses and donkeys, old and young, many of them loaded; men and women wading through, the latter often with bundles on their heads; all going to make up a lively scene.

The village is a very miserable one, of some forty or fifty houses. The only traces of antiquity are the remains of a quadrangular building of stone. This seems ancient; the people call it a church, but we could not make it out. There is apparently much tillage in the vicinity. The crops however did not compare with those we had seen in Galilee; nor with those seen next day in the Bukei'a near el-Husn. The water of the river is taken out above, and carried long distances for irrigation; but the effect of it is not so visible just here, as in the other regions we had visited. From Ribleh a vast plain stretches off in every direction, except the southwest; and various portions of it exhibit a richer fertility.

The threshing-floors of the village were in full operation. The instruments here used were sledges with flints fastened in the bottom, such as we had formerly seen in Samaria.¹ These

¹ See Vol. II. pp. 306, 307. [iii. 143.]

were here dragged around the floors by a horse, driven by a boy sitting or standing on the sledge. There were also large quantities of cow dung collected for fuel. It was formed into lumps ; and these were laid up in circles, one above another, to dry ; looking much like tall vats or tubs.

From Ribleh we could see the termination both of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The former sinks down to a low point in the northwest. The latter does the same in the E. N. E. where it ends in the vast plain south of Hums. From er-Râs northwards, the eastern mountain sweeps round, as has been already said, in the arc of a great circle ;¹ so that at Ribleh and further north the great plain regains its former breadth, and even more. At Ribleh the direct breadth cannot be less than four hours. Opposite Ribleh (S. 78° E.) there is a singular pass through the sole remaining ridge of Anti-Lebanon. It cuts off the northern end ; leaving a line or group of hills about an hour in length completely isolated. A road through this pass leads from Ribleh to Hasya ; the distance between ez-Zerrâ'a and Hasya being two hours and forty minutes.²

Here too Hürmul was in sight, lying high near the base of Lebanon, and surrounded by many trees. The village and gardens of el-Kâ'a are in the plain, between er-Râs and Ribleh. Modern Jûsieh³ is marked by its mosk and tall minaret ; it lies quite out in the plain between the mountain and Ribleh. Ancient Jûsieh is between it and the mountain, near the latter.⁴ Kuseir is east of the road to Hums, half an hour distant from the river, and an hour or more from Ribleh.⁵

No one, I believe, questions the identity of Ribleh with the ancient *Riblah* of the Old Testament. It is first mentioned as on the northern part of the eastern border of the Promised Land ; which border was to pass from Shepham by Riblah and so down through the Bûkâ'a and Wady et-Teim to the lake of Chinnereth.⁶ The place is not again mentioned until the days of king Josiah. Then, Pharaoh-nechoh, king of Egypt, march-

¹ Comp. above, p. 542.

² Comp. J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 673 sq.

³ So written by Abulfeda ; *Tab. Syr. ed.* Köhler, p. 150. The people now pronounce it Jûsy.

⁴ In October, 1853, Mr Porter visited the remains of old Jûsieh. He describes them as two and a half miles in circumference. The principal ruin is a square castle, 132 yards on each side, with towers at the angles. Large heaps of rubbish are seen on every side. But there is no trace of Saracenic architecture. The place was probably deserted at or before

the time of the Muhammedan conquest.—Modern Jûsieh, also now deserted, is half an hour distant ; and has large Saracenic ruins. It is probably the place spoken of by Abulfeda. See J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, pp. 670–672. *Abulf. Tab. Syr. ed.* Köhler, p. 150.

⁵ Bearings at Ribleh : Hürmul S. 65° W. Kamî'a el-H. S. 48° W. er-Râs S. 35° W. el-Kâ'a S. 30° W. Jûsieh, modern, S. 30° E. Zerrâ'a E 1 m. Kuseir N. N. E. Tell Neby Mindau N. 5° W. North end of Lebanon N. W. North end of Anti-Lebanon E. N. E.

⁶ Num. 34, 11.

ing on an expedition to the Euphrates against the king of Assyria, slew Josiah at Megiddo, and afterwards encamped at Riblah, in the land of Hamath.¹ Here Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, was held captive by the Egyptian monarch; and his brother Eliakim made king in his stead. Some five and thirty years later, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon encamped in like manner at Ribleh; while his general besieged and took Jerusalem, and brought the captive Zedekiah to his master at this place. Here "they slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him with fetters of brass, and carried him to Babylon."² Here too the nobles of Jerusalem were slain.³

Under the circumstances, a more advantageous place of encampment for the hosts of Egypt and Babylon can hardly be imagined. On the banks of a mountain stream, in the midst of this vast and fertile plain, the most abundant supplies of provisions and forage were at hand. From this point the roads were open to the Egyptian monarch across the desert, either by Aleppo and the Euphrates to Nineveh, or by Palmyra to Babylon. From Riblah, too, the host of the Babylonian conqueror could sweep around the end of Lebanon and along the coast, to Palestine and Egypt; or, passing on southwards through the Būka'a, could spread themselves out over the land either eastwards or westwards from the valley of the Jordan. Riblah indeed disappears from history, and is no more heard of until the present century; but the great plain of the Orontes continued to be the storehouse and battle-field of conflicting hosts, during the long dominion of the Syro-Macedonian kings, the Romans, and the Arabian warriors of the middle ages. Of its great cities, Emesa (Hums) and Hamath (Hamah) still remain; while Apamea has sunk into oblivion, under its present name of Kūl'at el-Mudik.

The absence of all mention of Riblah in the ancient ecclesiastical *Notitiæ*, shows that it was not a place of importance in the early centuries of Christianity.⁴ Nor does its name appear in the records of the long ages from that time to the present century. In the year 1816 Buckingham, passing from Ba'albek to Hums, found Ribleh as "a small cluster of houses" at the elbow of the Orontes.⁵ He seems not to have recognised its antiquity; but its identity with the ancient Riblah was soon

¹ 2 K. 23, 33; comp. vv. 29-35.

² 2 K. 25, 6. 7. Jer. 39, 5. 6. 52, 9. 10.

³ 2 K. 25, 18-21. Jer. 52, 24-27.

⁴ Eusebius and Jerome merely name Ribleh; the latter regarding it as at Anti-

och. Onomast. arts. *Reblah*, *Reblathah*. Comp. Hieron. Comm. in Esa. xiii. 1; et in Ez. xlvii. 16 sq.

⁵ Buckingham's Arab Tribes, p. 491. He writes "Rubla."

pointed out by Gesenius.¹ It was visited by Mr Thomson in 1846 ; and several others have since passed through it.²

As Ribleh was the most northern point on the Orontes which I reached, it may be worth while to pause for a few moments, and look back upon the great valley, through which we had now passed ; as also upon the mighty ridges by which it is shut in. We may also appropriately glean a few historical notices of the region further north.

The Arabic name Būkâ'a is strictly the same with the Hebrew *Bik'ah* ; and signifies *a cleft*, a valley or plain between mountains.³ This character of the great elevated valley in question has already been sufficiently illustrated.⁴ The ancients gave it the appropriate name of *Cœlesyria*, 'Hollow Syria ;' which was strictly applied only to the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ;⁵ though it was sometimes loosely extended, so as to include the valley of the Jordan on the south, and the plain and valley of the Orontes on the north.⁶ According to Strabo, the most of the great valley bore also the name of *Marsyas*, beginning at Laodicea of Lebanon on the north and including Chalcis in the south.⁷ The chief cities were Heliopolis and Chalcis ; which have already been sufficiently described.

The lofty ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, which enclose the great valley, have also been in general already described. Yet there are some points of comparison, or rather of contrast, between them ; to which it may be not uninteresting to advert.

Lebanon has one long unbroken dorsal ridge, extending from Jebel Rihân in the south, and becoming higher and higher, quite to the peaks above the cedars. The western declivity is broad and comparatively gradual ; divided up by the vast basins and chasms of the many rivers which flow to the sea. The eastern declivity is steeper, especially south of Zahleh ; north of that place there is a lower terrace, with irregular smaller ridges, running down and out towards the northeast.⁸ The main sum-

¹ In his Heb. Lex. Also in his The-saur. p. 1258.

² Biblioth. Sac. 1848, p. 693. See, too, J. L. Porter, *ibid.* 1854, p. 673. Dr De Forest, passing from Zeiteh to Hums, crossed the Orontes by a ford forty minutes south of Tell Neby Mindau. Here the aneroid showed an elevation of 1530 feet. Ms. Lett.

³ Heb. בִּיקָה, see Heb. Lex. Comp. the marginal reading of the Engl. Version, Am. 1, 5.

⁴ See above, pp. 499, 528.

⁵ Strabo 16. 2. 16. p. 754, δύο ἐστὶν ὄρη τὰ ποιοῦντα τὴν Κοίλην καλουμένην Συρίαν, ὡς ἂν παράλληλα, ὅτε Λίβανος καὶ ὁ Ἀντιλίβανος. *ib.* 16. 2. 21. p. 756, ἰδίως δ' ἡ [Κοίλη Συρία] τῇ Λιβάνῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀντιλίβανῳ ἀφωρισμένη. Comp. Plin. H. N. 5. 17.

⁶ So towards the south, Strabo 16. 2. 21. p. 756 ; towards the north, Plin. H. N. 5. 19.

⁷ Gr. ὁ Μαρσύας, Strab. 16. 2. 18. p. 755. So too Polyb. 5. 45. 8, 9.

⁸ See above, pp. 520, 531.

mits of Lebanon are el-Keniseh, (just south of which passes the road from Beirût to Damascus,) Sünnin, and the peaks above the cedars. The first, el-Keniseh, is marked by Petermann at 7245 feet.¹ Sünnin, according to Marshal Marmont, is about 8300 English feet.² One summit above the cedars, Fum el-Mizâb, was found by Dr De Forest in 1853, to be 9135 feet. Another adjacent peak, Dahar el-Kûdhib, was estimated by him to be at least 175 feet higher; in all 9310 feet. This is the highest point of Lebanon.³ These summits thus rise about six thousand feet above the Bükâ'a and its water-shed; but the general elevation of the ridge above the valley is of course much less.

Anti-Lebanon, on the other hand, has its highest summit in the south, Jebel esh-Sheikh, estimated at 9000 feet.⁴ This mountain, although in a sense broken off from Anti-Lebanon, yet belongs to the same range. North of esh-Sheikh, Anti-Lebanon consists of parallel ridges; low at first, but rising into higher summits opposite to Zebedâny and further north.⁵ These ridges diverge more and more towards the northeast; and ultimately run out and are lost in the desert between Hums and Palmyra; leaving the main ridge north of Lebweh to run on alone, until it ends in the great plain south of Hums. The eastern declivity of Anti-Lebanon, as we have seen, is formed by these parallel ridges, with plains or terraces between. The few streams which rise high up in the mountain, cut their way through these ridges by deep gorges. The western declivity is steeper; and has also its gorges, by which roads descend. Anti-Lebanon, with the exception of esh-Sheikh, is everywhere lower than Lebanon; and seems to tower much less above the great valley.

The great fountains and streams which burst forth in the Bükâ'a, at the foot both of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, have been mainly described; except the Nahr Berdôny, which issues from its mountain glen at Zahleh, and joins the Litâny. The Berdôny forms the dividing line between the province of the Bükâ'a on the south, and that of Ba'albek on the north.

In Anti-Lebanon are many plains or basins, some of them fertile; and several small lakes or pools of water. Such are those of er-Râm, at Kefr Kûk, and near Deir el-'Ashâyir.

¹ See his Physical Map, 1851.

² That is, 2525 French metres, or 7772 Par. feet; see *Voyage du Duc de Raguse*, II. p. 225. Ritter XVII. p. 192. The observation was made with boiling water.

³ Wildenbruch made the height of Fum el-Mizâb to be 9621 English feet, which Dr De Forest considers too high.—For

these measurements I am indebted to the manuscript communications of Dr De Forest.

⁴ See above, pp. 499, 506, 531.

⁵ See above, p. 432.

⁶ The mountain above Blûdân, the highest point of Anti-Lebanon proper, rises to the height of 6,800 feet; see above, p. 436.

Besides these there are said to be many sink-holes, where the water soon disappears and descends into the mountain, feeding those immense subterranean reservoirs which supply the great fountains. In Lebanon, on the contrary, only a single lake is spoken of, Birket Lîmûn or Yemmôneh, near the village Yemmôneh, on the eastern declivity. It lies at the foot of some of the loftiest heights, west of Deir el-Ahmar, and an hour and a half south of 'Aineitah. It is a beautiful lake. Dr De Forest found it a mile long in June; and it had been twice as long in the spring. But it dries away in the autumn, from the failure of its principal fountain; which is fed by the snows in the deep gorges above. Here, facing the fountain, are the ruins of a temple, fifty-six feet long by thirty-six feet wide, on an elevated platform measuring 265 feet by 205 feet.¹

The sandstone formations, with their pine groves, so frequent in Lebanon, rarely appear on Anti-Lebanon; and there is, in general, much less of fertility in the latter than in the former. The limestone rock of Anti-Lebanon, according to Mr Thomson, is far less fossiliferous than that of Lebanon; and approaches more frequently to a semi-crystalline marble. Indeed, in Anti-Lebanon the evidences of volcanic agency are generally more abundant and striking; not only in the nature of the rock and the absence of fossils, but also in the remarkable fractures and dislocations of the strata, the fissures and gorges, and the vast fields of porous lava, volcanic tuff, green-stone, and amorphous trap. The northern portion of the plain of the Hûleh, the whole course of Wady et-Teim from far north of Rasheiyâ, the vast plain south and southeast of Damascus, and the southeastern side and southern end of Jebel esh-Sheikh, are almost entirely volcanic. Yet we have seen too the same volcanic formation at the monument of Hûrmul near Lebanon; and we shall meet it still further around the northern end of "that goodly mountain."

Turning now our view northwards along the plain and vale of the Orontes, we find the river pursuing its winding course in a northerly direction as far as to the latitude of Antioch; where it turns westwards, and passes through a mountain gorge to the sea. From the termination of Anti-Lebanon, about three and a half hours south of Hums, until the hills begin to rise again four hours north of that city, the river is bordered on the east only by the vast plain, extending off towards the east, southeast, and northeast, almost illimitably. On the west are the low beginnings of the Nusairiyeh mountains. Four hours north of Hamah, the river breaks through a rocky ridge, at Seijir, and

¹ Dr De Forest in *Journ. of the Amer. Hogg's Visit to Damascus etc.* I. p. 241
Oriental Soc. Vol. III. p. 355. Comp. sq. Ritter XVII. pp. 301-306.

enters its proper valley, having the mountains of the Nusairiyeh on the west, and a lower range of hills on the east. This valley is about two hours in breadth, is in some parts marshy, and has several small lakes.¹

About three hours north of Ribleh the river spreads out into the small lake of Kedes, sometimes called also the lake of Hums. It is about two hours in length by one in breadth; and its northern end is about two hours distant from Hums. The lake is in a great measure, if not wholly, artificial; being formed by an ancient dam or embankment across the stream. The length of the embankment is from four to five hundred yards. It is nowhere more than twelve or fourteen feet in height, and seems to have been often rebuilt or repaired. A small tower stands at the northwestern extremity of the dam. In the southern part of the lake is a small island, with a Tell upon it.²—From the lake, the river flows on through a broad shallow depression; but as it approaches Hamah, its valley is two or three hundred feet below the adjacent country.³

This lake is described by Abulfeda, who calls it Kedes, and also regards it as artificial. "If the embankment were destroyed," he says, "the water would flow off, the lake would cease to exist, and would become a river."⁴ The building of the dam was in Abulfeda's day referred to Alexander the Great. No earlier notice of the lake exists; and why it bears the name of Kedes is unknown. No city or village of that name, ancient or modern, is found in the vicinity. The embankment is probably a work of antiquity; and was erected in order to raise the water of the river to such a height, that it might be conducted in canals over the wide adjacent plains for the purposes of irrigation. Some of these canals are still in repair, and carry the water to the fields and gardens; but the greater number are in ruins.⁵

Of the ancient cities along this portion of the Orontes, this is not the place to speak in detail. I had afterwards a distant view of Hums; and would gladly have visited Hamah and Apamea; but my time did not permit. Of all the towns between Antioch and Ribleh, only Hamah is mentioned in Scripture.

¹ Burckhardt Trav. in Syr. p. 135 sq. W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sacra, 1848, p. 686 sq.

² J. L. Porter in Biblioth. Sacra, 1854, pp. 675, 676, 678.

³ W. M. Thomson, ib. 1848, p. 684.

⁴ Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 157. Comp.

Annal. Mosl. IV. p. 218. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. VI. p. 55.

⁵ Polybius speaks of a lake and marshes near Laodicea; but gives them no name. Polyb. 5 45. 10.

⁶ J. L. Porter in Biblioth. Sac. 1854, p. 676.

On the way between Antioch and Emesa (Hums), the *Itinerarium Antonini* specifies the following towns and distances :¹

Apamia					
Larissa	.	.	.	m. p.	XVI
Epiphania (Hamath)	.	.	.	"	XVI
Arethusa	.	.	.	"	XVI
Emesa	.	.	.	"	XVI

It is worthy of remark, that these distances correspond to the rate of travel at the present day with horses, reckoning four Roman miles to the hour, as we have done above between Ba'albek and Hums.² From Hamah to Hums is eight hours ; and from Kul'at el-Mudik to Hamah the same.³ All the towns thus specified in the Itinerary are now known.

Apamea of Syria lay upon the hills east of the lower valley of the Orontes. It was a city of importance, the seat of a Christian bishop ; and continued to be a strong place during the centuries of the crusades.⁴ Abulfeda speaks of it as Fāmīch, or Afāmīch.⁵ But the name has long been forgotten in those regions ; having been superseded by that of a modern castle near the site, Kul'at el-Mudik. Niebuhr heard of this change of name at Aleppo ; and Burckhardt in 1812 conjectures the castle to be the site of Apamea, but he saw no ruins.⁶ Mr Thomson, in 1846, was the first to discover and describe the extensive ruins, with their many squares and magnificent colonnades. They lie just east and northeast of the castle, about three hundred feet above the valley of the Orontes.⁷

Larissa of Syria lay midway between Apamea and Epiphania. It was a place of some note ; was the seat of a bishop ; and some of its coins are still extant.⁸ Its position corresponds precisely to that of the fortress of Seijār, or rather of Sheizār as Abulfeda writes it,⁹ occupying a high triangular point where the Orontes bursts through the rocky barrier from the elevation of Hamah, and enters the low wet plain of Apamea. It is four hours distant from both Apamea and Hamah. Fragments of columns, Corinthian and Doric capitals, a sarcophagus, and other

¹ Itin. Antonini, p. 187 ; comp. also p. 194. Wilken Gesch. d. Kreuz. II. pp. 272, 274. III. ii. pp. 3, 5.

² See above, p. 536.

³ Irby and Mangles were eight hours in travelling from Hamah to Hums ; Trav. p. 254 [77.] Burckhardt was ten hours on the way from Ku'at Mudik to Hamah ; but he travelled very slowly ; Trav. p. 142 sq.

⁴ Cellarius, Notit. Orbis II. p. 354. Mannert Geogr. der Gr. and Rom. VI. i. p. 360. Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. 910.

⁵ Tab. Syr. pp. 26, 114.

⁶ Niebuhr Reisebeschr. III. p. 97. Burckhardt Trav. in Syr. p. 138.

⁷ W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1848, p. 685 sq. comp. 1847, pp. 404, 407.

⁸ Cellarius ib. II. p. 354. Mannert ib. VI. i. p. 360.—Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. p. 917.—Eckhel Doctr. Nummor. III. p. 321. Mionnet Méd. V. p. 264.

⁹ Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, pp. 26, 110.

remains serve to mark this as the site of an ancient town.¹ It was already recognised as Larissa by Albert Schultens.²

Hamath, called in Scripture "the great," is a very ancient city, the seat of a Syrian king, who was an ally of David; and later the head of a kingdom or province which included Riblah.³ By the Greeks and Romans it was called *Epiphania*.⁴ But its ancient name remained upon the lips of the common people; and it is now known only as Hamah. It lies on both sides of the Orontes, in the valley and on the acclivities. The population is estimated at not less than thirty thousand. One of the curiosities of the place are the immense Persian wheels, called Nā'ûrah, for raising water to the upper town. Some of these are seventy or eighty feet in diameter, and raise the water to nearly that height; being driven by the force of the current. The site of the former castle is a lofty mound or Tell, like those of Aleppo and Hums. There are few, if any, traces of antiquity in the city.⁵ Hamah was the native place of Abulfeda, the Arabian geographer and historian; he was a descendant of Saladin, and head of the royal house of Hamah.⁶

Arethusa is mentioned by Strabo and others, and was the seat of a bishop.⁷ Its position midway between Epiphania and Emesa fixes it at the modern village of Restun, on the eastern bank of the Orontes, where the road from Hamah to Hums crosses the river by a bridge of thirteen arches. The river here winds along a chasm. The village is on the hill above. Portions of walls and gateways, the lines of the streets, some pedestals of columns, and a few coins, are all that remain of the ancient city.⁸ Abulfeda describes it in his day as having extensive ruins.⁹ It was recognised by Pococke as the site of Arethusa.¹⁰

Emesa, now Hums, seems not to reach back to a very high

¹ Burckhardt's Trav. in Syr. p. 143 sq. W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1848, p. 688 sq.

² See his Index Geogr. ad Vit. Saladin, art. *Sjaizarum*. So too Pococke II. i. p. 143. Gesenius, Notes to Burckhardt's Trav. in Syr. I. p. 514 Germ.

³ Am. 6, 2.—2 Sam. 8, 9 sq.—2 K. 23, 33.—Reland Palæst. pp. 119, 120 Mannert I. c. p. 359. Comp. Raumer Paläst. p. 113, ed. 3; where however he wrongly reads חמאθ for חמאθ *Hamath*, in Josh. 19, 35.

⁴ For the coins of Epiphania, see Eckhel Doctr. Nummor. III. p. 312. Mionnet Méd. V. p. 231.

⁵ Pococke II. i. p. 143. Burckhardt Trav. p. 146. W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1848, pp. 680–682; also in Miss. Herald, 1841, p. 362 sq. Le Quien Oriens

Christ. II. 915. Abulfeda Tab. Syr. ed. Kehler, pp. 108, 149, 191.—Other writers also confound Hamath and Hammath; so Adrichomius p. 107. Some have regarded the present Hamah as Apamea; so P. della Valle II. p. 134. Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. 910. Busching, in part, XI. i. p. 333.

⁶ See De Guignes Hist. des Huns, Introd. pp. 503, 504, Germ.

⁷ Cellarius ib. p. 357. Mannert I. c. p. 358. Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. 915.

⁸ Irby and Mangles p. 254. [78.] W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac. 1848, p. 684. For the coins, see Eckhel Doctr. Nummor. III. p. 309. Mionnet Méd. V. p. 225.

⁹ Tab. Syr. ib. p. 22; comp. Not. 96. in Add. et Corr. prefixed.

¹⁰ Vol. II. p. 142.

antiquity. It is not mentioned in Scripture ; and the earliest notices are those of Strabo and Pliny, who speak only of the *Emesenes* as a people or tribe.¹ Ptolemy names Emesa as in the district of Apamea ; and writers of the third and fourth centuries often mention the city.² Coins of Caracalla and Heliogabalus show that Emesa was in their day invested with the rights of a Roman colony.³ It was already celebrated for its splendid temple and worship of the sun ; the daughter of the high priest, Julia Domna, had ascended the imperial throne ; and Heliogabalus, the youthful priest, gloried as emperor in the title, " *Sacerdos Dei Solis*."⁴ It was early the seat of a Christian bishop ; and under Diocletian, near the close of the third century, Silvanus its bishop suffered martyrdom.⁵ Under the emperor Constantine a splendid church was erected in Emesa.⁶

With the other cities of Syria, Emesa passed under the Muhammedan dominion in A. D. 636 ;⁷ and during the following centuries came under the sway of the successive dynasties, the Omniades, Tulunides, Seljuks, and others.⁸ Its name was now Hems or Hums ; which probably had been softened by the Greeks into Emesa.⁹ In A. D. 1099, the host of the crusaders, after the capture of Antioch, marched up the valley of the Orontes ; took possession of Sheizâr, Hamah, and Hums, which opened to them their gates ; and then passed down along the northern end of Lebanon to 'Arka and the coast.¹⁰ The city in A. D. 1130 resisted successfully the siege and assaults of Zenki the Atabek chieftain ; who after forty days drew off his forces.¹¹ In the years 1157 and 1170, Syria was ravaged by terrible earthquakes ; by which Hums was well nigh destroyed.¹² Here too took place a great and decisive battle, in A. D. 1281, between the Saracens and the Mogols ; in which the latter were overthrown, and their power in Syria for a time annihilated.¹³ During these centuries, Tortosa was the port of Hums.¹⁴

In the middle of the sixteenth century Belon, on his way

¹ Strabo τὸ Ἐμεσηνῶν ἔθνος, 16. 2. 10. p. 753. Pliny "Emesenos," 5. 19 or 23.

² Ptol. Geogr. 5. 14.—Herodian. 5. 3. Ammian. Marcell. 14. 26. ib. 26. 18.

³ For the coins of Emesa, see Eckhel Doctr. Numm. III. p. 311. Mionnet M.-d. V. p. 227.

⁴ See above, p. 521.

⁵ Euseb. H. E. 8. 13. ib. 9. 6. Several of the bishops of Emesa are named ; Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. 837 sq.

⁶ Sozomen. H. E. 3. 17.—See generally for Emesa, Cellarius l. c. II. p. 357 sq. Mannert l. c. VI. i. p. 356.

⁷ See above, p. 523.

⁸ See Index to De Guignes Hist. des Huns, art. *Hemssa*, Germ.

⁹ Constantin. Porphyrogen. de admin. Imperio, c. 25, p. 59, *Χέμψ, ἡτοι τὸ Ἐμεσσα*. A similar instance is the Arabic Khûlasah, Heb. חִלְסָה. Gr. Ἐλousα, that is, Elusa, in the desert towards Sinai, south of Hebron. See Vol. I. pp. 201, 202. [i. 296 sq. 565.]

¹⁰ Wilken Gesch. der Kr. I. p. 249 sq.

¹¹ Wilken ib. II. p. 585.

¹² De Guignes Hist. des Huns, II. pp. 495, 527, Germ. D'Herbelot Biblioth. Or. art. *Hems*. Wilken ib. III. ii. pp. 134, 135.

¹³ Wilken ib. VII. p. 667 sq.

¹⁴ Edrisi par Jaubert, I. p. 359.

from Damascus to Aleppo, passed through Ba'albek and Hums. He speaks of the walls of the latter city as ancient and good, and in part still standing; though the houses were mostly in ruins.¹ Pietro della Valle was in like manner at Hums early in the seventeenth century.² All later travellers, who have passed between Damascus and Aleppo, have of course taken their way through Hums.

At the present day Hums is a city of twenty thousand inhabitants; of whom seven thousand are Christians, chiefly of the Greek church. It is situated in the midst of a vast and fertile plain, which in some directions extends quite to the horizon. The first swell of Anti-Lebanon is three and a half hours from the city, about S. by W. The river Orontes is hardly a mile distant in the west; and from it the city is supplied with water, brought on the backs of animals or men.³ The ancient embankment of the lake is two hours from the city; but neither the lake nor the river is visible. The streets are in general paved with square blocks of basalt, and the houses are mostly of the same material. It is one of the cleanest cities of Syria. There are no remains of ancient buildings; but large hewn stones and fragments of columns of granite, basalt, and limestone, are every where scattered, and testify to its ancient architecture. The modern walls around the city are of use only against the wild Arabs.⁴ Dr De Forest found Hums to be 1496 English feet above the sea.⁵

The mound or Tell, on which the castle of Hums was built, and which we afterwards had in sight for several hours after leaving Ribleh, is on the south side of the city. Mr Porter estimates its diameter at three hundred yards.⁶ Its height, according to Dr De Forest, is one hundred and one feet. It was surrounded by a broad fosse.⁷ The sloping sides were formerly laid with small square blocks of basalt, forming an escarpment; portions of which only now remain.⁸ Around the summit was a wall of great strength; the facing being of large limestone blocks, while the middle was filled up with rubble embedded in cement. All that remains of the castle at the present day, are a few portions of the exterior towers on the northern wall. The summit of the Tell is now covered with heaps of rubbish. Among these are seen several large fragments of red and gray

¹ P. Belon Observat. 4to, Par. 1555, p. 155. Paulus' Samml. Th. II. p. 9.

² Tom. II. p. 133.

³ E. Smith in Bibl. Res. 1st edit. III. App. p. 174.

⁴ See J. L. Porter in Bibliotheca Sacra, 1854, pp. 677-681. W. M. Thomson, *ibid.* 1848, pp. 683, 684.

⁵ Ms. Letter.

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⁶ J. L. Porter, *ibid.* p. 679 sq.

⁷ According to Pococke, the fosse was "about twenty feet deep and thirty paces broad;" over it was a bridge of several arches; II. i. p. 141.

⁸ Pococke speaks of this facing as still extant in his day; and of the fortress as "a large ruined castle;" II. i. p. 141.

granite columns ; the remains probably of some ancient temple, perhaps that of the sun. The whole character and position of the castle of Hums is said to bear a strong resemblance to that of Aleppo. A modern Wely with a white dome crowns the summit of the Tell ; and is a conspicuous object in every direction.

Laodicea, according to Ptolemy, was the head of a district, which he calls *Laodicea*, comprising the towns of *Laodicea*, *Paradisus*, and *Jabruda*.¹ In Ptolemy and in the Peutinger Tables, it has the epithet *Scabiosa Laodicea*;² for what reason is not known. Polybius mentions *Laodicea* as near a lake and marshes.³ Strabo and Pliny speak of it as "at or in Lebanon ;" the former describes it as at the northern end of the plain *Marsyas*, or the *Büká'a*.⁴ It bears the like epithet on coins of *Antoninus Pius* and *Caracalla*.⁵ *Laodicea* was a Roman colony, having the *jus Italicum* ;⁶ and became also the seat of a Christian bishop.⁷ These notices exhaust all our knowledge of this ancient city.

We have already seen, that the *Itin. Antonini* places *Laodicea* at eighteen Roman miles south of *Emesa*, and thirty-two north of *Conna*, or *er-Rás* ; while the *Peutinger Tables* mark it at twenty miles from *Emesa* ; and Ptolemy, at fifteen degrees of latitude south of the same city.⁸ According to our former proportion of four Roman miles to one hour of travel, the distance between the two cities was from four and a half to five hours. According to the *Itinerary* it was also eight hours distant from *Conna*, or *er-Rás*.

Where then was this *Laodicea* situated ? The preceding distances show conclusively, that it could not have been at old *Júsieh*, as suggested by *Lapie* and others ;⁹ for *Júsieh* is at least seven or eight hours distant from *Hums*, and not more than four hours from *er-Rás*.¹⁰ In searching, therefore, throughout the region north of *Ribleh*, for some spot which might possibly correspond to the site of *Laodicea*, I could find none deserving any attention, except the high mound known as *Tell Neby*

¹ Ptol. Geogr. 5. 14.

² Gr. *Σκαβίωσα Λαοδικεία*. In some copies of Ptolemy it is read *Καβίωσα*, without sense. The epithet is doubtless from the Latin, *Laudicia Scabiosa*, as the Tables have it ; *Segm. X.* ed. Scheyb.

³ Polyb. 5. 45. 10.

⁴ Strabo 16. 2. 18, ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ Λαοδικεία ἢ πρὸς Λιβάνον. Plin. H. N. 5. 19 or 23, "Laodicea, qui ad Libanum cognominantur."

⁵ E. g. πρὸς Λιβάνον, ἐν τῇ Λιβάνῳ. Eckhel Doctr. Numm. III. p. 336. *Mionnet Méd. V.* p. 241.

⁶ Leg. 1, Dig. de Censib. § 3, "Est et *Laodicea* colonia in Syria Cœle, cui divus Severus et imperator noster *jus Italicum* ob belli civilis merita concessit." See *Smith's Dict. of Ant. art. Colonia*, p. 317.

⁷ *Reland Palæst. p.* 217. *Le Quien Oriens Christ. II.* 841.

⁸ See above, p. 535.

⁹ See *Itin. ed. Parthei et Pind. Index* p. 350. *W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sac.* 1848, p. 694.

¹⁰ *Comp. J. L. Porter in Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, p. 672.

Mindau, situated on the left bank of the Orontes somewhat more than two hours north of Ribleh. There is a modern village on the side of the mound ; while the summit is crowned with a white Wely, forming a conspicuous object on every side. This Tell is visible from Ribleh, and we had it in sight for several hours after leaving that place.—The thought arose, May not this Tell, perhaps, have been the site of Laodicea ?

Mr Porter travelled, in 1853, from Ribleh to Hums along the eastern bank of the river. Leaving Ribleh in the morning, about 6 o'clock, at 8.15 he was opposite Tell Neby Mindau ; and after slight delays and turning out of the road to visit the embankment at the lake, he reached Hums at 1.15. This would give the time of travel, along the road, at not much over four and a half hours ; and this coincides with the distance of Laodicea from Emesa.¹ The position, therefore, is not inconsistent with the site of the former city.

On examining the Tell with his glass from the opposite side of the river, Mr Porter "could plainly see extensive ruins scattered along its base."² A tributary here falls into the Orontes, coming from a fountain, 'Ain et-Tannûr, and a small lake, in the southwest ; and the Tell and ruins occupy the angle above the junction.—In Sept. 1846, Mr Thomson travelled from Hamah to Ribleh along the west bank of the river. He visited Tell Neby Mindau ; and is the first and only traveller who has given an account of it. The Tell is on the tongue of land between the Orontes and its tributary, el-Mukadiyeh, above the junction. A ditch drawn from one stream to the other, made the Tell an island. Around the southern base of this large Tell, are spread the remains of an extensive ancient city. They consist of numerous columns, foundations, and small portions of the original wall ; the rubble work of which was Roman brick. Mr Thomson says : "I found the people of the Tell breaking up the columns to burn into lime ; and as, in this trap region, limestone is scarce, this process of destruction may have been going on for a thousand years ; and the wonder is, that such a number of columns have escaped their barbarous sledges."³

Both the position, therefore, the vicinity of the lake, and the remains, I have no reason to doubt, but that in Tell Neby Mindau we have the site of the ancient Laodicea of Lebanon.

¹ J. L. Porter in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1854, pp. 674–677.—The following is another estimate: From Hums to the lake, two hours. Length of the lake, two hours. From the southwest corner of the lake to the Tell, one hour. In all five hours, but somewhat circuitous. For the first two distances, see above, p. 549. For the last,

see W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1848, p. 691.

² J. L. Porter, *ibid.* p. 675.

³ W. M. Thomson, in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1848, pp. 691, 692.—Dr De Forest also confirms orally the statements of Mr Thomson.

There remain now the ruins at old Jûsieh to be considered ; and the question arises, can they be identified with any known ancient city ? We may at least attempt the problem.

We have seen above, that the Laodicene of Ptolemy included the three towns of Laodicea, Paradisus, and Jabruda.¹ The first we have just determined. The last is obviously the modern Yebrûd, situated on the eastern declivity of Anti-Lebanon, some ten or eleven hours north of Damascus, and an hour and a half W. S. W. of Nebk. It still possesses an ancient church, distinguished for the beauty and solidity of its architecture.² It appears, then, that the district Laodicene extended from Laodicea in a southeasterly direction across Anti-Lebanon to Jabruda ; and that *Paradisus* lay between those two places. Now Ptolemy marks Paradisus at ten degrees of latitude south of Laodicea, and five degrees of longitude east of the same ; and that well accords with the position of old Jûsieh relative to Tell Neby Mindau.³ Again, he gives the latitude of Jabruda at only five degrees south of Paradisus, which is evidently wrong ; while he places Jabruda fifteen degrees of longitude east of Paradisus ; which last accords with the relative position of old Jûsieh and Yebrûd. The specifications of Ptolemy cannot, of course, be regarded as exact ; but, in the case of groups, they serve to mark the relative positions of the places named together, as they lay before the mind of the geographer. In the present instance, they seem to point definitely to old Jûsieh as the site of the ancient Paradisus.

Paradisus is simply named by Strabo and Pliny ;⁴ and is nowhere mentioned as an episcopal seat.

Saturday June 12th. This morning, after completing our observations at Ribleh, we prepared to set off for el-Husn, on our way to Beirût. It was not without a feeling of sadness, that I gave up finally the idea of visiting Hums, Hamah, and Antioch. Mr Robson, my companion, was ready to take that route. But the heat of summer had already come ; my health was hanging by a slender thread ; and it seemed important,

¹ For an account of these ruins, see above, p. 544 ; and especially J. L. Porter in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1854, pp. 671, 672.

² See above, p. 554.

³ This is doubtless the *Κλίμα Ἰαμβρούδων*, "Clima Jambrudorum," of the ecclesiastical *Notitiæ* ; as Ma'lûla, three hours further south, is the *Κλίμα Μαγλούδων* of the same ; *Reland Palæst.* p. 217. Both these places were visited by Mr Porter in the

autumn of 1852, and again in 1853 ; see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1854, pp. 441 sq. 446 sq. also p. 689 sq.

⁴ Ptol. 5. 14 ; e. g.

Scabiosa Laodicea	69.40	33.45
Paradisus	69.45	33.25
Jabruda	70.	33.60

⁵ Strabo 16. 2. 19. p. 756. Plin. H. N. 5. 19 or 23.—Cellarius l. c. p. 374.

that I should leave Beirut by the steamer of June 22nd, rather than delay for a month or even a fortnight longer. Reluctantly, therefore, I turned my course westwards ; and the event proved that I desisted from my journeyings none too soon.

Our journey of to day lay around the northern end of Lebanon, to the great fortress formerly known as el-Husn el-Akrâd, "Castle of the Kurds ;" now called simply el-Husn. A main object was to examine the character of the tract lying between Lebanon and the mountains of the Nusairiyeh further north. In a direct line the distance from Ribleh to the fortress would not be much, if any, over eight hours ; but the long circuit which we had to make on account of the difficult and marshy nature of some of the intervening ground, prolonged our day's journey to nine and a half hours.

We crossed the river by the ford above described ;¹ and left the north bank at 9 o'clock. Our course at first was north. After fifteen minutes we saw el-Husn, bearing N. 30° W. At 9.45 we again struck the Orontes in one of its meanderings ; and then turned our course more northwesterly. The plain was a dead level ; the soil hard and gravelly, and fertile only in the vicinity of the canals led through it from the river ; of which we crossed several. Much of our way at first was by short cuts through tilled fields ; which the guide seemed to know well. At 10.30 we reached 'Ain et-Tannûr, a good sized fountain in the plain ; having north of it a small winding lake. This is the source of the stream el-Mukadiyeh, which joins the Orontes at Tell Neby Mindau. That Tell was here about an hour distant E. N. E. The village of Zeitah lay in the opposite direction, about the same distance W. S. W.

At 10.50 there was by our path a small milestone, with a Greek inscription now illegible. In five minutes more we crossed a pretty stream brought from a fountain some distance on the left, and running along the east side of a lower meadow-like tract. through which meanders a small brook. This vale forms the western extremity of the plain ; and the ground begins to rise immediately from it. Just here, on its western side, we came at 11.05 to el-Buweidah, a ruined village ; now occupied by an encampment of Arabs, dwelling mostly in booths and in tents covered with mats.

Here at Buweidah we came again among black basaltic stones and rocks ; and the trap formation continued around the whole northern end of Lebanon quite to the vicinity of Sheikh Muhammed. The ground rises from el-Buweidah very gradually at first. At 11.30 the whole lake of Hums came into view ; the

¹ See above, p. 543.

island in its southern part appearing like a truncated Tell. The lofty castle of Hums was also now in sight. At 11.45 we seemed to come out upon a plateau ; and at 12 o'clock, had the island in the lake and the castle of Hums in a line, bearing N. E. by E. The ruins of a village, Um el-Haratein, the hovels built of black basalt, followed at 12.05 ; and just beyond was an encampment of Arab tents. At 12.30 was another ruined village of like black stones, el-Kuneiyiseh. Here was one tolerably large building, which we could not make out. Under one of its doorways, leading through a thick partition wall, we rested and took lunch ; that being the only shaded spot that we could find.

Setting off again at 1.45, we passed a water-bed at 2.05, running down northeast towards the lake. At 2.15 there was another black ruined village, Huneider ; and Arab booths near it. At 2.30 we came out upon the height of land, a plateau of some width, having many shrub oaks.

Thus far we had been gradually ascending the eastern declivity of the broad and low slope, which we could everywhere see running out and down from the termination of the great masses of Lebanon, towards the east, the northeast, and the north. This slope descends very gradually. Large tracts of it, near Lebanon, are covered with forests of shrub oaks and other trees ; presenting a green and pleasing appearance. While thus the eastern portion of Lebanon was seen to end on our left, we now had in sight a lower ridge running out from this part towards the northwest, in front of the more western portion. The northwestern end of this ridge, as we shall see further on, is the northernmost point of Lebanon. This ridge was now on our left ; and along its northeastern side lies the deep valley of the Wady Khālid, with a stream, the remotest source of the Nahr el-Kebir. On our right we could everywhere look down along the slope to lower ground west of the lake of Hums. This tract appeared level, and was better cultivated. Indeed, along our path we had seen very little tillage since leaving el-Buweidah.

Thus far the whole region seems to be drained eastwards. But on this height of land we could now look off westwards, and see not only the fortress el-Husn, but also the mountains in the northwest beyond, along the coast north of Tortosa.

Indeed, after a few minutes, we struck the head of a side Wady, running west to Wady Khālid ; and kept along its northern brow above, having occasional glimpses into its depths. At 2.40 there was another ruined village, Harba'ana, with its hovels of black stones ; and five minutes beyond it we stopped at a very rude and singular tomb.

This tomb has the form of a rude quadrangular enclosure, five or six feet high, with walls four feet thick. On the south

side is a doorway leading into an area or broad passage ; on each side of which, and at the end opposite the door, are two tiers of niches, one above the other, for dead bodies ; the ends being towards the area. There are ten niches in each tier on the sides ; and eight in each tier at the end ; in all, fifty-six niches. The divisions between the niches are formed by thin stones of black basalt, roughly hewn and set on their edges. The floors are of similar stones ; while the upper covering, or roof, is formed by long stones of a like kind laid over each upper niche, and sloping a little outwards. There is no trace of mortar or plaster. The niches are about six feet deep, by two feet broad and three and a half feet high. Only those on the east side are still perfect ; the rest have been more or less thrown down. On a rough stone outside, at the right of the doorway, are the remains of a Greek inscription, very rudely cut, and so much weather-worn as to be illegible. We could make out only the words TIC TINΩN, forming one line. Mr Robson, who had been at Palmyra, was struck with the rude resemblance of the structure to the splendid tombs around that city. The general plan is the same.¹

After a delay of ten minutes we passed on ; and could now look down the side Wady to its junction with Wady Khālid, and see the brook of the latter, the main branch of the river el-Kebir, some three or four hundred feet below us. We descended along the steep northern bank of the Khālid ; and were now again completely environed by mountain scenery. The last ridges of Lebanon were on our left, green with shrubs ; while the high bank on our right was in like manner green, rocky, and precipitous. At 3.30 we came down to the stream at a mill ; just where the Wady opens out into a sweet valley, well watered and fertile, passing on northwest. Here also comes in another broad fertile valley from the northeast, now full of fields of wheat. We could not see its northeastern extremity ; but the rise from it in that quarter to the plateau whence we had descended, did not seem to be great.

We now continued our course down Wady Khālid, northwest. At 4 o'clock there was an Arab encampment in the valley ; and we passed two large cemeteries, where these nomadic Arabs, from a great distance round about, bury their dead. At 4.15 the small village of Musheirifeh was on the right hand hill ; and we approached the end of the valley, where it issues into the fine plain or basin known as el-Bukei'a. Here, just on our left, was the northwestern end of the outlying ridge of Lebanon above described. It forms the extreme northern point of all

¹ See the delineation of tombs in Wood's *Ruins of Palmyra*, Plates 36-42, and 55-57.

Lebanon ; is green and beautiful, being covered with shrubs ; and stands forth a fitting termination of the noble mountain.

The existence of this fine plain, el-Bukei'a, thus embosomed among the hills, was quite unexpected to me.¹ It extends from northeast to southwest between three and four hours in length ; its broadest part, between the mouth of Wady Khālid and the castle, being about two hours. Its form is an oval, rather than a parallelogram ; the northwestern side, however, being more nearly straight. It is bounded in the southeast by the last spurs and hills of Lebanon in that quarter, south of the northernmost point of Lebanon, where we now stood. Towards the northeast, it is shut in by the western part of the great slope running down north from Lebanon, as above described ; which however, just here, is severed from Lebanon by the deep gulf of Wady Khālid. Further towards the north are the ridges of the Nusairiyeh mountains ; from which a lower ridge, or range of hills, extends out southwest along the whole western side of el-Bukei'a ; forming the division and broad step between it and the great lower plain along the coast. This range declines gradually towards the southwest ; and along that part of the Bukei'a rises much less above the plain.

The river el-Kebir enters the Bukei'a from Wady Khālid, and passing down to its southwestern extremity, there breaks through the low western ridge by a gorge to the lower western plain. This gorge is said to be in some parts narrow and rocky ; in others wide, and cultivated. In the Bukei'a itself are several fountains, large and small, and some marshes ; but the Kebir is the only permanent stream that enters it from any quarter. It receives all the waters of the plain itself ; and is the only stream that issues from it. The Bukei'a is exceedingly fertile ; and is well cultivated. The owners, or at least the tillers of its soil, are Christians of the Greek church.

The road by which we had travelled thus far, passes on along the left bank of the Kebir to the Jisr el-Aswad, or black bridge, in the southern part of the plain. There it crosses the river and strikes over the low line of hills to the western plain ; where after a time it again crosses the Kebir by the Jisr el-Abyad, or white bridge, said to be three and a half or four hours distant from the other.—From the spot where we now were, in the mouth of Wady Khālid, there is a direct path across the plain to the castle, which now stood out conspicuously before us ; the

¹ Burckhardt says not a word of the plain ; Trav. p. 158 sq. Buckingham mentions and praises it, as Wady el-Husn ; but gives no idea of its character or position ; Arab Tribes p. 503. Dr Smith in 1834 merely says of it : "Between this

mountain (el-Husn) and the northern end of Lebanon, there intervenes a plain, called el-Bukei'a, in which are a number of Turkman settlements ;" Bibl. Res. 1st edit. III. App. p. 181.

distance being about two hours to the foot of the western hills. But in consequence of the marshy nature of the ground, the guide and muleteers were unwilling to venture by that road at this season of the year; lest the animals might be swamped. It was therefore decided to make a circuit around the northern part of the plain, following at first the eastern hills. We did so; and were thus nearly three and a half hours in reaching the point at which we aimed, only two hours distant from our starting place.

We crossed, therefore, the river el-Kebîr, along which we had thus far travelled, by a bridge with a high arch, called Jisr el-Kamâr. Our path lay along over the ends of the low hills jutting out from the great slope above. On these we passed several other ruined villages of black stones, without learning their names. We met also a large herd of neat cattle, and another of buffalos. The latter are quite at home in this marshy plain; as also in the Hûleh. At 6 o'clock we crossed the direct road from Hums to Tripoly, coming down from the slope on our right, and passing through the Bukei'a to cross the hills in the southwest quarter, and so reach the Jisr el-Abyad in the western plain. Before coming to this road, we had passed two quite large fountains on our left at the foot of the hills, with considerable streams running to the Kebir. It was to avoid these, that we had made this circuit. Our path soon left the hills, and turned across the northern and higher part of the plain direct towards the castle. The way led through rich cultivation, and among fields of the finest wheat I had yet seen; not surpassed even in Galilee or in the Ghôr. We crossed several water-courses, but no running stream. There was a rather large water-bed, now dry, parallel to the base of the western range, and not far distant from it; which I suppose to come from the long Wady Rûwid in the north, described by Burckhardt.¹ At length we reached the foot of the western hills, below the castle; and here at 7.30 we encamped, near a small fountain.

From our tent the castle was not visible; though we ascertained its direction to be W. by N. On the hill side above us was the poor village Tellet Hana, fifteen minutes distant. Here Jirjis bought provisions for us; receiving thirty eggs for one piastre. But he was quite indignant, and felt himself imposed upon, when he afterwards found, that the common rate was forty for a piastre.

Just southwest of our tent was the ruin of a large building, apparently of the middle ages. An end wall was standing, having on its inner side the outline of a large pointed arch, as

¹ Trav. in Syr. p. 157.

if once belonging to a large hall ; and also loopholes. In another part was a large low vault. These seemed most like the remains of a small fortress ; or possibly of a convent. The northern point of Lebanon, and the mouth of Wady Khálid adjacent, bore from us S. by E. A portion of Anti-Lebanon was also visible, in the direction of Ribleh.

During our journey to day we passed several Arab encampments ; but no inhabited village, except the miserable one of Musheirifeh. Otherwise the country along our road seemed deserted. There is also a striking difference between the eastern and western slopes of this great water-shed. On the east, so far as we saw it, the soil is hard, rocky, and gravelly ; the vegetation scanty, and the crops very light. Every step as we ascended, the soil grew better ; and on the highest plateau we came among green shrubs and grass. The aspect continued to improve as we descended, quite to this noble basin ; which seems to resemble the region of Zebedány more than any other.

Sunday, June 13th.—This was emphatically a day of rest ; of which I, at least, stood much in need. There was a fountain near us, and several small trees ; but their foliage yielded no shade. The air was hot, and the sun's rays fierce ; so that our tent was anything but comfortable.

Monday Morning, June 14th.—We climbed early up the long and steep ascent, to the fortress el-Husn ; which we reached in fifty-five minutes from our place of encampment.

This is a very large and strong fortress, standing out on a high and commanding point of the range of hills ; overlooking towards the north, and almost isolated by, a deep valley or notch extending from east to west obliquely through the whole ridge, and cleaving it almost to the base. As we approached from the east on Saturday, we had noticed a valley on our right, which seemed to come down from behind the castle ; but we did not then perceive its importance. We could now see, that this valley affords an easy passage through the ridge. It was through this pass that Titus marched, when he encamped by the sabbatical river ;¹ and through it at the present day lead the great roads from Hamah to Tripoly, and from Hums to Tortosa its former port. The water-shed in this notch is north of and under the castle ; the ascent from the Bukei'a being short and gentle ; while towards the west the valley is much longer, as we afterwards found in travelling through it for a time. To command this important pass the castle el-Husn was obviously erected.

The fortress is nearly square externally ; with the usual complement of towers and bastions along its outer wall ; but no

¹ Joa. B. J. 7. 5. 1. See the next Section, near the beginning.

bevelled stones. We rode into it from the east through steep vaulted passages and covered ways ; and after thus ascending for a time dismounted in an open area. A whole village of Fellâhin have their hovels here within the castle ; and their village is called Kûl'at el-Husn, to distinguish it from another outside, which is known simply as el-Husn. Within the square outer enclosure, and occupying its middle part, is another inner and higher citadel ; surrounded in part by a fosse with rain-water, collected from the higher hills in the west and southwest. This citadel is built up on all sides with sloping work, as if encasing a mound or rock within ; not merely to form the foundations of the towers, as at Jerusalem and esh-Shūkif, but carried up between the towers and almost to their top. Both this sloping work and the towers are built of smooth hewn stones, with no trace of a bevel ; and the former, my companion said, was like the outer casing of the mounds at Hums and Aleppo, which he had seen.

On the south side of the citadel, and connected with it by a wall resting against the sloping work, but not built into it, is a square tower of regular *rustic* architecture ; that is, with a wide slanting bevel two inches deep. On its west side is a portal with a regular pointed arch ; and above this two sculptured lions are built into the wall. This tower of course is the work of the crusaders.

This fortress is now the seat of government for the district el-Husn. The Mutsellim or governor resides in the citadel ; but has no soldiers. More than sixty villages are enumerated in Dr Smith's lists of the district el-Husn ; and there are doubtless many others. The inhabitants are mostly Nusairiyeh ; the Christians of the Greek church occupy several villages ; the people in and around the castle are Muslims ; and there are some Turk mân settlements.¹—We did not enter the citadel. Burckhardt describes it as seventy paces in breadth by one hundred and twenty in length, with a lofty arched passage leading up into it ; and containing many apartments and a large hall of the best Gothic architecture, with arches intersecting each other along the roof.²

The view from the bastions of the castle, in various directions, is extensive and grand. In the south and S. S. E. the eye rests on the last ridges and spurs of that "goodly mountain, even Lebanon ;" of which we here had a new and entirely different aspect. Being now on its north-northwestern quarter, we saw the high ridge above the cedars obliquely from a new direction

¹ E. Smith in *Bibl. Res.* 1st edit. III. App. p. 181. ² *Trav. in Syr.* p. 158.

It here seemed to form an immense curve, with its concave side towards the west. We saw this more distinctly afterwards.

The eastern view takes in the lake of Hums, and the plain of the Orontes around it; as also all the northern part of Anti-Lebanon beyond. The whole lake was visible, except the northern extremity; the island was quite distinct. Hums was not seen; being hidden by some of the last hills of the Nusairiyeh mountains, which run down in that quarter. Ribleh itself was not visible; but the trees of Zerrá'a, just east of it, were in view. Between the great slope from Lebanon, which we had crossed, and the Nusairiyeh hills in the north, we could here see an apparently level tract, without hill or general unevenness, extending westwards to the rather gradual but shorter descent of three or four hundred feet into the rich Bukei'a at our feet.

Towards the west, the view from the castle was shut in by the higher hills close at hand on the west and southwest; and by others more remote in the northwest. We could therefore only look down the valley and out through the notch, in the direction from W. by N. to W. N. W. Here the eye rested on the glittering waves of the Mediterranean in the neighbourhood of Tortosa, as we were told. Nearer at hand, though still five hours distant, was the great fortress known as Burj Sáfitá, which guarded one of the passes between Hamah and Tortosa.¹ In the valley below us, forty minutes distant, was the convent of Mâr Jirjis (St. George), to which we afterwards came.

The striking, and to me unexpected feature in the prospect was, that on the one side we could see the lake of Hums, and on the other the Mediterranean.

Quite a number of villages are clustered below the castle, or lie in sight from it. In the southeast, a quarter of an hour distant, is Hârat et-Turkmân; more easterly and further down is Burj 'Anâz; and in a direction between the two, and lower down out of sight, was 'Anâz. In the northeast, just below the castle, is the village el-Husn; and further down, just above our tent, but not in sight from the castle, was Tellet Hana.

North of the castle, an hour or more distant, on the hill beyond the notch, was the village Khureibeh. On the same height, further west, at about the same elevation, was seen the little village Kefreh. Northwest from this, and still higher, directly above the convent, lies the large village of Mâr Marita.² The smaller village Zaweitineh lies below this towards the convent, and just above the latter.³

¹ Bohaed. Vita Saladini, ed. Schultens, Exc. p. 4. Burj Sáfitá was visited by Mr Thomson in 1846; and is described by him, Bibl. Sacra, 1848, p. 243 sq. Comp. Ritter XVII. p. 826 sq. Burckhardt, p. 160. It was built up in the time

of the crusades upon ancient Phenician foundations

² Wrongly in Dr Smith's list, as Mâr Nita; Bibl. Res. 1st edit. III. App. p. 182.

³ Bearings from the castle el-Husn: North end of Anti-Lebanon E. Island is

Burckhardt was the first in modern times to visit and describe the castle. He was here in March, 1812.¹ Coming from Hamah he sent on his horses, through the pass, to the convent; and himself ascended to the fortress on foot. Buckingham, in May, 1816, travelled through the pass on his way from Hums to Tortosa. He lodged at the convent, but did not ascend to the fortress.² Laborde was here about 1828, and has given a view of the castle.³ Dr Smith and Mr Thomson both passed this way from Hamah to Tripoly; the former in 1834 and the latter in 1840; but they seem neither of them to have visited the fortress.⁴ In October, 1852, a few months after our visit, Dr De Forest travelled by this route from Hamah to Tripoly; but instead of proceeding through the pass, he kept along the base of the range of hills apparently, as far as to the road from Hums to Tripoly, which crosses the hills north of the chasm of the Kebir. At a place northeast of our encampment, where is a bridge, a ruined mill, and a low mound, which he calls Tell Hatta, apparently near where the road from Hamah turns into the pass, Dr De Forest found the elevation of the plain above the sea to be nine hundred feet. The height of ground where he crossed the line of hills, the same on which the castle stands, was eleven hundred and two feet.⁵ Hence the whole descent from Hums to the plain of the Bukey'a may be given in round numbers at six hundred feet.⁶

The great fortress known to the crusaders as Husn el-Akrâd, "Castle of the Kurds," and now called simply el-Husn and Kul'at el-Husn,⁷ has no marks of any higher antiquity than the times of the Saracens; although the importance of the position would seem to imply, that it was not left unguarded in still earlier times. According to the Arabian writer, Ibn Ferât, an earlier name of the castle was Husn esh-Shafah; which was superseded by the form Husn el-Akrâd, on the occasion of a body of Kurdish troops having been stationed in it as a garrison.⁸ By the crusaders it was called also the fortress of Crac or Crach.⁹

the lake of Hums S. 60° E. Zerr'a S. 30° E. North extremity of Lebanon S. 12° E. Mouth of Wady Khalid adjacent, S. 16° E. Our place of encampment E. by S. Tellet Hana E. 5° S. Hârat et-Turkmân S. E. by E. ½ m. el-Husn, village, N. E. by N. ½ m. Khureibeh N. Mâr Marita N. 85° W. Zaweitneh about N. 50° W. Convent of Mâr Jirjis N. 60° W. 1 ¼ m. Burj Sâfita N. 60° W. 5 h.

¹ Trav. in Syr. pp. 157-159.

² Arab tribes, pp. 503, 504.

³ Laborde, Voyage en Orient, fol. Paris 1835, Livr. IV. Pl. el-Hossn.

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⁴ E. Smith in Bibl. Res. 1st edit. III. App. p. 181. W. M. Thomson in Misa. Herald, 1841, p. 365.

⁵ Ms Letter.

⁶ See above, p. 553.

⁷ E. Smith in Bibl. Res. 1st edit. III. App. p. 181. Burckhardt Trav. p. 157.

⁸ Reinaud, Extraits des Hist. Arabes, etc. Par. 18-9, p. 525. Wilken Gesch. der Kr. VII. p. 589.

⁹ Will. Tyr. 22. 2. Hugo Plagon, p. 616. Marin. Sanut. 8. 14. 2. p. 245. Wilken III. ii. p. 199. VII. p. 593.—This name, Crac or Crach, was probably a cor-

In the year 1099, the host of the crusaders, having followed up the Orontes to Hums, turned and passed down this way to 'Arka and the sea, on their march towards Jerusalem. They came here to a rich valley surrounded by hills; and were attacked from a castle situated on the side of a high mountain. This castle was doubtless el-Husn; but the name is nowhere given.¹ The earliest express mention of the fortress is in A. D. 1101, two years after the taking of Jerusalem by the crusaders. At that time Raimund, count of Toulouse, had invested it; but drew off his troops in order to march against Huma.² At what time the Franks got possession of the fortress is unknown; but it was probably at an early date. In A. D. 1157, this castle as well as several cities of Syria suffered greatly from the terrible earthquake.³ Two years later (1159) it was besieged by Nureddin, the son of Zenki; who however abandoned his undertaking, in order to meet the approach of the Frank army.⁴ In the year 1180, we find the fortress in the hands of the knights Hospitalers, who thenceforth continued in possession of it.⁵ Eight years later (1188) Saladin fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of el-Husn, and disquieted the castle; but seems not to have actually besieged it.⁶ In the year 1236, the Hospitalers made war upon the prince of Hamah; gathered their host of knights in the valley el-Bukei'a below el-Husn;⁷ and after an expedition of several days against Bârin returned to their encampment.⁸ The impetuous Bibars, in A. D. 1268, demanded of the garrison a thousand pieces of silver for the Muslims they had slain; which was paid.⁹ Three years later (1271) Bibars laid siege to the fortress; and the Hospitalers, by whom it was still held, capitulated after fifteen days.¹⁰ The fortress is afterwards mentioned by Abulfeda as Husn el-Akrâd, and by Marinus Sanutus as Crach;¹¹ but no Frank traveller seems to have taken it in his way, until the visit of Burckhardt.

Ptolemy in his geographical work mentions along with Antaradus¹² two other places towards the southeast, Mariamme

ruption for *Akrâd*; and has sometimes been confounded with Kerak southeast of the Dead Sea. See Vol. II. p. 166. [ii. 569.]

¹ Raim. de Agil. in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, pp. 162, 163. Wilken I. pp. 251-253.

² De Guignes *Hist. des Huns*, II. p. 411, Germ.

³ De Guignes ib. p. 494. Abulfarag. *Hist. Dynast.* ed. Pococke, Oxon. 1663, p. 257.

⁴ De Guignes ib. II. p. 498.

⁵ Will. Tyr. 22. 2. Wilken III. ii. p. 199.

⁶ Wilken IV. pp. 284, 286.

⁷ "La Boquée dessus le Crac;" Hugue Plagon, p. 616. "La Bochea," Will. Tyr. 18. 17. ib. 9. 8. Wilken VI. p. 556.

⁸ Wilken VI. pp. 555-557.

⁹ De Guignes l. c. IV. p. 154.

¹⁰ Wilken VII. pp. 589, 590.

¹¹ Abulf. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, pp. 19, 102. Marin. Sanut. 3. 14. 2. p. 245. See also Schulten's Index in Vit. Ca. ad. art. *Curdorum Castrum*.

¹² The name Antaradus is written in Arabic *Antartûs*. Edrisi par Jaubert pp. 330, 359. Abulfeda p. 17. Its present name in Arabic is *Tartûs*; and so Abulfeda p. 102. Hence in Italian, *Tortosa*.

and Mamouga.¹ The same Mariamme is named by Arrian as existing in the time of Alexander the Great; and Pliny speaks also of a people in this region called "Mariammitani."² This Mariamme was also the residence of a Christian bishop, as late as the fifth or sixth century.³ Of Mamouga there seems to be no mention, except by Ptolemy.—So far as the latitudes of Ptolemy are concerned, Mariamme would accord well with Burj Sâfita, which we know was an ancient place; and Mamouga with el-Husn. The longitude of Mamouga also, as given by Ptolemy, marks well the relative position of el-Husn both to Tortosa and Hums. All the circumstances therefore, so far as we are yet able to apply them, would seem rather to fix the site of Mariamme at Burj Sâfita; and that of Mamouga at Husn el-Akrâd.⁴

THE WATER-SHED. From the castle el-Husn, we had a full view of the tract lying between the upper plain of the Orontes and the Bukey'a; and forming the water-shed between that river and the Mediterranean. North of our own route across the great slope, as we have seen, the region is very considerably lower, in the direct line between the northern part of the lake of Hums and the castle. Indeed, the best route on which to examine closely the water-shed, would be the road from Hums, or rather from the lake, to el-Husn, which crosses the lowest portion of the intervening tract. This road was travelled by Buckingham in May 1816; but his account is very meagre.⁵ The only place along the route is the small Nusairiyeh village of Tentûny, some two hours east of the Bukey'a. I am not aware that any other Frank traveller has passed that way.

As seen from the castle, this lower portion of the water-shed was clearly and distinctly marked as a level tract, between the slope from Lebanon on the south and the Nusairiyeh hills on the north. In coming from the east, there is a very gradual ascent until near the Bukey'a; the descent into which is shorter and much more rapid.⁶ The road from the lake to el-Husn is therefore more level than the one we travelled. The Wadys also, which descend into the northeastern part of the Bukey'a, are short and shallow depressions, compared with Wady Khâlid. The

¹ Ptol. 5. 14. Gr. *Μαριάμμη, Μανούργα*.
The following is Ptolemy's specification:

Antaradus	68.15	84.15
Mariamme	69.20	84.
Mamouga	69.20	88.45

² Arrian. Exp. Alex. 2. 13. Plin. H. N. 5. 19 or 23.

³ Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. 919.

⁴ Comp. Mannert Geogr. d. Gr. u. Römer, VI. i. p. 335; where however there is some confusion. Ritter places Mariamme at el-Husn, and says nothing of Mamouga; Erdk. XVII. pp 53, 55, 841.

⁵ Arab Tribes, p. 502.

⁶ See above, p. 564.

line of the water-shed lies along the heads of these Wadys. It is of course much nearer to the Bukei'a than to the plain of the Orontes ; yet much nearer to the Orontes than it is to the sea.

There is no reason to doubt, that the waters of the Orontes, if carried off above Ribleh along the western side of the plain, might all be turned across the water-shed into the Bukei'a and so through the Nahr el-Kebir to the sea.¹ Still less difficulty would there be in constructing a railway from Hums to the sea-coast. With the exception of the descent into the Bukei'a its course would lie over comparatively level ground, or along the banks of the Kebir. Whether that steeper descent might be best overcome on this direct line from the lake to the castle, or by some one of the branches of the Wady Khálid, remains to be seen.

THE ENTERING IN OF HAMATH.²—This phrase seems evidently to refer to some point or tract on the extreme northern border of the Promised Land, in its farthest extent, as laid down by Moses in the book of Numbers. Hamath is here put for “the land of Hamath,” the territory or kingdom which took its name from that city ; and which extended so far as to include Riblah in the south.³

The Mediterranean being the western border, the northern border was to run from the sea to mount Hor ; thence “unto the entrance of Hamath ;” and thence to Zedad, now Südüd, some hours southeast of Hums.⁴ Solomon afterwards held a great festival, “and all Israel with him, from the entering in of Hamath unto the river of Egypt.”⁵ Further, among the portions of the land not subdued by Joshua or the people afterwards, was all Lebanon, on the east, “from Baal-gad under mount Hermon [or from Baal-hermon] unto the entering into Hamath ;”⁶ that is, all Lebanon from the region of Dan and Baniás to its northern extremity.⁷ It is further related, that Jeroboam II. “restored the coast of Israel from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the plain” or Dead sea ;⁸ and we infer that the phrase has here its usual meaning, from the subsequent mention, that Jeroboam “recovered Damascus and Hamath for Israel.”⁹

All these notices show clearly, that “the entering in of Hamath” was at the northern extremity of Lebanon ; and that, when the children of Israel took possession of the Promised Land, this became a geographical name for the great interval, or

¹ This opinion is also held by Mr Thomson ; see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1848, p. 22. n.

² Heb. לְבָנוֹן מִן הַיָּם, Num. 34, 8. etc.

³ 2 K. 25, 21.

⁴ Num. 34, 7. 8.

⁵ 1 K. 8, 65. 2 Chr. 7, 8.

⁶ Josh. 13, 5. Judg. 3, 3.

⁷ See above, p. 409.

⁸ 2 K. 14, 25. Comp. Deut. 3, 17.

⁹ 2 K. 14, 28.

depression, between the northern end of Lebanon and the Nusairiyeh mountains. Mount Hor was obviously between the sea shore and the Bukei'a. "The entering in of Hamath" may then refer, either generally to the whole of the great depression, affording as it does an easy passage from the coast to the plain of the Orontes; or, specifically, to the pass through the ridge under el-Husn and the low water-shed east of the Bukei'a; or, more specifically still, only to this low water-shed adjacent to the plain of the Orontes. In either application the phrase is intelligible and sufficiently definite.

In one instance only would this phrase seem to be earlier used of the approach to Hamath from the south, by the Būká'a and Wady et-Teim.¹ This interpretation, however, depends on the probable identity of the Rehob visited by the spies, with the Beth-Rehob which was situated near Dan.²

¹ Num. 13, 21.

² See above, pp. 371, 372. n. 1.

SECTION XIII.

FROM EL-HUSN BY WAY OF THE CEDARS TO BEIRUT.

It had been our wish and purpose, to proceed from el-Husn directly through the northern parts of Lebanon, by 'Akkâr, to the cedars. But we found great difficulty in obtaining information as to any route. It seemed a direct and (for aught we could see) a feasible route, to cross the Jisr el-Aswad in the southern part of the Bukei'a; and then climb the spurs of Lebanon, which lay beyond. But no one in or around el-Husn, or in the convent, to which we came afterwards, knew of any road in that quarter, nor any way of reaching 'Akkâr, except by crossing the Nahr el-Kebir at the Jisr el-Abyad, four hours west of the other. The monks all said, the only possible route to the cedars was by way of Tripoly. We were not then aware, that the Rev. Mr Thomson, being in the region of 'Akkâr in October 1845, and desiring to pass on northwards to the Burj es-Sâfita, which was in full view, was compelled to descend the mountain *westwards* for two hours and a half, and cross the Kebir at the same Jisr el-Abyad. The way was a continual descent over trap boulders, which lay in heaps, and were covered with vast orchards of short, thick, gnarled oaks. He was obliged to travel all this distance west, in order to avoid the great trap chasms and steps, which traverse the region from east to west, and across which no road can be carried. Through these dark chasms the rivers find or force their way to the plain.¹

Finding our course thus hedged up, we determined to proceed to the Jisr el-Abyad; and then strike up into the mountain at the first opportunity.

Monday, June 14th.—We left the fortress el-Husn at 8.15, and descended steeply northwest into the valley or notch. In this part the valley, or low saddle, is broad and well cultivated.

¹ W. M. Thomson in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1848, pp 21, 22

Further northwest it contracts into a narrower valley ; in which the convent of Mâr Jirjis is situated. The latter stands on the northern declivity, not very high up ; and is surrounded by olive groves. The road passes above and around it. Overagainst the convent in the south are rather high hills, covered and green with shrub oaks. We reached the convent at 8.55. As we stopped for a moment to make some inquiries of an Arab, three or four monks came out, and entreated us to dismount and enter. We did so, and were immediately served with sherbet and coffee in their reception room. The monks expressed regret, that we would not let them prepare breakfast for us. They were very courteous. The convent is wholly built of stone, large, massive, and very strong. The chief entrance is by a small door scarcely four feet high. At this time there were about twenty monks residing here ; but several others were said to be absent.¹ We stopped twenty-five minutes ; and then went on our way down the valley, which also is called Mâr Jirjis.

This great convent, called Mâr Jirjis el-Humeira, is the most important and celebrated in northern Syria. It is famous among the common people for the miracles which Mâr Jirjis (St. George) is supposed to perform there. It has large vineyards and olive orchards in the vicinity. Its own revenues are large, and it collects alms all over Syria, Anatolia, and the Greek islands. In return, travellers and pilgrims of all kinds are fed gratis, mostly with rice, bread, and olives. Being on the great road between Hamah and Tripoly, and also between Hums and Tartûs, the convent has many visitors.² In May 1816, Buckingham found here a great crowd of people, who had come as pilgrims from all the country around, as also from Damascus and Aleppo, to be present at the festival of St. George. At the same time a great yearly fair was to be held ; at which all sorts of commodities are bought and sold under the patronage of the Saint.³

Burckhardt was told by the prior, that the convent was built at the same time with the castle el-Husn.⁴ Whether there is any earlier or more authentic notice of it, may be doubtful.⁵

¹ At the time of Burckhardt's visit in March 1812, the convent was inhabited only by a prior and three monks. Trav. in Syr. p. 159.

² See Burckhardt ib. pp. 159, 160.

³ Buckingham, Arab Tribes, p. 504.

⁴ Trav. p. 160.

⁵ It has been supposed, that the great convent mentioned by el-Wakidi, and which Ockley writes Deir Abî'l Kodos, was no other than the present Deir Mâr Jirjis ; see Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Bohn's edit. I. pp. 164-168. Lord Lindsay's Letters, 4th edit. p. 347, and Note p. 436.

Ritter XVII p. 844. Ockley relates from el-Wakidi, that in the time of the Khalif 'Omar, about the middle of the seventh century, a great fair was held at the said convent ; and at the same time the daughter of the prefect of Tripoly and her bridegroom were there, with a large escort, in order to be joined in marriage by a holy priest of the convent. They were set upon by five hundred Saracen horsemen ; but the latter being hard pressed, a reinforcement was brought up from Damascus the same day ; and the convent, wares, and bride were all captured. The convent

Leaving the convent at 9.20, we proceeded down the valley, and came in twenty minutes to the large intermitting fountain, called Fauwâr ed-Deir, 'fountain of the convent.' It issues from a small cavern with a narrow entrance at the base of the northern declivity. The rock here is limestone. The fountain was now at rest; but had flowed the preceding day. We examined the water-bed of the valley, and the channels for irrigating the gardens of the convent below; in all of which water had recently been flowing in large quantities. On entering the cavern, a little rill was still running through it and issuing just below; and the sound of a small quantity of falling water was heard behind the rocks. The floor of the cavern is three or four feet lower than the mouth. The monks, and also the people here, told us, that the fountain is very irregular; the periods of intermission varying with the rainy and dry seasons of the year. Sometimes it flows two or three times a week, and at such seasons continues for some two or three hours; sometimes not for twenty or thirty days, and then it flows for a longer time. The bed of the valley below marks the existence of a considerable stream; which of course varies with the fluctuations of its source.¹

Burckhardt heard of this fountain at the convent; but seems not to have been aware that he passed directly by it.² Buckingham also passed this way without hearing of the fountain.³ Mr Thomson, who was here in 1840, was the first to describe it, and bring it into connection with the sabbatical river of Josephus.⁴

Josephus narrates,⁵ that Titus on his way from Berytus to Antioch, beheld a river between *Arcaea* ('Arka) in Agrippa's kingdom and *Raphanea*; the nature of which was worthy to be recorded. Though it was a considerable stream, with a rapid current, yet at a certain time the springs would fail, and the channel become dry during six days. Then, as if nothing had happened, it would flow again on the seventh day, as before. This was held to be its permanent nature; and hence the stream was called the sabbatical river. Pliny probably refers to the same stream; though he reverses the order, and makes it dry up on the Jewish Sabbath.⁶

is said to have been situated between Tripoly and Harran. To this indefinite position M. ir Jirjis would suit well enough. But when it is said that a reinforcement was brought from Damascus the same day, we must either seek for the convent in some other quarter: or else regard the whole story as legendary.

¹ Buckingham, who saw the channel of this valley only when dry, drew the conclusion, that "the original source had

either been dried up, or the waters of its fountain head diverted into some other direction." Arab Tribes, pp. 505, 506.

² Trav. p. 160.

³ Arab Tribes, p. 505.

⁴ W. M. Thomson in Silliman's Journal of Science, Second Ser. Vol. II. Nov. 1846, pp. 305-310.

⁵ Jos. B. J. 7. 5. 1.

⁶ Plin. H. N. 31. 18, "In Judæa rivus Sabbatis omnibus siccat."—Movers sup-

Arcæa is the well known 'Arka ; to which we came on the following day. Raphanea is mentioned by ancient writers along with Hamath and Apamea, and is situated between Antaradus and the Orontes.¹ It was the seat of a Christian bishop as late as the time of Justinian.² In the time of the crusades it was still a place of importance, situated on the eastern border of the province of Tripoly, in the district of Apamea.³ Hence in A. D. 1126, Pontius count of Tripoly undertook to reduce it ; and for this purpose built a fortress on a neighbouring hill. After a time, king Baldwin II. came to his aid ; and the place surrendered to their united forces in eighteen days.⁴ The fortress thus erected was called Monsferrandus, and also Barinum (Arabic Bârin) ; and came at last from its importance to supersede the name and mention of Raphanea itself ; just as in the parallel instance of Apamea and Kûl'at el-Mudik.⁵ The place was granted by the king of Jerusalem to the knights Hospitalers.⁶ Afterwards, in A. D. 1137, it yielded to the formidable Zenki ;⁷ and seems to have remained permanently in the hands of the Muslims. A century later, about A. D. 1235, the town was plundered and partly destroyed by the Hospitalers in an expedition from Husn el-Akrâd ; but the castle was not subdued.⁸ In Abulfeda's day it was a small town with a ruined fortress, distant a day's journey from Hamath towards the southwest ; and there still remained in and around it the substructions and ruins of the ancient Rafaniyeh.⁹ Burckhardt in 1812 travelled from Kûl'at Mesyâd about S. S. W. to el-Husn ; and saw on his way, an hour distant on his left, on the summit of a ridge overlooking the eastern plain, the ruined castle Bârin.¹⁰ The same appears to have been seen by Mr Thomson from the east, in passing southwards from Hamah in 1840, along the eastern foot of the mountains.¹¹

It thus appears, that Titus was proceeding along the great road, which ran by 'Arka and Raphanea to Hamath ; and so down the valley of the Orontes to Antioch. This course led him naturally through the pass below el-Husn, and directly by the

poses that the name refers, not so much to the Jewish Sabbath, as rather to the Hebrew name of Saturn, שַׁבְּתַי ; or at least to some Phenician myth respecting him ; die Phönizier I. p. 666.

¹ Ptolem. 5. 15. Hieroclis Syneed. p. 712 Weas. Tab. Pent. Segm. X. ed Scheyb. — Josephus likewise speaks of Raphanea as the station of a Roman legion ; B. J. 7. 1. 3. — Comp. Cellarius. II. p. 357. Ritter XVII p. 940.

² Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. 921.

³ Will. Tyr. 13. 19. He writes the name *Rafanea*.

⁴ Will. Tyr. 13. 19. ib. 14. 25. Wilken II. p. 527.

⁵ See above, p. 550.

⁶ Sebast. Pauli, Codice Diplomatico, I. p. 428.

⁷ Wilken II. pp. 645-652.

⁸ Wilken VI. p. 557.

⁹ Abulf Tab. Syr. ed Köhler, pp. 20, 107. Comp. Schulten's Ind. Geogr. in Vit. Sal. art. *Barinum*.

¹⁰ Trav. in Syr. pp. 155, 157.

¹¹ W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sacra. 1848, p. 689. Comp. Misa. Herald, 1841 p. 365.

intermitting fountain. In all essential particulars, the fountain was probably then what it is at the present day. The regular flow or rest upon the Sabbath alone, was a matter of popular belief, or rather of popular credulity. The like credulity still exists. Mr Thomson was informed by an old Sheikh of the Nusairiyeh, who dwelt some twenty miles distant, that the fountain still flows only once in seven days ; namely, on Friday, the Muslim Sabbath.¹

At the fountain several persons were occupied, under a booth, in winding off silk from the cocoons, on a large reel turned by a boy. This is the ordinary rude native method.

We set off from the fountain at 9.55 ; and proceeded down the valley. At 10.10 we began to ascend the southern slope ; thus leaving the valley, which continued on north of west to the great plain. From the top of the broad ridge on which we came out, we had an extensive view of the coast quite to Tripoly ; the sea being three or four hours distant. The ridge which bounds the Bukey'a on the northwest, and through which we had now passed, sinks down on the east side (as we have seen) very steeply to that valley ; while on the west side it declines much more gradually, and runs down and out into low ridges and waving hills ; the western plain being some six or seven hundred feet lower than the Bukey'a. Our course now became southwest, crossing the points of low ridges running out westwards, with shallow Wadys between. At 10.45 the village Shelth was half a mile distant on our left. Ten minutes later there was a single tower on a hill at the left, a mile distant.

Crossing a shallow Wady near its mouth, we came at 11.10 to a ridge ending towards the west in a low bluff or Tell, with a village upon it, called Tell el-Haush. Below this, on the north, is a considerable fountain and pond, called Neba' el-'Arûs ; from which a small stream flows off into the plain, and then (as we afterwards saw) runs southwest to the Nahr el-Kebîr. We passed up around the west side of the Tell, and came out upon a high plain extending towards the south ; having in the west and southwest a lower alluvial plain reaching to the Kebîr. West of the latter, towards the sea, were low hills and swells. Our course continued southwest, with the range of hills on our left. At 11.25 Kefr Rish was about half a mile distant on our right ; our guide said it marked the boundary between the governments of el-Husn and Sâfita. There was a small stream at 11.40 ; and here Burj Sâfita was visible, bearing N. 15° W. apparently about three hours distant.

At 11.50 we descended into the lower plain, one of the richest

¹ Silliman's Journal, ib. p. 310.

and most fertile that I had yet seen. The soil is a rich black mould; and the plain was covered with abundant crops of wheat, millet, and cotton, with tracts of grass yet green. At 12 o'clock there was a brook, and a village Mesaideh on our left, a mile distant.¹ Fifteen minutes later there was another small brook, with the village Burjel-Maksûr a quarter of a mile distant also on our left. We came at 12.35 to a larger brook in the plain, flowing in a deep channel, and bordered by oleanders and trees of the *Derdâr*, seemingly a species of ash. Under their shade we stopped an hour for lunch and rest. Here and along all the streams, the oleanders were in full blossom. It was here, an hour and a quarter from Jisr el-Abyad, that Burckhardt was detained in March 1812, for a whole night, by the swollen stream.² The plain in this part is a mile and a half wide; and is drained S. S. W. towards the Kebîr. West of it, towards the sea, is a higher plain. On our left, on the declivity of the hills, was the village Kefr Sa'rid, a mile distant; and half an hour further in the same direction, high among the hills, and not in sight, was said to lie the village Suth el-Afrit. We had now passed out of the district of Sâfita into another called esh-Shâreh, between Sâfita and 'Akkâr.

Starting again at 1.35, we had on our left, at 1.55, the village Semikeh, a mile and a half distant. There was a fine little fountain just on our right at 2.05, called Neba' esh-Shâreh. In these immense fields the harvest was now in progress. Much of the wheat was already stacked in the fields, to be threshed out more at leisure. We afterwards saw the people loading up camels and donkeys from such stacks. At 2.15 the road from Hums across the Bukei'a, united with that from Jisr el-Aswad, came into ours. After a while the road left the alluvial plain; and crossing a rolling tract, we reached the Kebîr, here coming out of the hills almost parallel for a time with our course. The village el-'Öreimeh was on the left bank, about half an hour above the bridge. The Jisr el-Abyad is at right angles to the road, both above and below. We crossed it at 2.45; having first passed through a caravan of camels, which had stopped for rest. The bridge is modern, resembling the two sides of a steep roof, resting on a high arch.³ The road to Tripoly continues along the left bank of the stream for some distance. Here, perhaps half a mile from the bridge, is the Wely of Sheikh 'Aiyâsh, and a large Khân now in ruins.

The Jisr el-Abyad is also known as Jisr Sheikh 'Aiyâsh, and Jisr el-Jedid. The channel of the stream is broad and deep;

¹ Perhaps the Besaida of our former lists, inhabited by Turkmâns; Bibl. Res. 1st edit. III. App. 182.

² Trav. p. 161.

³ In Burckhardt's day there was here only a ruined bridge; p. 161.

and although there was now no great quantity of water, yet there were evident marks, that in the rainy season an impetuous torrent here finds its way to the sea. Indeed, before the erection of the bridge, caravans have been known to remain encamped on the bank of the stream for weeks together, without being able to cross it.¹ The Nahr el-Kebir is the great border stream, separating Lebanon and Phenicia from the region further north; and as such it corresponds fully to the *Elcutherus* of the ancients; which Strabo in like manner describes as the northern limit of Phenicia and Coelesyria.²

Thus far we had been travelling upon the great road from Hamah to Tripoly; into which had fallen, as we have seen, the road coming from Hums through the Bukei'a, united with that from Jisr el-Aswad. All the villages we had seen along the road, are in the district of el-Husn. The Kebir serves, as of old, to divide the district el-Husn on the north from that of el-'Akkâr on the south; the latter including the northern part of Lebanon and extending to the sea; the former having on the west of it the districts of Sâfita and esh-Shâreh.

Our purpose was to proceed to the village of Heitela; from which place, as we had been told, we might hope to find a road leading up into the mountain. We kept on, therefore, along the Tripoly road, till 3 o'clock; and then turned south on the direct road to Sheikh Muhammed. At this time the village Jûrat Bûrsha was on our left, twenty minutes distant. The road soon forked; and we took the left, towards Heitela, going S. S. E. till 3.15, and then south. We had on our left the village Sharahmarin at 3.20; and Serâr at 3.30; both of them lying between Jûrat Bûrsha and Heitela, and each about twenty minutes from our road, on the hills. As we descended a slope into a narrow plain, Heitela was before us on the opposite declivity. We came at 3.40 to a threshing-floor in the plain, where several people from the village were at work. They all assured us, that there was no road from the village leading up into the mountain. We therefore had no resource, but to proceed to Sheikh Muhammed. Heitela here bore S. S. E. about twenty minutes distant.

We now turned southwest along the narrow plain and through the fields, without a path, until we struck the road from Heitela to Sheikh Muhammed. At 4.05 the village of Sa'din

¹ Burckhardt, p. 161.

² Strabo 16. 2. 12. p. 753. Comp. Plin. H. N. 5. 17, "Tripolis . . . Orthosia, Eleutheros flumen." The same Eleutheros is probably meant in 1 Macc. 12, 30. Comp. Ritter XVII. p. 819 sq.—Movers suggests, that the present name el-Kebîr, "the Great," may be derived from the

Cabiri (Κάβειροι), whose worship was current in Phenicia; die Phönizier I. p. 668, comp. 651 sq. This seems far fetched; since the epithet "Great" is entirely appropriate.—Pliny relates, that at a certain season of the year, the river Eleutheros swarmed with tortoises; H. N. 9. 12.

was on our right, on a hill, a mile distant; and ten minutes later on our left, half a mile distant, was the village Jâmîa'. Hereabouts we fell into the direct road from the bridge to Sheikh Muhammed, which we had before left. Our course was now S. S. W. At 4.45 Tell 'Abbâs, a mound in the plain, was on our right half a mile distant, apparently with ruins upon it. From the Kebir southwards, the road follows the base of the hills, or rather the swellings of the mountain, here called Jebel 'Akkâr; having the great plain all the way on the right.

We came at 4.55 to the Nahr 'Akkâr, which issues from a ravine in the hills on our left, and here makes a bend towards the north. A large canal is carried off on the north side for the purposes of irrigation. Our road followed up the high left bank for a little distance; and here a slight dam was thrown across in order to turn the water into the canal. Here too was another silk-reeling establishment, with an undershot wheel turned by water. The wheel was rudely constructed with boards as arms, without a rim. In the mouth of the ravine, about a mile on the left of our road, and on the south bank of the stream, lies the village Khureibet el-Jundy, with an old castle; from which the stream is also known here as the Nahr el-Khureibeh. Further west it is also called Nahr el-Hisa, from a village of that name.¹ It was said to water the fields and gardens around 'Akkâr, five or six hours distant in the mountain.²

Proceeding onward, and skirting the base of the hills as before, we came at 5.30 to the little ravine, on the south side of which, on the hill or plateau above, lies the large village of Sheikh Muhammed. We had no motive for climbing to the village; and therefore encamped in the ravine below, near a fine little fountain. The sea was in sight, some four or five miles distant. From our tent, a square structure with corner towers in the plain, apparently half an hour or more from the sea, called Kulei'ât, bore N. 50° W.³ It is two hours north of Nahr Bârid. The village Semmawineh, perhaps an hour distant from us, bore N. 70° W.

In all the villages near which we had passed to day, the houses are built of black volcanic stones, showing the nature of the region. But from this point southwards, we came again upon limestone.

Among the gardens below our tent, there stood by the way

¹ The village el-Hisa, is at one hour on the direct road from Jisr el-Abyad to Tripoly; Dr De Forest Ms. Letter.

² The ruined city of 'Akkâr was visited by Mr Thomson in 1846; and is described by him in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1848, pp. 19-21. The Nahr 'Akkâr has its sources

in the vicinity; and flows at first through a wild gorge.

³ Mentioned by Abulfeda, with Halba and 'Arka, among the conquests of Bibars near Tripoly, in A. D. 1266; *Annales*, ed. Reiske, V. p. 17; comp. Tab Syr. p. 204. Wilken de Bellor. cruc. Hist. p. 228.

side a large shrub or rather tree of the *white* oleander. It was in full blossom, and very beautiful. We had seen one small shrub of the same in the splendid court of the British consul's house in Damascus; and this his lady set great store by, as rare and difficult to be obtained. Here were finer blossoms in rich profusion, with none to prize them.

Tuesday, June 15th.—Our purpose to go from el-Husn directly through the northern parts of Lebanon to the cedars, had thus been completely frustrated. We had been able neither to find a road, nor to hear of any. Every person of whom we inquired along the way, confirmed the testimony of the monks, that the only known route to the cedars was by way of Tripoly.

We might have proceeded from Sheikh Muhammed to 'Akkâr by way of Jibra'il, Mr Thomson's route. But we were now pressed for time; it being important that we should reach Beirut not later than the next Saturday. We learned that it would take us three days to go by 'Akkâr to the cedars; while the other route would require only a day and a half. We therefore reluctantly gave up 'Akkâr; and decided to keep along near the base of the mountain, and strike the road from Tripoly to the cedars as far distant from that city as possible; hoping thus to save a considerable circuit. We afterwards regretted, that we had not at least made the attempt to go by 'Akkâr; and we also found, that we had gained little by avoiding Tripoly.

Setting off from our place of encampment below Sheikh Muhammed at 6.25, we continued on a southwesterly course along the base of the hills; which between this place and Tell 'Arka curve a little inwards, forming a sort of amphitheatre on our left. On these hills lay four villages, in the following order, which we passed at the time and distances specified, viz. Halba at 6.35, distant a quarter of a mile;¹ Sheikh Tâba at 6.45, distant half a mile; ez-Zawârib at 6.55, distant three eighths of a mile; and Menyârah at 7.05, distant three fourths of a mile. The plain upon our right lies around the great bay north of Tripoly; and bears the name of Jûn 'Akkâr.²

At 7.20 we reached the site of 'Arka with its high Tell. The remains of the former city are very few. The town lay below the Tell mainly on the north, upon a plateau or terrace overlooking the plain and sea. The heaps of ruins seen here at present consist for the most part of ordinary stones; from which the conclusion may be drawn, that the common houses of old were built, as now, of such materials. Among the heaps, we saw

¹ Halba is mentioned by Abulfeda; see note 3, on the preceding page.

² This splendid plain extends along the coast as far north as opposite to Burj Sâ-

flita, some distance beyond the Nahr Abras; see Pococke II. i. p. 204. Thomson in *Miss. Herald*, 1841. p. 98.

in different parts the fragments of several granite columns. The Tell is quite steep, and more than a hundred feet in height. The top is a level area of two or three acres, which is ploughed and cultivated. There are traces of a wall on the eastern and southwestern parts, and perhaps elsewhere; also a fragment of a fine granite column, and a deep and good cistern hewn in the rock. We noticed nothing else on the summit, except heaps of ordinary stones like those below. At the southern base of the Tell runs the Nahr 'Arka, which issues from the mountains just above, and rushes along its deep rocky channel towards the sea. The side of the Tell over the stream is in part precipitous rock; and at its base Mr Thomson counted sixty-four columns, most of them broken, and apparently thrown down from above. About one third of them are of red Syenite, and the rest gray granite.¹

The present village of 'Arka is on the east of the Tell. Further up the stream, on the left bank, is el-Hākūrah; and still further up, on the right bank, is Kerm 'Asfūr. The road passes around the Tell on the west side; and descends to a bridge across the narrow rocky chasm of the river. Here is a mill, with a race cut through a high rock by a short tunnel; perhaps an ancient work.—The prospect from the summit of the Tell is splendid; including the sea in front, the rich plain in the north, and the snowy heights of Lebanon in the background. The Tell is from an hour and a half to two hours distant from the sea.²

'Arka appears to have been a very ancient Phenician city; the seat of the *Arkites* mentioned in the earliest history of Canaan.³ We hear no more of it until the Christian era, when Pliny and Ptolemy merely give its name.⁴ Josephus speaks of *Arca* as lying on the route of Titus from Berytus by way of the sabbatical river to Raphanea and Antioch.⁵ He says also, that Arca belonged to Agrippa's kingdom; which I cannot explain, except by supposing, that there was some political relation between Arca and perhaps Abila; which last was part of Agrippa's domain.⁶ Pliny likewise mentions Abila and Arca together, though separated by so wide an interval.⁷ Coins of

¹ W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1848, p. 15.

² Bearings from Tell 'Arka: Sheikh Muhammed N. 40° E. Kulei'ât in the plain, N. 30° W. 'Arka, village, E. ½ m. Kerm 'Asfūr E. S. E. 1½ m. el-Hākūrah S. E. 1 m. Deir Delūm S. W. by S.

³ Heb. אַרְכִּי, *Arkite*, Gen. 10, 17. 1 Chr. 1, 15. Comp Joseph. Antt. 1. 6. 2, 'Αρχή.—Josephus speaks of another 'Αρχή in Asher, the same with 'Ακτινούς, Antt. 5. 1. 22.

⁴ Plin. H. N. 5. 16. Ptol. Geogr. 5. 14.

⁵ Joseph. B. J. 7. 5. 1. see above, p.

572.—Josephus here writes the name in Greek 'Αρκαία. In Antt. 1. 6. 2, he has 'Αρχή. Ptolemy has 'Αρκα (or). Hierocles and Steph. Byzant. 'Αρκαί.

⁶ Agrippa at first had Chalcis; Jos. Antt. 19. 9. 1, 2. ib. 20. 5. 2. Afterwards in A. D. 52, he was transferred to the provinces which his father at first possessed; to which others were later added; Antt. 20. 7. 1. ib. 20. 8. 4. But none of his territories lay near the north end of Lebanon, or had any topographical connection with 'Arka.

⁷ Plin. H. N. 5. 16.

Arca are still extant ; from which it appears, that as early as Vespasian the city was also called Cæsarea of Lebanon.* A later Roman historian informs us, that there was here a temple dedicated to Alexander the Great, in which an annual festival was celebrated in his honour. It probably stood upon the Tell ; and hence the columns, which now lie at the southern base. In this temple, on the day of Alexander's festival, the emperor Alexander Severus was born ; and received his name from this circumstance.² Arca was likewise the seat of a Christian bishop. Early in the fifth century, Theodosius the younger made Berytus the ecclesiastical metropolis of a new province ; to which Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosia, Arca, and Antaradus, were subordinate ; and bishops of Arca are named until the close of that century.³

In the beginning of the crusades, Arca was still a strong fortress and a place of importance. In A. D. 1099, the first host of the crusaders, who under count Raimund of Toulouse marched from Antioch up the valley of the Orontes to Hums, and thence by el-Husn to the coast, laid siege to Arca without success. The strength of the fortress resisted all their efforts.⁴ While the army lay here encamped, occurred the famous dispute about the holy spear, with which it was said the Saviour's side had been pierced. This spear had been made known at Antioch in a vision to a monk, Peter Bartholomew ; and was entrusted to the guardianship of count Raimund.⁵ As doubts arose and became loud in respect to its genuineness, Peter proposed to undergo the ordeal of fire in its behalf ; and with it in his hands to walk through the midst of flames. This was done ; Peter and the spear appeared uninjured, or slightly injured ; but the people in their veneration for Peter rushed upon him, tore off his garments as relics, and otherwise so injured him, that he died twelve days afterwards ; but whether from wounds received by the fire, or from injuries at the hands of the people, is not definitely related.⁶ The result was unfavourable to the credit of the holy

* Cæsarea Libani, Eckhel Doctr. Nummorum. III. p. 360. Mionnet Méd. III. p. 683. Gesen. Notes to Burckhardt, I. p. 520 sq. Comp. Aur. Victor de Cæs. 24, "cui duplex, Cæsarea et Arca, nomen est."

² El. Lamprid. Alexand. c. 1, "Aurelius Alexander urbe Arcena genitus." Ibid. c. 5, "Alexandri nomen accipit, quod in templo dicato apud Arcenam urbem Alexandro Magno natus esset ; quum casu illuc die festo Alexandri pater cum uxore, patriæ solemnitatibus implendæ causa, venisset." —According to Macrobius Sat. 1. 21, a Venus *Architis* was worshipped by the

Assyrians ; but the name in Assyria could have no reference to 'Arka.

³ Le Quien, Oriens Christianus II. 815, 823.

⁴ Wilken Gesch. der Kr. I. pp. 253, 255. Raimund d'Agiles, who was present, writes the name *Archados*, and says of the place : "castrum munitissimum et inexpugnabile viribus humanis ;" Gesta Dei per Fr. p. 163.

⁵ Raim. d'Ag. pp. 150–152. Wilken I. p. 214 sq.

⁶ Raim. d'Ag. pp. 168–171. Will. Tyr. 7. 18. Wilken ib. pp. 260–264.

spear. After a delay of more than two months before 'Arka, count Raimund, in consequence of the urgent desire of the leaders and troops to press on towards the Holy City, unwillingly yielded to their importunity and abandoned the siege.'

'Arka surrendered to count William of Cerdagne in A. D. 1108 ;¹ but was captured by storm and desolated by Zenki in A. D. 1138.² At what time it again came under the power of the Franks, is not related. In A. D. 1202, 'Arka, as also Tripolis, was laid utterly waste by an earthquake.' The impetuous Bibars in 1266 seized possession of the region around Tripolis, including Arka ; which latter at the time had jurisdiction over fifty-six villages.³ This was some years before the surrender of el-Husn.

Edrisi in the twelfth century describes 'Arka as a populous city, with much commerce, built at the foot of a hill, with a lofty citadel, and an extensive suburb equally populous. It was supplied with water by canals from the adjacent river ; which also served to turn mills and to water many vineyards and plantations of sugar cane.⁴ Early in the fourteenth century, Abulfeda speaks of 'Arka as a small place with a small fortress ; it was then the extreme point of the Pashalik of Damascus.' At what time and in what way the utter desolation of both city and fortress took place, or how the very disappearance of their stones is to be accounted for, we are nowhere informed. Possibly the larger and more valuable stones have been removed to Tripoly, and used for building up that city and its castles. There is said to be a tradition of the place, that 'Arka has for centuries served as a quarry for Tripoly.⁵

Of modern travellers, Dr Shaw, in 1722, was the first to visit 'Arka and bring it into notice.⁶ Pococke passed this way about 1738. He mentions the river 'Arka, and supposes that the city must have lain upon it ; but appears to have had no further idea of its site.¹⁰ No other traveller seems to have heard of 'Arka until Burckhardt ; whose route we had now followed, and whose account is quite brief.¹¹ Mr Thomson was here in 1846, and has given a fuller description.¹²

¹ Will. Tyr. 7. 20, 21. Wilken I. p. 265 sq.

² Albert Aq. 11. 1. Wilken II. p. 202.

³ De Guignes Hist. des Huns, II. p. 474, Germ. Wilken II. p. 673.

⁴ Wilken VI. p. 7.

⁵ Abulf. Annal. ed. Rei-ke, V. p. 17. Wilken de Bellor. cruc. Hist. p. 223. De Guignes Hist. des Huns, IV. pp. 157, 158.

⁶ Edrisi par Jaubert, I. p. 357. This account of Edrisi contradicts the idea of Shaw, that the city was supplied with water by an aqueduct from the mountain. Shaw speaks of an arch of this aqueduct

a hundred feet in diameter. His account probably rests on some popular legend. Shaw's Travels, Lond. 1757, p. 270. W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sacra, 1848, p. 16.

⁷ Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 113.

⁸ W. M. Thomson in Biblioth. Sacra, 1848, p. 15.

⁹ Travels, Lond. 1757, p. 270.

¹⁰ Pococke II. i. p. 205.

¹¹ Burckh. Trav. p. 162. Burckhardt heard for the Nahr 'Akkâr only the name Nahr Khureibeh ; and for Nahr 'Arka he writes Wady 'Akka.

¹² Biblioth. Sacra, 1848, pp. 15-17.

The order of the five considerable streams which flow through the plain to the sea north of Tripoly, is correctly given by Pococke.¹ Two and a quarter hours from Tripoly is the Nahr el-Bârid ; on the north side of which is a Khân, and above it the remains of an extensive city.² This was probably Orthosia ; the place of which ancient geographers do not definitely describe ; but which appears to have been situated between Tripoly and 'Arka.³ The next stream, a short hour beyond, is the Nahr 'Arka ; and then follow the Nahr 'Akkâr, an hour and a half ; Nahr el-Kebir, one hour ; and Nahr Abras, one hour.⁴

We left the bridge of 'Arka at 8 o'clock, ascending the steep and high bank to the plain beyond. The road kept along the plain, skirting the hills. At 8.20 the village of Deir Delûm was on the left upon a hill, half a mile distant. At 8.35 there was a fork of the road ; the right going on directly to Tripoly, while we took the left in order to cross the higher tract lying east of Jebel Turbul between it and Lebanon. From the fork Tell 'Arka bore E. N. E. Just beyond the fork was a small Wady and brook, known as Wady Bürkâil, from a village situated half an hour higher up on its banks, and not in sight. This village is the seat of government for the district. At 9 o'clock there was another smaller brook, Wady Jâmûs ; and these streamlets became now so frequent, coming from the hills and watering the plain, that I ceased to note them. A village, Bibnin, was close on our left at 9.10. The road we were now on, led also to Tripoly ; hence at 9.25 we left it, and went on S. 10° W. over the skirts of the hills. At 9.40 we struck the brow of the deep valley of the Nahr Bârid ; and descending, forded the stream at 9.45. The current was deep and very rapid, rushing over a stony bottom. Our guide's young donkey was nearly swept away ; and came out looking much like a drowned rat. The stream was thickly skirted with oleanders. It is said to have a greater quantity of water at this season of the year, than at any other. There was now twice as much water in it, as in the Kebir. The source is said to be at the base of the highest ridge of Lebanon, above the large village of Sû. Here is a large fountain, called Neba' el-Mas-hûr, supplied by the melting snow, and very copious in spring and early summer. Our guide professed to be able to see and point out to us the foaming stream as it issued from the

¹ Vol. II. i. pp. 204, 205.

² W. M. Thomson, *ib.* p. 14.

³ The six cities assigned to the new ecclesiastical province of Berytus established under Theodosius the younger, are named in the following order, beginning from the south : Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosia,

Arca, Antaradus. Le Quien *Oriens Christ.* II. 815. See above, p. 580.

⁴ W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1848, p. 14. Also in *Miss Herald*, 1841, p. 97.—Maundrell wrongly places the Nahr Abras south of the Kebir ; *Journ.* March 8th.

fountain. Flowing to the Nahr el-Bârid, it makes the river twice as large at that season, as it is later in summer and in winter. Nahr el-Bârid is the southern boundary of the district of 'Akkâr.'

After crossing the stream, we turned up the left bank for a little, ascending gradually to the top. At 10.20 the village Dirhala was opposite to us, on the high right bank of the stream. At 10.30 we came out upon the higher plateau or plain, lying between Jebel Turbul on the right, and Lebanon on the left. It is somewhat uneven and rolling; but in general well cultivated. Our course was now about south. Jebel Turbul thus lies between Lebanon and the sea; and a like ridge, though much lower, runs on south of Tripoly.* Between this ridge and Lebanon lies the higher and long plain on which we were now entering, stretching far to the south, and cut through by the Kadisha near Zugharta. The width is in general from an hour and a half to two hours.

At 10.45 the village of Turbul was visible about southwest, lying on the northeastern end of the high summit of Jebel Turbul, to which it gives name; it seemed to be a short two hours distant. Kefreiya was said to lie in the same direction, at the foot of Jebel Turbul, about one hour distant, though not in sight from our road. At 10.55 there was a fountain, 'Ain 'Adweh, near the village 'Adweh, which lies a little southwest. Our road continued over the high tract, which thus occupies the watershed between the Bârid and the Kadisha. On our left, along the foot of the eastern mountain, was a depression or lower plain, fertile and well cultivated. From its northern part a short Wady runs off northwest to the Bârid; while from its southern part a large Wady goes southwest to a branch of the Kadisha. At 11.30 we came to the brow of this latter, the deep Wady Hâ-lân, running southwest. We descended into it obliquely, and reached its plain at 11.45. At 12 o'clock the village Hâ-lân was on the right bank just above us. The valley gradually opens out into a lower plain. At 12.10 we stopped for lunch at the fountains and plane trees of 'Ayn 'Ashâsh; a village of the same name lying a few minutes towards the southwest.

Setting off again at 1.30, we once more found ourselves on a great road leading to Tripoly; and going, after a time, W. S. W. We were now in an open plain, on the level of the Kadisha; one of its branches being on our left. At 2 o'clock the village Erdeh was at our left hand, some forty rods distant, on a low

* Shaw erroneously regards the Nahr el-Bârid as the ancient Eleutherus; Trav. n. 271.

* Jebel Turbul seems to be the *Mons*

Leopardorum, "Leopard mountain," of the centuries after the crusades; Brocardus c. 2. p. 171. De la Roque II. p. 6.

Tell, with the meadows of the Nahr Resha'in beyond it. Here we turned off again from the Tripoly road, in order to pass across directly to Zugharta. At 2.25 we struck and forded the Nahr Resha'in, the large northern branch of the Kadisha, which comes down meandering from the northeast, where it issues from the mountain. On its southern bank we ascended a little into the village of Zugharta, on a plain, at 2.30. Here, after all our efforts, we were but an hour and a half distant from Tripoly !

Zugharta is a large village on the great road from Tripoly to Ehden and the cedars. There is in it an open public place of good size ; and there are some good houses. Many of the people of Ehden have houses and gardens in this village, and pass here the winter months. Their houses were now shut up.

Our course was now along the great road leading from Tripoly up the mountain to the cedars. After some delay we set off again at 3 o'clock, going at first S. S. E. over an open country extending to the foot of the mountain. At 3.30 the village Kefr Hâta was on the road ; and we descended into a fertile valley with a little stream, called Wady el-Khâlidîyeh. Ascending again we struck in a few minutes the right bank of Wady Ju'ait, with a stream of the same name, the middle and smaller branch of the Kadisha. Here too was a long canal for irrigation. At 4.05 we were opposite the village Kefr Yâshit, situated on the high and steep southern bank of the valley, half a mile distant. We now crossed the stream, and climbed very obliquely along the steep declivity. The Wady here issues from its deep gorge, in the lower ridge of Lebanon. At 4.30 there was a village on the steep rocky slope overagainst us, Mirh Kefr Sûghâbiyeh, half a mile distant. Just south of this village, the chasm makes almost a right angle ; and runs up east through the first ridge as a still narrower and more precipitous ravine. We now rose out of the valley, and began to ascend the ridge on the south of the chasm ; having on our right at 4.40 the village of 'Arjis, about a mile and a half distant on a low hill, and separated from us by a deep valley. At 4.50 Bnesh'ain was below us a quarter of a mile on our right. At 5 o'clock the large village Dâreiyâ was on our right, a mile and a half or two miles distant. On the summit of a hill just east of Dâreiyâ was the convent of Mâr Ya'kôb ; and farther east, on the declivity of the same hill, was the village Kerm Seddeh. Still a little further east, and lower, lay Matrân Bûlus. We now came out upon the first plateau or terrace of the mountain, narrow, rocky, and uneven. Thus far our course since crossing the Nahr Ju'ait had been about south.

From this spot we looked out upon the sea ; and had a full view over the level tract lying between the low ridge along the

coast, called *Jebel Kûla'*,¹ and the base of Lebanon. It was here not less than two hours broad ; but grows narrower towards the south ; in which direction, after six or eight hours, the lower ridge and the spurs of Lebanon run together.² The traveller, who in passing along the shore south of Tripoli supposes himself to be journeying along the foot of Lebanon, is quite mistaken. North of Tripoli the low ridge rises into the higher and broader *Jebel Turbul* ; between which and Lebanon, as we have seen, the level tract is also continued ; though it is there less broad.

Our path now turned easterly across the uneven plateau. On our right was a Wady, and beyond it the village *Sib'al*, a mile distant. East of this, and on the high brow of the next ridge, was perched the village of *Aitû*.³ At the same time the village *Mizyâra* was on our left, a mile and a half distant, beyond a Wady ; and east of it, on higher ground, was *Humeis*.⁴ At 5.50 we came to the foot of the next ascent ; and entered a deep wild gorge, called *Wady Heirûna*, running up southeast through the ridge. We crossed its channel, now dry, which passes down westward on the south of our road ; and began to climb along its southwestern side with great difficulty. Indeed the way was in some parts almost impassable ; and we both pronounced it to be the worst we had met with in Lebanon or in all Palestine. We were, however, already well nigh beat out ; having been to day nearly twelve hours in the saddle. Finding that we could not reach *Ehden*, as we had intended, until quite late, we stopped at 6.40, after an hour and a half of very toilsome ascent ; and turning off from the road a few rods to the right, we encamped at a sweet little fountain, called *'Ain Heirûna*. Here, in the deepest solitude, this spring of the purest water has served to refresh many ; it has a little spout and a small trough beneath. Several people showed themselves round about ; and women came for water. They were said to be from *Aitû* ; and were here to watch the fields of grain. From them our servants obtained milk.

The recollections of this evening are among the most delightful of my whole journey. We had all day, till 4 o'clock, plodded our way along the sultry plains of the coast, beneath the scorching rays of a Syrian summer's sun ; but now we had ascended to an elevation of some four thousand feet, and the cool evening breezes of Lebanon were both invigorating and exhilarating. We could overlook the mountain slopes below us, with the dark

¹ Burckhardt pp. 172, 173.

² This plain extends south as far as to *'Amyûn* ; Dr De Forest, *Ma. notes. Comp.* Burckhardt pp. 172, 176 sq.

³ Bearings at 5. 15 : *Dâreiya* W. by S

1½ m. *Matrân Bâlus* S. S. W. 2 m. *Sib'al* S. S. E. 1 m.

⁴ Bearings at 5.40 : *Sib'al* S. W. 1 m. *Aitû* S. by E 1½ m. *Mizyâra* N. 40° E 1½ m. *Humeis* N. 60° E. 1 m.

sea beyond ; and could trace the port of Tripoly and the many islets stretching off into the sea. Tripoly itself was hidden by the hills. The sun set in splendour ; and we sat, during the glorious twilight and evening, in the full enjoyment of the magnificent scene.¹

Wednesday, June 16th.—The cool air of the mountain had given us a night of refreshing sleep. We set off at 7.25 ; and had still a steep ascent of about fifteen minutes. Here and below, the northern side of the gorge is a precipice of naked rock, having the strata dislocated and nearly perpendicular. We soon came out of the chasm, and continued to ascend gradually over open ground ; a high, rocky, isolated point being on our right. At 7.55 a path went off on the left to the Maronite convent of Mâr Antânus el-Kûzheiya.² Ten minutes later we came out on a high plateau, a tract of land uneven and broken, but cultivated ; having on the south the deep gorge of Bsherreh with the stream Abu 'Aly, the main branch of the Kadisha ; and extending for an hour or two towards the north. To this plateau may be said to belong the tract quite to the cedars. Here we fell in with several purling rills, brought down from the fountain of Ehden. Our course was about S. S. E. Some of the fields of wheat afforded little promise ; but others again were fine, almost as good as in the plains below. They were however not yet ready for harvest ; and would not be ripe enough under two or three weeks. The silk-harvest of the mountain was equally behind that of the plains. As we approached Ehden we came upon a field of potatoes ; the first I had seen in Syria, and which I saw only at this elevation, in the highest cultivated parts of Lebanon. It was laid out in beds, and regularly irrigated.³

We came at 8.35 to the village of Ehden, pleasantly situated on the northwestern border of a deep gulf running southwest to that of the Kadisha. The village stands also at the northwestern outer edge of the great amphitheatre of mountains, which surround the cedars ; at the extremity of the lofty spur, which projects westwards from the great upper ridge to form that amphitheatre. It lies on a slope facing the south, at an elevation of 4750 English feet above the sea.⁴ Here is an abundance of water for every purpose, coming from a copious fountain ten minutes east of the village. There are many vineyards ; and

¹ Bearings at 'Ain Heirâna : Tripoly, the Minu, N. 25° W. Zughartâ N. 20° W.

² Said to be two hours distant from Ehden. The convent has a small printing office ; and prints prayer books in Arabic with Syrian letters. See Seetzen in Zach's Mon. Corr. XVI. p. 555 Burekh. Trav. p. 22. O. v. Richter p. 110 sq. Ritter XVII. p. 654. See in Vol. II. p. 507. [iii. 460.]

³ Burckhardt in 1810 speaks of the potato as cultivated in this region ; Trav. p. 22. According to Seetzen the cultivation of it began not long before 1805 ; Reise, I. p. 164. It was singular to see the potato thus treated as a delicate garden vegetable. See below, p. 596.

⁴ According to Schubert, III. p. 365 ; i. e. 4454 Paris feet.

figs and apricots flourish well. There was also fine shade from many noble walnut trees. The people seemed thrifty and well off, and there was no begging. As has been already mentioned, many families make their winter residence in Zugharta. The people were very civil. We were detained for some time, in order to have our horses shod.

Ehden is said to have been the birthplace of the Maronite scholar, Gabriel Sionita, the editor of the Syrian version in the Paris Polyglot. It was also formerly the seat of a Maronite bishop.¹ South of Ehden, beyond the adjacent gulf, was the village Kefr Sa'âb; and still lower down, also on the further side, that of Bân.

Leaving Ehden at 9.15 we passed on in a southeast course, having the fountain on our left; and kept along the border of the gulf, which has its beginning towards the northeast, under the adjacent mountain. At 9.30 we crossed the valley and its stream, here merely a wild sheet of white foam, coming down southwest from a fountain at the Maronite convent Mâr Serkis, situated just at the base of the mountain, fifteen or twenty minutes on our left.² We now continued to ascend gradually along this high basin, having on our left the lofty spur running out from the great upper ridge of Lebanon; this spur being here a thousand feet high or more above the basin, with pyramidal cliffs along the top, and becoming higher and higher towards the east. On our right was a low ridge between us and the gulf of the Kadisha; through the breaks in which we could see the lofty dorsal ridge beyond, with its snows.

We came at 10.30 to the eastern end of this basin; and crossing a low saddle, continued to wind our way among rocky hills. Among these we passed a fountain called 'Ain el-Bakarah. At 10.50 we had a view down a deep cleft into the gulf of the Kadisha, a monstrous gorge, having five villages in sight on its southern brow, and Bsherreh lower down on the side next us. We still kept along upon and among the hills. At 11.10 there was a fine fountain at the base of a ledge of rocks; from one orifice issued a spout of water two or three feet high; and others just below were boiling up quite strongly. It is called 'Ain en-Nebât; its stream runs or rather shoots down to the Kadisha.

¹ Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. 91-93.—That it should accord with the learning and taste of Maronite monks, to confound *Ehden* or *Eheden* (أهدن) with *Eden* (إدْن), and regard it as the *Paradisus* of ancient writers, is not surprising; see above, p. 556. But that the same error should be committed by a scholar like Gesenius, is less excusable; see his Notes on Burck-

hardt, I. p. 492; copied also by Ritter, XVII p. 650. The two names (one of them with 'Ain) have no relation to each other.

² On this convent, see Seetzen, Reisen I. p. 173. I suppose it to be the same which Pococke mentions in 1739 as the convent of St. Sergius, belonging, as he supposed, to the Latin Carmelites; II. i. p. 104.

We could now see the road from Ba'albek coming down over the lofty and naked ridge of Lebanon, a little south of the cedars.

At last we fell into the great road from Bsherreh ; having, as I suppose, followed a less usual path from Ehden, at least for a part of the way. We now kept along for a time on the brink of the great chasm ; and then more to the left. We reached the cedars at 12 o'clock, situated a quarter of a mile north of the road. Here we rested for three hours, beneath these shades of solemn grandeur, embosomed among the loftiest heights of Lebanon.

The cedars, which still bear their ancient name,¹ stand mostly upon four small contiguous rocky knolls, within a compass of less than forty rods in diameter. They form a thick forest, without underbrush. The older trees have each several trunks, and thus spread themselves widely around ; but most of the others are cone-like in form, and do not throw out their boughs laterally to any great extent. Some few trees stand alone on the outskirts of the grove ; and one especially, on the south, is large and very beautiful. With this exception, none of the trees came up to my ideal of the graceful beauty of the cedar of Lebanon, such as I had formerly seen it in the Jardin des Plantes. Some of the older trees are already much broken ; and will soon be wholly destroyed. The fashion is now coming into vogue, to have articles made of this wood for sale to travellers ; and it is also burned as fuel by the few people that here pass the summer. These causes of destruction, though gradual in their operation, are nevertheless sure. Add to this the circumstance, that travellers, in former years, (to say nothing of the present time,) have been shameless enough to cause large spots to be hewn smooth on the trunks of some of the noblest trees in order to inscribe their names. The two earliest which I saw were Frenchmen ; one was dated in 1791.²—The wood of the cedar, *Pinus cedrus*, is white, with a pleasant, but not strong odour ;³ and bears no comparison, in beauty or fragrance, with the common red cedar of America, *Juniperus Virginiana*.

I made no attempt to count the trees. Probably no two persons would fully agree in respect to the old ones, or in the number of the whole. Yet I should be disposed to concur in the language of Burckhardt, who says : " Of the oldest and best looking trees I counted eleven or twelve ; twenty-five very large ones ; about fifty of middling size ; and more than three hundred smaller and young ones." ⁴ Yet there is no room to doubt,

¹ Heb. אֲרֶז. Arab. زَيْتُون, *Arz*.

² Irby and Mangles noticed the date of 1640 ; Travels p. 210. [65]

³ Pococke says : "The wood does not

differ from white deal in appearance ;" II. i. p. 104.

⁴ Trav. p. 19. This was in 1810. Seetzen in 1805 gives the number of the largest trees at fourteen ; Reisen I. p.

but that during the last three centuries the number of earlier trees has diminished by nearly or quite one half; while the younger growth has in great part, if not wholly, sprung up during that interval. Büsching enumerates by name no less than twenty-six travellers between A. D. 1550 and 1755, from P. Belon to Stephen Schulz, who had described and counted the trees; ¹ and since that time the number of like descriptions has probably been hardly less than twice as many. In the sixteenth century the number of old trees is variously given as from twenty-eight to twenty-three; in the seventeenth, from twenty-four to sixteen; in the eighteenth, from twenty to fifteen.² After the lapse of another century, the number of the oldest trees, as we have seen, is now reduced to about a dozen. All this marks a gradual process of decay; and it also marks the difficulty of exact enumeration. This is rightly ascribed by Fürer, and also by Dandini, to the fact, that many of the trees have two or more stems; and were thus reckoned differently by different travellers, sometimes as one tree, and sometimes as two or more.³ All the travellers of the sixteenth century speak only of the old trees; they nowhere mention any young ones. Rauwolf, himself a botanist, seems to say expressly, that he sought for younger trees, without being able to find any.⁴ If this be so, it would appear, that with the exception of the few remaining ancient trees, perhaps none of those, which now make up the grove, can be regarded as reaching back in age more than three hundred years.⁵

In the minds of the common people an air of sanctity is thrown around the grove, the river, and the region. The ancient trees are sacred, as coming down from the times of Scripture and Solomon; and the river which has its source near

169. In 1843 Dr Wilson counted twelve of the ancient trees, not standing together; and of younger growth three hundred and twenty-five; *Lands of the Bible* II. p. 389. The latest account (1853) makes four hundred in all; of which twelve are spoken of as the largest; Ritter XVII. p. 649.

¹ Büsching *Erdbeschr.* XI. i. p. 814.

² Thus Belon about 1550 has 28; Fürer in 1556 about 25; Rauwolf in 1575 has 24 and two others, the boughs of which were broken off by age; Dandini in 1596 has 23.—In 1632 Roger has 22; D'Arvieux in 1660 has 23; in 1688 De la Roque has 20; and in 1696 Maundrell has only 16.—Korte in 1738 counted 18, very old and large; Pococke about 1739 found fifteen, and one recently overturned by the wind; while Steph. Schulz saw twenty. Büsching l. c.

³ Fürer p. 102 Lat. p. 294 Germ. Dan-

dini, Par. 1675, p. 83. Dandini says, that while he counted 23 trees, another person of the company made out but 21. Hence it was a matter of popular belief, that they could not be counted correctly; that is, that no two persons would ever make out the same number; *ibid.*

⁴ Rauwolf p. 280: "So bin ich auch ferner auff dem Platz umher gangen, mich nach andern jungen weiter umbzusehen; hab aber keine, die hernacher wachsen, finden mögen."

⁵ So far as it respects this particular grove, the following note of Mr Bartlett is probably correct: "So nearly has the cedar disappeared from Lebanon, that there are scattered about the environs of London, within twenty miles distance, far more of these beautiful trees, than exist upon their original and poetic soil." Walks about Jerus. p. 22. Comp. Ritter XVII. p. 647 sq.

by is sacred, and is called el-Kadisha.¹ In former centuries, the patriarch of the Maronites imposed various ecclesiastical penalties, and even excommunication, on any Christian who should cut or injure the sacred trees ;² and the story is recorded, that when some Muslims, who were pasturing in the vicinity, were so hardened and impious as to cut some of the trees, they were punished on the spot by the loss of their flocks.³ In former times, too, the Maronites were accustomed to celebrate in the sacred grove the festival of the Transfiguration ; when the patriarch himself officiated, and said mass before a rude altar of stones.⁴ This law and these ceremonies are to a certain extent continued at the present day ;⁵ and the influence of them unquestionably has been great upon the popular mind. The rude altars of stones have in our day been superseded by a Maronite chapel ; built within the last ten years.⁶ Several persons were residing here during summer in connection with the chapel ; but we did not learn what services were held in it. A part of the object of these persons seemed to be to wait on travellers, or to supply their wants ; and thus gain a claim for *bakhshish*. A monk brought us wine for sale ; and seemed disappointed, when we declined the traffic.

The cedars are not less remarkable for their position, than for their age and size. The amphitheatre in which they are situated is of itself a great temple of nature, the most vast and magnificent of all the recesses of Lebanon. The lofty dorsal ridge of the mountain, as it approaches from the south, trends slightly towards the east for a time ; and then, after resuming its former direction, throws off a spur of equal altitude towards the west, which sinks down gradually into the ridge terminating at Ehden. This ridge sweeps round so as to become nearly parallel with the main ridge ; thus forming an immense recess or amphitheatre, approaching to the horse-shoe form ; surrounded by the loftiest ridges of Lebanon, which rise still two or three thousand feet above it, and are partly covered with snows. In the midst of this amphitheatre stand the cedars, utterly alone, with not a tree besides, nor hardly a green thing in sight. The amphitheatre fronts towards the west ; and, as seen from the cedars, the snows extend round from south to north. The extremities of the arc, in front, bear from the cedars southwest and northwest. High up in the recess the deep precipitous

¹ Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*, Par. 1675, pp. 83, 84.

² De la Roque, I. p. 71. D'Arvieux, *Mém.* II. pp. 414, 415.

³ Dandini, p. 84.

⁴ Dandini, p. 83. De la Roque, I. p. 72. D'Arvieux speaks of several such altars ;

Mém. II. p. 408 ; so too Seetzen, *Reisen* I. p. 168.

⁵ Seetzen, *Reisen* I. pp. 167, 168. Zach's *Monatl. Corr.* 1806, XIII. p. 549.

⁶ When Dr Wilson was here in 1843, a monk begged aid for the erection of an oratory ; *Lands etc.* II. pp. 389, 390.

chasm of the Kadisha has its beginning ; the wildest and grandest of all the gorges of Lebanon.¹

The elevation of the cedars above the sea is given by Russegger and Schubert at 6000 Paris feet, equivalent to 6400 English feet.² The peaks of Lebanon above rise nearly 3000 feet higher.³

Besides the natural grace and beauty of the cedar of Lebanon, which still appear in the trees of middle age, though not in the more ancient patriarchs, there is associated with this grove a feeling of veneration, as the representative of those forests of Lebanon so celebrated in the Hebrew Scriptures. To the sacred writers the cedar was the noblest of trees, the monarch of the vegetable kingdom. Solomon "spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall."⁴ To the prophets it was the favourite emblem for greatness, splendour, and majesty ; hence kings and nobles, the pillars of society, are everywhere cedars of Lebanon.⁵ Especially is this the case in the splendid description, by Ezekiel, of the Assyrian power and glory.⁶—Hence too, in connection with its durability and fragrance, it was regarded as the most precious of all wood, and was employed in costly buildings, for ornament and luxury. In Solomon's temple the beams of the roof, as also the boards and the ornamental work, were of the cedar of Lebanon ;⁷ and it was likewise used in the later temple of Zerubabel.⁸ David's palace was built with cedar ;⁹ and so lavishly was this costly wood employed in one of Solomon's palaces, that it is called "the house of the forest of Lebanon."¹⁰ As a matter of luxury, also, the cedar was sometimes used for idols,¹¹ and for the masts of ships.¹² In like manner, the cedar was highly prized among heathen nations. It was employed in the con-

¹ Irby and Mangles compare the amphitheatre to "the vale of the Dive in Savoy, and its Pont de Chevrès ;" this I have not seen. They also compare it with "the Appenines at the back of Genoa ;" but this does not strike me as a good parallel. Travels pp. 209, 210 [65.] Comp. Schubert III. p. 360. D'Arvieux speaks of the amphitheatre as a crescent, *croissant* ; Mém. II. p. 415. Dr Wilson, coming from Ba'albek, when on the summit of the ridge over the cedars, and looking down upon them, writes thus : "A great quadrangular opening in the range was before us to the west. We observed, running down the middle of this opening, the dark line of the deep and precipitous ravine of the Kadisha, the holy river of Lebanon, with beautiful villages, and the richest terraces lining its banks ;" Lands of the Bible II. p. 388.

² Russegger I. p. 713. Schubert III. p. 365.

³ See above, p. 547.

⁴ 1 K. 4, 33 ; comp. Judg. 9, 15. 2 K. 14, 9. Ps. 29, 5. 104, 16.

⁵ Is. 2, 13. 14, 8. 37, 24. Jer. 22, 23. Ez. 17, 22. Zech. 11, 1. etc.

⁶ Ez. 31, 3-9.

⁷ 1 K. 6, 9, 10 ; comp. 5, 6. 8. 10. 1 Chr. 22, 4.

⁸ Ezra 3, 7.

⁹ 2 Sam. 5, 11. 7, 2 ; comp. Jer. 22, 14. 15.

¹⁰ 1 K. 7, 2. 10, 17.

¹¹ Is. 44, 14. Plin. H. N. 13. 11.

¹² Ez. 27, 5 ; where the description evidently refers to splendid pleasure vessels. Yet according to Pliny, "in Ægypto et Syria reges inopia abietis cedro ad classes feruntur usi ;" H. N. 16. 76. 2.

struction of their temples, as at Tyre¹ and Ephesus;² and also in their palaces as at Persepolis.³ In the two latter instances, however, Ephesus and Persepolis, it does not follow that the cedar came from Lebanon; though that of Syria was among the most celebrated.⁴ It is also very possible, that the name *cedar* was sometimes loosely applied to trees of another species.⁵

The frequent mention in Scripture of the cedar of Lebanon, and the uses to which it was applied, make it apparent, that in ancient times large tracts of the mountain were covered with forests of this tree. Diodorus Siculus also relates, that Lebanon was full of cedars and firs and cypresses of wonderful size and beauty.⁶ But the destruction of them for architectural uses was far more rapid than their growth; so that when Justinian in the sixth century erected the church of the Virgin (now el-Aksa) at Jerusalem,⁷ there was great difficulty in obtaining timber for the roof; though after much search a spot was found full of cedar trees of great height.⁸ The destruction still went on; and it would appear, that as late as the middle ages, private houses in Sidon, and probably also in Tyre and other Phenician cities, were ceiled and ornamented with the cedar of Lebanon.⁹

All these circumstances sufficiently account for the fact, that in our day the "goodly mountain" appears almost denuded of those graceful forests, which of old were its chief glory. The impression, however, has far outstripped the reality; and the present grove has come to be regarded as the only representative of the ancient cedars. This impression has doubtless arisen from the circumstance, that this grove only is adjacent to any of the great roads, by which travellers have crossed over Lebanon. Other cedar groves there might be, in the northern and more inaccessible parts of the mountain; which have remained unvisited, and therefore unknown. Such indeed is truly the case, according to the testimony of Elrenberg and others. That eminent naturalist spent a considerable time on Lebanon; and found, as he informed me, the cedar growing

¹ Joseph. Antt. 8. 5. 3. c. Apion. 1. 17, 18. In this instance Ritter assumes, that the cedar had been thus used before the days of Hiram and Solomon. Such may very probably have been the case; but it does not appear from the language of Josephus. Erdk. XVII. p. 648.

² In the great temple of Diana; Salinasius ad Solin. I. 571. 6, "tectum ejus e cedrinis trabibus."

³ Q. Curt. Hist. Alex. M. 5. 7. 5, "multo cedro erat edificata regia."

⁴ Plin. H. N. 16. 76. 1, "At cedrus in Creta, Africa, Syria, laudatissima."

⁵ So Plin. H. N. 13. 11; comp. Winer Realw. art. *Ceder*.

⁶ Diod. Sic. 19. 58, *τό τε ὄρος τοῦτο . . . πληρὲς ὁ ἰσθμὸς ξύλων κεδρίων καὶ πευκῶν καὶ κυπαρισίων, δαυμαστῶν τό τε κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος.*

⁷ See in Vol. I. p. 296 [i. 488.]

⁸ Procop. de Ædif. Justin. 5. 6. p. 322 Dind. It by no means follows, that this spot was the present grove, but rather the contrary; for the present grove is situated on one of the great public roads of Lebanon.

⁹ See Vol. II. p. 482. [iii. 423.]

abundantly on those parts of the mountain, lying north of the road between Ba'albek and Tripoly. The trees are of all sizes, old and young; but none so ancient and venerable as those usually visited. Seetzen likewise, in 1805, speaks of having discovered two other groves of greater extent; but without specifying their location.¹ It appears, however, that one of these was near el-Hadith, southwest of Ehden; and the other in the district ed-Dünnyeh, south of 'Akkâr;² but neither of them was personally visited by Seetzen. He afterwards, however, was at Etnûb, north of Ehden, where the region is wooded; and there he found cedars to the number of several thousands.³ In respect to the grove near el-Hadith, which the natives and others speak of as *Arz* (cedar),⁴ I was informed by Dr Paulding of Damascus, that although the trees bear a general resemblance to the cedar, yet their leaves are altogether different, and mark them as a different kind of tree.⁵ This, however, does not conflict with the testimony of Ehrenberg; since el-Hadith is south of the chasm of the Kadîsha.⁶

The local name of that part of the high dorsal ridge of Lebanon, which overhangs the cedars, we had sought after while passing along the Bûkâ'a,⁷ and also all the way on our journey from el-Husn hither. The object of our inquiry was to ascertain, whether the name *Jebel Mûkhmel* (or *Makhmel*) given to this part of the ridge on recent maps, is known among the common people. It first appears on the map of Berghaus in 1835; and was there introduced from the manuscript map of Ehrenberg. But we were unable to find the slightest trace of it among the native population. From Beirut I afterwards wrote to my friend Mr Wilson, one of the American missionaries stationed at Tripoly, inquiring whether perhaps the name was in use among the people of that city. His reply was to the effect, that although that portion of the mountain is usually spoken of as the mountain of the cedars (*Jebel el-Arz*), yet the name given on the maps is certainly understood by the people as being applied to the *highest peak* of those mountains; the same peak, of course, which according to Dr De Forest is elsewhere called *Dahar el-Kûdhib*.⁸ The name *Mûkhmel*, therefore, is at the

¹ Zach's Monatl. Corr. 1806, XIII. p. 549.

² Seetzen, Reisen I. pp. 167, 179.

³ Ibid. p. 213.

⁴ Berggren, Guide etc. p. 152. Ritter XVII. p. 638.

⁵ The *Sherbin* of the Arabs, which O. Celsius and Freytag hold to be the cedar, is according to Seetzen the cypress; many of which, he says, grow on the mountain east of Ehden. So too the Arabic and Syriac versions often put *Sherbin* for Sept. *κνάρισσος*. See O. Celsius Hierobot. I. pp.

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74, 79. Freytag's Lex. II. p. 408. Seetzen's Reisen I. pp. 173, 213. Gesen. Thesaur. p. 216 sq.

⁶ For other supposed localities of the cedar, see Ritter XVII. p. 638.

⁷ See above, p. 531.

⁸ See above, p. 547.—Mr Wilson says that there is a difference of pronunciation; which he writes as *Mahmel* or *Mahmed*. On this Dr Smith remarks: "The spelling is somewhat confused; but my inference from the whole is, that *Mûkhmel* is right."

most a mere local name at Tripoly, and apparently nowhere else, for that highest peak ; and not for that part of the mountain in general. It ought therefore to be dropped from the maps, unless for that peak ; and the more general name of *Jebel el-Arz* or *Jebel Bsherreh* substituted.

The elevation of this highest point of all Lebanon, as we have seen, is about 9310 English feet.¹ That of the highest point of the road between the cedars and Ba'albek, is about 7500 English feet.²

We set off from the cedars at 3 o'clock, to go to *Hasrûn*, situated on the south side of the *Kadisha* below *Bsherreh*. The great chasm of *Bsherreh* is formed from three lesser branches coming from above, and uniting half an hour or more east of that village. The northern branch begins nearly opposite the cedars ; and in it, I suppose, is the fountain of the *Kadisha* described by *Seetzen* and others.³ The middle branch is longer, and seems to extend up quite to the base of the highest ridge. The southern one is shorter and less deep. They unite and form a broad basin, perhaps a thousand feet deep, with steep sides but with a level and cultivated bottom. We had been told of a road, by which we could pass around above the basin, and so down the other side to *Hasrûn* ; thus saving a great descent and an hour or more of time. We even found a guide, who professed to know the way ; but it all proved of no avail. We went round the head of the northern branch ; crossed the second, which was quite deep ; and were about to cross the third, less deep, when the people in the fields assured us, that there was no road on the other side, and that our horses would be mired in the marshy fields. There was no alternative but to return to a spot ten minutes south of the cedars ; and then follow the usual road to *Bsherreh*. We thus lost an hour and a half.

We left that spot at 4.40 ; and soon came again to the brink of the great chasm or basin on our left. The view here is beautiful. The bottom, far down, and the southern side, were green with tillage ; while the eastern end, where the three arms enter, is rugged and desolate. About the middle of the west end issues the very narrow, rocky, and precipitous gorge of the river ; on the northern corner of which, almost half way up, stands the village of *Bsherreh*, looking up the basin, and having the gorge as a sort of background of some of nature's wildest forms. The road soon left again the verge of the basin, passing behind a thin ridge which separates it from the latter ; and

¹ See above, p. 547.

² *Russegger's* estimate is 7000 Paris feet ; I. p. 713. *Schubert* gives 7154 Paris feet ; but this is on a pass between the lake *Lî-*

mûn and *Hasrûn*, south of the usual road : III. pp. 355, 358.

³ *Seetzen*, *Reisen* I. p. 170. *Berggren Resor*, III. *Bihang* p. 12.

then, turning around the western end of the same, it descends along a side Wady to reach the village. This part is very steep and difficult. On the right comes down a pretty stream from the spouting fountain, 'Ain en-Nebât, and others, mentioned above.¹ This forms a succession of waterfalls, in all not much less than three hundred feet high ; while there is another just below the village of nearly a hundred feet. We came to Bsherreh at 5.30, in one hour from the cedars. The elevation of the village, according to Schubert, is 4610 English feet ; or about 1800 feet lower than the cedars, and more than a hundred feet lower than Ehden.²

The village is situated on the projecting northern angle, where the deep and rugged gorge issues from the basin. The hill, which rises steep and high behind it, was green with tillage, fruit trees, and mulberry trees, which decked its slopes in great profusion. The declivities are of course everywhere terraced, and under high cultivation ; and hardly a village, of all those I had yet seen, had more the appearance of industry, thrift, and prosperity. Many people were in the streets ; yet we hardly met a female, who did not at once beg for a *bakhshish*. Bsherreh was formerly, and is perhaps now, the seat of a Maronite bishop.³

The fertility of this upper region of Lebanon is mainly caused by the great abundance of water. Fountains and streams are everywhere bursting forth ; and even the high declivities of the hills are richly irrigated. Such too is the elevation, and consequent coolness of the climate, that at this season everything was yet green ; and the harvest would not begin for some days or weeks yet to come. The harvest from the silkworms too was equally backward. In the plains below it was already over ; the mulberry trees were stripped ; and the people were reeling the cocoons. Here on the mountain they were just beginning to hatch out the worms ; and the mulberry trees had not yet been touched. The houses for the silkworms are here mere booths, built up of reeds, twigs, or furze, just enough to ward off the sun. They are seen around all the villages.—The trees around Bsherreh are particularly fine, comprising walnuts, pear trees, fig trees, and many others.⁴

We stopped ten minutes ; and then proceeded at 5.40 through the lower part of the village. We crossed the stream of the waterfalls above the lowest one ;⁵ and then continued

¹ See above, p. 587.

² Schubert Reisen III. p. 865. n.

³ De la Roque I. p. 65. Dandini, ch. 84, p. 175. Comp. Le Quien Oriens Chr. III. 95, 97.

⁴ See also Burckhardt's Trav. p. 20.

⁵ According to Seetzen this is called Nahr Mâr Semân (St Simon) ; Reisen I. pp. 158, 160.

along the declivity in order to cross the Kadisha at a higher level, and thus save still a considerable descent. On our left, high up under the rocks of the northern precipice, was perched a convent, which our guide from the village said was inhabited by Franks. It is the Maronite convent of Mâr Serkis at Bsherreh ; where Seetzen spent several weeks in July and August, 1805, and has described the beautiful view.¹ It is often the case, that Franks of the Romish communion, both monks and laymen, reside here for a time. We struck the stream of the Kadisha at 6.10, near a mill and a bridge. The latter was constructed by laying trunks of trees across the stream, and covering them with small flat stones ; a frail and hazardous structure. Here we waited rather impatiently for our baggage mules to come up. It turned out that one of them had fallen, and had to be reloaded. After half an hour's delay, we set off at 6.40 ; and having crossed the river, we turned west and ascended obliquely along the southern declivity. We soon had on our right the deep and very narrow gorge, with perpendicular walls not less than 1000 feet high. Near the bottom of the gorge, in a small chasm on the north side, stands a convent, almost hidden from the sun and light of day.² We now kept along upon the high left bank, often looking down into the gorge. Here again we fell in with fields of the potato. There was also rich cultivation all around. At 7 o'clock we passed below Bka'kefreh, a quarter of a mile on our left ; and then by Bkarkâsha at 7.15, and just below Bez'un at 7.30. We came to Hasrûn at 7.45 ; and after some difficulty in finding a place, encamped for the night in a ploughed field. We had thus been an hour and a half in passing from Bsherreh to Hasrûn ; while in a straight line the distance between them cannot be much more than a mile.

Hasrûn is a large and flourishing village. It was formerly the residence of a Maronite archbishop ;³ and the birthplace of the Maronite Joannes Hesronita, one of the editors of the Paris Polyglot.⁴ It stands upon the extreme point or angle, which projects out between the deep gorge and a short side Wady which runs up south ; and on the east of the latter. This angle is formed by a perpendicular precipice of rock ; on the very verge of which Hasrûn is situated, overhanging the depths below. Nearly opposite, and a little towards Bsherreh, the rocks

¹ Reisen I. p. 158 sq. 208 — Both Seetzen and Burekhardt speak of this as a Carmelite convent ; and in Burekhardt's time there was here only a single monk, a native of Tuscany, probably the Pater Louis of Seetzen. Burekh. p. 20.

² We did not learn the name of this convent. Lord Lindsay speaks of it as the

Mâr Elîsha' mentioned by De la Roque. But that convent, according to De la Roque's account, would seem to have been farther distant from Basherreh. See De la Roque I. pp. 63, 65.

³ Le Quien Oriens Christ. II. 95.

⁴ Gesenius Notes on Burekhardt, I. p. 493 Germ.

on the north side of the chasm likewise project a little ; and on that point stands the village of Hadshit. The people of Hasrûn and Hadshit can converse together across the great chasm ; but to pass from one village to the other requires nearly two hours. Another village on the north side was also in sight, named Blûdha, an hour further down. The people of Hasrûn were building a new church, the largest which I saw in the mountains. One stone measured about nine feet long by a foot and a half thick. This is large for a modern building ; though nothing in comparison with the stones of the ancient temples.

The view of this great gorge or chasm and the region around is exceedingly striking. The gorge is for the most part deeper and wilder than any other in Lebanon. Its great depth ; its sides, rocky, precipitous, and dark, closely approaching each other below, and then in some parts gradually sloping off and opening out above ; the rich cultivation and exuberant fertility of every spot where earth can be made to lie ; the gardens of fruit trees, the mulberry plantations, and the fields of grain and vegetables, clothing and adorning its sides, and mingling everywhere with bold romantic rocks and precipices ; the villages sometimes peeping from among the trees, and sometimes perched picturesquely on the rocks ; the convents thrust into curious remote nooks and inaccessible places, sometimes deep in the valley, and sometimes on the summits of the surrounding mountains ; all these together presented a scene singularly wild, picturesque, and beautiful.¹ The head of the valley, from Bsherreh upwards, is particularly striking, as seen from below. The eastern part of the deep basin is comparatively barren and naked. But it or its branches extend up so closely to the base of the high dorsal ridge of Lebanon, that from the bottom of the great Wady to the summit of the mountain it appears only as one unbroken slope. The streams from the sources of the Kadisha, and from the fountains 'Ain en-Nebât, 'Ain el-Bakarah, and Neba' Mâr Serkis, tumble and foam in cascades along their channels, to form the sacred river. In looking back the next day from a spot about half an hour west of Hasrûn, the view was particularly fine ; including the deep gorge and basin ; the verdure and villages of Hasrûn, Hadshit, and Bsherreh ; the streams from the fountains ; the cedars ; and the magnificent snow-capped mountain range, which forms the amphitheatre in which all these objects are embosomed. Here are seen combined the beauty and the grandeur of Lebanon.

It is remarkable, that no ancient writer, so far as is known,

¹ Comp. also Burckhardt, p. 20.

makes any mention either of the chasm or the stream of the Kadisha.

Thursday, June 17th. This was a festival day ; and the bells of churches and convents were ringing all around us during the morning. Our plan now was to proceed southwards, keeping along as near as possible to the lofty upper ridge of Lebanon ; so as to visit the higher basins and sources of the Nahr Ibrahim and Nahr el-Kelb, and if possible also those of the Nahr Beirût, before descending to the coast. Our route to day was the same with that of Burckhardt in September, 1810 ; which he has briefly described.¹

We left Hasrûn at 6.35, going around the head of the short but deep side chasm. Our road was the same with that to el-Hadith. We kept on west along the left brow of the great chasm of the Kadisha, just above the precipitous part, and gradually rising and diverging from it. There were many noble views in various directions. Especially at 7.15 the view back was magnificent, being the one described on the preceding page. Here too we came upon trap rock, then upon red sandstone, and afterwards these were intermingled with limestone. But although we fell in with many tracts or spots of sandstone along our route, yet we saw none of the usual pine trees, until we reached the basin of the Nahr el-Kelb.

At 7.30 we came to the right bank of a large Wady, which runs up south, nearly at right angles from the chasm of the Kadisha ; which latter, just below the junction, turns more towards the northwest. Below, on our right, in the angle between the two, on the east side of the branch Wady, is the convent called Deir Bdâmân. This convent, like Deir Kanôbin, belongs to the Maronite patriarch ; and in it he spends a part of the summer. Around the convent is a village, called also Bdâmân. On the north side of the great chasm, and opposite the mouth of the branch Wady, is the village of Blûdha already mentioned. On the same side, about half an hour below Blûdha, is Arbet Kusheiya. On the west side of the branch Wady, in the angle opposite Bdâmân, is Kunweir. On the west of this branch Wady there rises an elevated ridge of cultivated land, which extends also for some distance along the left side of the great chasm, after its change of direction. On the summit of this ridge, nearly west from Kunweir, is the village el-Hadith, which now bore from us W. N. W. about three miles distant. Beyond the top of the ridge, and between Hadith and the Kadisha, are the villages of Kunât and Tirza, which were not here in sight ; the latter being the northernmost.² Midway on

¹ Trav. in Syr p. 23 sq.

² Seetzen passed in July, 1805, from

Kanôbin by Tirza to el-Hadith ; Reisen I

p. 178.

the face of the precipitous northern declivity of the chasm of the Kadisha, some distance below Arbeh, and not within our view, is the convent Deir Kanôbin, the chief seat of the Maronite patriarch.¹—From the point where we now stood, the cedars bore due east by compass.

Our road now turned more to the southwest, ascending gradually along the eastern side of the branch Wady. At 7.40 we passed through a hamlet reckoned as part of Bdâmân, and called Brâsit. Five minutes later the road to Hadith went off across the Wady, while we kept on ascending southwest. At 7.50 the village Hârat Beit Dabûl was on our right in the head of the Wady. We reached the top of the ascent at 8.15; here Hadith bore N. N. W. The position of Ehden was also pointed out, about N. by E. but the place itself was hidden by the fog, which lay in patches all over the mountain.

For twenty minutes we now passed over rough table land; and came at 8.35 to the brow of the deep and wild chasm of Wady ed-Duweir. Here came in a road from el-Hadith. We had thought of passing around by that village, which would have taken us at least an hour longer. We had now left the basin of the Kadisha. The Duweir descends either to Nahr el-Asfûr, or to Nahr el-Jauzeh at Batrûn; but to which, we could not fully ascertain. On our right was here seen the same lower rocky desolate ridge of Lebanon, through which we had passed up by way of Wady Heirûna. It was here broken up into sharp, rugged, naked peaks and ridges; through which the little stream of Wady ed-Duweir finds its way down. Between this ridge and the lofty upper ridge lies the tract which we were about to traverse, high, broken, barren, and gashed with many chasms. Far in the S. S. W. we could see before us what seemed like a battlemented hill, directly in our course.

We descended and crossed the brook of Wady ed-Duweir at 8.45; there was a little tillage of grain on the declivities, but no village in sight. After a steep ascent, we came out on the top of the southern side at 9.05; and here trap appeared again. There was now for a short distance a tract of rough ground; and then we descended into the deep Wady Harisa, crossing its little stream at 9.45. This Wady comes down from the very base of the lofty ridge of Lebanon; there is a little tillage in it further up; and it passes down by a deep and rugged chasm to join the stream of Batrûn. The millet was here just sprouting from the ground.

¹ This name is the Greek *Kanôbin*, before and after them; Pococke II. i. p. Lat. *Cænobium*, a convent.—This convent 103. Seetzen, Reisen I. p. 175. Burck- was visited by Pococke, Seetzen, and hardt p. 21. Burckhardt, as well as by many others

Before us was now a still higher ridge, which we ascended gradually. At 10.20 we crossed a small stream, coming from 'Ain el-Beida a little on our left, and running to Wady Harisa. We stopped five minutes to reload a mule. Here again we came upon sandstone ; and afterwards wound along the steep eastern declivity of a hill of loose trap, to the pass of the ridge at 11 o'clock. This was truly an Alpine pass, with patches of snow all around us. Our course was here for some distance south-west. We now were on table land again for fifteen or twenty minutes, with the lofty ridge of Lebanon immediately on our left. Below us, on the right, was the Wady Tannûrin, just here parallel to our course, but soon turning west towards the sea at Batrûn ; a deep, wild, and rugged chasm. On its western declivity, near where it turns west, and about a mile distant from us, were the two villages, Tannûrin et-Tahta and el-Fôka (lower and upper) ; the former bearing N. W. by W. and the latter W. N. W. Further down, just below the turn of the valley, was seen the Maronite convent, Deir Hûb.¹

The upper portion of Wady Tannûrin I suppose to be that to which we next came, called Wady Bushrikh. It is perhaps the deepest and most rugged of all those we crossed ; and comes from the base of the highest ridge. We descended far, and then passed to the left around its head, some two hundred feet or more above the bottom. We were opposite the bottom at 11.40. In it is a fountain called Neba' el-'Akâb. Ascending again we came out at 11.50 upon rugged table land, a high plateau, where camels were browsing. This is the tract called Ard 'Aklûk.²

Ever since we turned southwest at Bdâmân, we had been gradually gaining in elevation, and approaching closer to the highest ridge of Lebanon. So high were we indeed, as to have passed many large masses of snow, some above and some below our path. Fine views of the sea and coast were frequently presented. Ard 'Aklûk is a plain having quite an irregular surface ; in some parts bristling with rocks, in others green with pasture. Many basaltic fragments are scattered over the plain. It extends for about two hours in length, between Wady Bushrikh and the brow of the descent to 'Âkûrah. It is quite narrow ; having on the east the highest range of Lebanon, and on the west the lower parallel ridge of naked and jagged peaks above described. This latter becomes higher south of Wady Tannûrin, and even more bristling and desolate, if possible ; and retains this character as far south as to the basin of the Nahr

¹ This convent and the villages were visited by Seetzen in 1805, coming from Hadith ; Reisen I. p. 187 sq.

² Burckhardt wrongly writes *Laklûk* :

p. 23.

el-Kelb In this part it is also of greater width towards the sea. Ard-'Aklük is so high, that much snow was still lying in patches upon it, as well as on the adjacent mountain. The melting of the snow waters the ground, and forms little streams in the plain; and in consequence it was now covered in many parts with green grass, affording fine pasturage. There was nowhere any cultivation. There is no village of the name of 'Aklük. A few Arabs were encamped here, to whom the camels belonged. According to Burckhardt they are of the Arabs el-Haib, who usually pass the winters on the sea shore around Jebil, Tripoly, and Tartüs; though these families sometimes descend in winter only to the villages of Tannûrin or 'Âkûrah.¹

As we came out upon Ard 'Aklük we found ourselves approaching the pyramidal hill already mentioned, with rocks projecting singularly around its summit, looking at a distance like the battlements of a large fortress. Other rocky points were on the left of it. At 12.35 we were at the western base of this hill. Snow lay in patches on its sides; and one large mass was directly in our path. It was so firm, that the loaded mules crossed it as on a hard path. Half an hour previously, one of our muleteers from Hâsbeiya had turned aside and gathered a large ball of snow, which he carried in his arms, for the rarity of the thing; here the rarity was gone, and he threw it away. At 12.45 we stopped for lunch, still under the southwest flank of the hill, with a low ridge before us. The wind was so cold, that we sat down in the sun; and I found an overcoat no burden.

Just north of the same hill a path comes up from Tannûrin; and crosses over the high ridge of Lebanon to Ba'albek. This route was followed by Dr De Forest in May 1848, coming from Tripoly by 'Amyûn and Tannûrin. Half an hour east of our road he lost sight of the sea; and then crossed a Wady descending towards 'Akûrah, an hour and a half distant. In half an hour more he was again upon the high ridge; and came in half an hour to a small fountain, 'Ain er-Rûmeh. Fifteen minutes further he began the proper descent of the mountain; and the road brought him to the northeastern end of the lake Yemmôneh.²

Starting again at 1.30, we immediately turned around the shoulder of the hill; and ascending a little S. E. by S. we came at once to look down into the great valley, in which lie 'Akûrah and the sources of the Nahr Ibrahim; having the lofty masses of Sünnin towering directly overagainst us. Here, as we saw afterwards, we were upon the summit of a mighty spur thrown off southwest from the main ridge of Lebanon, similar to that which shuts in the amphitheatre of the cedars on the north. In

¹ Burckhardt p 25 sq.² Ms. Notes.

like manner this spur forms the northwestern side of the great valley below us. At first it is as high as the main ridge itself ; but declines gradually towards the southwest. We were here almost upon its highest part, which is marked by the battlemented hill ; and were very near to the main ridge ; and this point was probably the highest that we reached.

The great valley below us is usually called Wady el-Mugheiyreh, from a village in it ; but might with more propriety be known as Wady el-'Akûrah. It runs up northeast apparently under the northern flank of Jebel Sünnin ; and seemed separated from that mountain only by what here appeared as a vast projecting flank or terrace. But we afterwards found, that there were several intervening valleys and ridges ; among which are the Alpine tract known as Watty el-Burj,¹ and various Wadys running up above the main sources of the Nahr el-Kelb. As here seen, the great valley on this side of Sünnin seemed nearly on a level with the Bükä'a on the other side ; the snowy flanks of Sünnin being about equally exposed in both directions. But in the valleys both of 'Akûrah and Afka below, Sünnin is nowhere visible.

The descent to 'Akûrah was steep and very long ; it took us an hour and twenty minutes to reach the village, at 2.50, situated on the northwestern declivity of the valley, just above the bottom. It lies in the very head of the great valley, looking down its course southwest. This end of the valley is shut in by a lofty transverse wall of almost perpendicular rock, a thousand feet high, and extending northwest of the village ; so that the latter lies under it. In the rear of the village there is a narrow cleft in this wall of rock ; through which a road leads up, and continues over the mountain to Ba'albek ; uniting, as I suppose, after an hour and a half or more, with the track followed by Dr De Forest.² On this road, an hour from the village, the priest said there were inscriptions in the Frank character ; meaning probably not Arabic.³ In 'Akûrah itself there are no ancient ruins ; but the people tell of there being no fewer than forty ruined churches and convents in the neighbouring hills. This of course must be taken with much allowance. The inhabitants are Maronites ; and it was formerly the seat of a Maronite bishop.⁴ The priest came to us, and was very courteous. Burckhardt complains of the inhabitants as inhospitable.⁵

The great Wady el-Mugheiyreh, thus shut in at its head, is deep, rugged, and rocky ; but every accessible spot of earth is carefully cultivated, and is rich with fruit trees and grain. Half

¹ Burckhardt p. 25 sq.

² See the preceding page.

³ Burckhardt also heard of these, as

Greek inscriptions ; Trav. in Syria, p. 209

⁴ Le Quien Oriens Christ. III. 93.

⁵ Pp. 24, 25.

way up a precipice on the east of the village, there was pointed out to us a wall of loose stones. This was said to enclose a field of wheat on a terrace of the high rock ; to which they contrive to get up their cows and plough it. Indeed, the cattle of the mountains climb the rocks almost like goats. The whole scenery around the village is romantic and impressive.

Setting off again from 'Akurah at 3.05, we descended and crossed the little brook, which issues from the cleft in the precipices ; and then kept along close under the high wall of rock, about S. by E. At 3.40 we were quite across the valley, in its farther angle. Here is a shallow cavern, or recess in the high rocky wall ; out of which, in the rainy season, a torrent flows. Before it lies a long flat stone, broad enough to form a complete natural bridge, over which the road passes. The bridge is nearly or quite two hundred feet above the bottom of the valley ; and, at this season, a large fountain gushed out on the declivity below it, and rushed to the valley. It is called Neba' Ruweis.

We now turned S. S. W. along the foot of the high and steep ridge, which shuts in the valley on its left side. Here was a formation of the valley, such as is often found, especially further south. From the base of the high and steep mountains on each side, an undulating plateau or terrace slopes down gradually towards the middle. This is usually fertile and cultivated, and on it are villages. In the middle is the chasm of the stream. This is much lower ; sometimes narrow and rugged, or again much broader, with tillage and villages. Our path was now upon the southeastern terrace. At 3.50 we were opposite the village of Mejdal in the lower valley, west of the stream, a mile distant. The whole valley here appeared as shut in by a high mountain on the northwest ; that from which we had descended. The stream runs southwest, and in that direction breaks through the ragged western ridge above described, by a deep and wild gorge.¹ The village of el-Mugheiyireh is nearly an hour below Mejdal, upon the higher western terrace.

At 4.45 we turned to the left around the angle of the mountain, and entered another large and similar, though shorter valley, with a stream, coming from the southeast. Keeping along upon the northern terrace, we came at 5 o'clock to the village el-Muneitirah, situated upon it near the head of the valley ; which here also is surrounded by lofty precipitous mountains. On the opposite terrace, the village of Afka was in sight over-against us, bearing W. S. W. Here at el-Muneitirah were two wine-presses hewn side by side in the rock, much resembling the one described at Haby ;² though less antique in appearance. I

¹ See above, pp. 599, 600.

² See above, p. 137.

saw no trace of vineyards at present in the vicinity. A road passes up from the head of the amphitheatre to the summit of the high ridge north of es-Sünnin; it then forks, one branch descending to Ba'albek and the other to Zahleh. The latter was travelled by Lord Lindsay; and is apparently the same followed by Burckhardt from Afka.¹ Col. Squire, in 1802, coming from Jebeil, passed by this route to Ba'albek.²

In the history of the crusades, mention is made of a fortress, *castrum*, evidently in Lebanon, called *Manethera*; and it is narrated, that in the summer of A. D. 1176, the count of Tripoly marched from Byblus (Jebeil) by way of said fortress to Ba'albek, to join the expedition made at the same time by king Baldwin IV. from Sidon to the Būkā'a.³ This *Manethera* was obviously el-Muneitirah; which name is now also applied to the surrounding district, Jibbet el-Muneitirah.⁴ We noticed here no remains which struck us as those of a fortress; but the people at Afka told us, that on the road leading up out of the head of the valley and over into the Būkā'a there is still a large building or castle in ruins.⁵ This route into the Būkā'a Burckhardt speaks of as still much travelled by the people of Kesrawān; who transport iron ore upon mules and donkeys from Shuweir, where there is no wood, to the smelting furnaces on the eastern declivity of Lebanon, where there is much oak.⁶

Our plan was to visit the fountains in the head of the valley, and then pass on to Afka for the night. But our muleteers had taken it into their heads to stop for the night at Muneitirah; and began to unload the animals. Our servants joined with them; and the people of the village too supported them, declaring that Afka was now deserted. We went on notwithstanding. Descending for a time steeply, we came in fifteen minutes (at 5.30) to the angle of the valley, where the stream is formed. Here, as near 'Akūrah, there is a recess, or shallow cavern, of considerable size, in the northern wall of rock, about a hundred and fifty feet above the bottom of the valley. In the back of this recess, near its top, is the smaller mouth of an inner and deeper cavern, which seems to extend in for some distance.⁷ Whether it is

¹ Lord Lindsay's Letters, 4th edit. p. 360 sq. Comp. Burckh. pp. 25-27.

² In Walpole's Travels in various countries of the East, pp. 302, 303. Col. Squire was accompanied by Messrs Leake and Hamilton. For el-Muneitirah he writes *Mitree*. His Kefr Uftar is possibly Afka.—This is the most direct route between Jebeil and Ba'albek.

³ Will. Tyr. 21. 11. Tuch in Zeitschr. der morg. Ges. IV. pp. 512, 518. Ritter Erdk. XVII. p. 226. See above, p. 525.

⁴ See Bibl. Res. edit. 1, Vol. III. App. p. 195.

⁵ Whether, however, this is any thing more than "the small ruined tower," which according to Burckhardt gives name to the tract Watty el-Burj, may be doubtful. Trav. pp. 25, 26

⁶ Burckhardt, p. 27.

⁷ Seetzen was told, that this cavern extends for some hours into the mountain: Reisen I. p. 245.

natural or artificial we could not determine ; as we had no lights and no means of climbing into it. From the outer cavern issues the stream of a large fountain ; while just west of it, at the same level, two other smaller streams burst from the rock ; and all three rush down into a basin some fifty feet below, on the declivity. Across this basin is thrown a stone bridge, over which the road passes. Immediately below the bridge are three very regular and beautiful water-falls in succession ; so regular, indeed, as at once to suggest the idea of their being, in part at least, a work of art.¹ Further west another stream comes down from the same height ; but joins the rest only below the falls. A slight arrangement might easily, and perhaps once actually did, cause all these streams to issue from the cavern.

A small ravine runs up southeast from the falls ; and down this comes a stream. Across this rivulet, directly opposite the cavern and falls, on a low bluff at the end of a ridge, are the ruins of an ancient temple ; and from beneath these, at the base of the bluff, issues another considerable fountain. The walls of the temple are fallen inwards, as if from an earthquake ; but the prostration is so complete, and the masses of masonry are so much torn and so strangely displaced, that it is very difficult to make out the plan and size of the building. There would seem to have been, first, a large and somewhat irregular platform, built up apparently to secure a level space of sufficient size. On this was perhaps a second platform, not much larger than the temple itself, regularly and carefully built, and having a sort of cornice or moulding along its upper course. On this stood the temple ; which could hardly have been less than a hundred feet in length by fifty or more in breadth. The stones of the whole structure are the common limestone of the region, many of them large, and some well hewn. A large and fine column of Syenite granite is lying near on the declivity ; and another, apparently its companion, after being rudely chipped away to half the size, has been removed to the village of Afka. How these massive columns could ever have been transported to this high part of the mountain, is to me a mystery. Except these we saw no columns.

The wall of the outer platform appears to have been built up in front from the base of the bluff. Here, at the northeast angle, a large vaulted passage runs up under the platform ; and from this, apparently, the fountain above mentioned once flowed ; though it now issues near by. Above this passage is another one, much smaller, leading under the ruins in the same direction.

¹ Seetzen regards the falls as in part artificial ; although the strata of the limestone rock, he says, are so regular, as to resemble masonry ; Reisen I. p. 245. O.

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von Richter speaks of the whole as artificial ; p. 107.—Both these travellers mention also a small mill at the bridge.

On the western wall of the lower passage Mr Barnett of Damascus formerly found the fragment of a Greek inscription ; of which there remained only the letters ΠΕΡΑΟ.

The people said, that the fountains become nearly dry in summer. The place is now called Mughârat Afka, i. e. cavern of Afka.

In this sequestered recess we have the main source of the river *Adonis* of the ancients, which entered the sea south of Byblus (Jebeil);¹ now and since the middle ages known as the Nahr Ibrahim.² Here too was the scene of the ancient fable of heathen mythology respecting Venus and Adonis ; and how the latter being torn in pieces by a wild boar, his blood at certain seasons was held to tinge the current of the river.³ Byblus was devoted to the worship of Adonis ;⁴ while on the mountain, at *Apheca* (Afka), was a celebrated temple of Venus.⁵ The ruins just described are obviously those of this temple.

The earliest notice of the temple of Venus at Apheca is the account of its destruction under the emperor Constantine. According to Eusebius, it was situated in the higher parts of Lebanon ; and had been a school of wickedness, for all the licentious and impure.⁶ Here were practised all the enormities and guilt of prostitution, both male and female. The emperor judged such a temple to be unworthy of the light of the sun ; and gave orders for its utter overthrow, with all its wealth of offerings. This order was executed. A century later Sozomen narrates the same event.⁷ The temple was at Apheca on Lebanon and on the river Adonis. But a legendary tradition was already at work. According to this writer, on a certain day and at a certain invocation, fire descended from the top of Lebanon, like a star, and sank in the adjacent river. They called this fire *Urania*, a name they gave to Venus. In the same century, though apparently later, the like tradition, as given by Zosimus, had become still further expanded. He relates, that Apheca lay midway between Heliopolis and Byblus ;⁸ that in it was a temple of Venus

¹ Strabo 16. 2. 19. p. 755, εἰτα μετὰ ταύτην [Βύβλον] Ἀδωνίς ποταμός. Plin. H. N. 5. 17 v. 20, "flumen Lycos: Palæbyblos: flumen Adonis."

² Edrisi par Jaubert I. p. 356.

³ Lucian de Syria Dea §§ 6-8. Movers die Phönizier I. p. 191 sq.—Maunderell saw the river "stained to a surprising redness," in March ; which he supposed to be occasioned by "a sort of minium, or red earth, washed into the river by the violence of the rain;" March 17th. I am not aware that this discoloration has ever been further investigated.

⁴ Strabo 16. 2. 18. p. 755, ἡ μὲν οὖν Βύβλος . . . ἱερὰ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀδωνίδος.—

Adonis is the Hebrew Thammuz, Ex. 8, 14. See Gesen. Thesaur. p. 1507.

⁵ The ancients interpreted the name τὰ Ἀφακα from the Heb. פֶּזַז to hold, to embrace ; and referred it to the first or last embraces of Venus and Adonis. Etymol. Mag. art. Ἀφακα. Movers Phön. I. p. 192

⁶ Euseb. Vita Const. 3. 55, ἐν ἀκρωρείᾳ μέρει τοῦ Λιβάνου ἐν Ἀφάκοις ἱδρυμένον σχολή τις ἦν αὐτῇ κακουργίας πᾶσιν ἀκολούστοις, κτλ. See also Euseb. de Laud. Const. c. 8. Comp. above, p. 522.

⁷ Sozom. H. E. 1. 5.

⁸ Zosimus Hist. 1. 58, μέσον Ἡλιουπόλεως ὡς τε καὶ Βύβλου.

Aphakitis ; and near by it a lake,¹ around which fires burst forth. The water of this lake had the wonderful property, that all gifts and offerings acceptable to the goddess, even the lightest, as silks, would sink in it ; while those not acceptable, even the heaviest, as gold and silver, would swim upon the surface.

This mention of a lake has led to the idea, that there may have been some connection between the temple at Apheca, and the lake Limûn or Yemmôneh, the only one on Lebanon.² But this is next to impossible ; for the lake was *near* the temple ; while Yemmôneh is on the eastern declivity of the mountain, several hours distant, with the lofty upper ridge of Lebanon between. It seems therefore more probable, that the account of Zosimus was founded on a nascent popular legend, in which the river of Sozomen had now become a lake ; just as the star-like fire descending from the top of the mountain had now become fire bursting out around the lake. Further than this, the historian has also interwoven a popular legend, already mentioned by Seneca in the first century, of a lake in Syria, in which heavy articles, as bricks, would not sink.³ If, however, we still choose to insist upon an actual lake near the temple, there may indeed have been an artificial reservoir, formed either above the cascades, where there is still a basin, or below them.⁴

This fountain and temple have been brought again into notice only within the present century. Col. Squire passed this way in 1802, but makes no allusion to either.⁵ Seetzen was here in 1805 ; he describes the cavern and the cascades, and mentions the ruins ; assuming apparently the identity of Afka and Apheca.⁶ Burckhardt followed in 1810 ; he merely speaks of "a spring," but saw no ruins, though he afterwards heard of them.⁷ In 1815 O. von Richter passed this way, and has given a brief but graphic description of the fountains and ruins.⁸ Since that time the place has been visited by many travellers.

We stopped long in this romantic spot ; and then a quarter of an hour brought us westwards to the village of Afka. It is situated on the upper terrace, on the brink of the chasm of the stream, overagainst el-Muneitirah ; which here bore E. N. E. Around the village are groves of the largest and noblest walnut trees we had yet met with. Our tent was pitched on the highest ground in the village, a hill ; where too is set up the Syenite column brought from the ruined temple. We were here in full

¹ Zosim. *ibid.* τούτου πλησίον λίμνη τις ἐστὶν κτλ.

² See above, p. 548.

³ Seneca *Quæst. Nat.* 8 26, "Est adhuc in Syria stagnum, in quo natant lateres, et mergi projecta non possunt, licet gravia sint."

⁴ See *genr. Ritter* XVII. p. 301 sq.

⁵ See above, p. 604.

⁶ Seetzen, *Reisen* I. pp. 245, 246.

⁷ Burckhardt p. 25, also p. 209. Burckhardt passed from Afka over the mountain to Zahleh ; see above, p. 604.

⁸ O. v. Richter, pp. 106, 107.

view of the cavern and water-falls ; and from this point, the chasm, the river, the cascades, the bridge, the fountains, the cavern, the ruins, and the steep and lofty mountains rising above them all, combined to form a glorious picture. We were again in a magnificent amphitheatre ; not so lofty, nor so regular, nor so desolate, nor so vast, as at the cedars ; but full of grandeur and verdure and beauty. The mountains around rise perhaps two thousand feet above it ; while those above the cedars are three thousand feet. The bottom here is more broken ; but is cultivated, rich, and fertile. There is no spot in all my wanderings, on which memory lingers with greater delight, than on the sequestered retreat and exceeding loveliness of Afka.

Both Seetzen and O. von Richter also speak of the surpassing beauty of the surrounding scenery.¹

The people of el-Muneitirah had endeavoured to prevent our proceeding further, by telling us that Afka was deserted. We found people enough there, however ; though they said they had returned only a few days before. They are Metáwileh ; and had fled from their homes, some weeks ago, on account of the conscription. With their women and children they had betaken themselves to the wildest parts of the mountain ; carrying with them only flour, and living there on bread and water.

We heard here of ruins with columns in the valley towards 'Ákûrah, below Mejdél ; and also of a large building or castle on the way leading up back of the fountains to the Búká'a.²

Friday, June 18th. Just west of Afka a spur runs out from the southern mountain across the terrace quite to the brink of the chasm of the stream. It is connected with the mountain by a low saddle ; and spreads out on the top to a tract of cultivated table land containing many acres. On this tract, it was said, were the ruins of another temple, which we concluded to visit.

We took a guide from Afka ; and setting off at 6.30, climbed the eastern acclivity of this spur by a sharp and rough ascent on the right of our proper road, which passes up southwest over the saddle. Keeping on west across the table land, we came at 7.10 to its western brow, and to the ruins, which are called ez-Zawárib. They are apparently the remains of two structures, both very rude. One of them may have been a temple, fronting towards the west, and looking down the great gorge by which the river breaks its way through the lower rocky range. Of the other building we could make nothing. There are no columns.

We were however rewarded for our *detour* by a magnificent view of the great basin formed by the two valleys from 'Ákûrah

¹ Seetzen in Zach's Mon. Corr. XIII. p. 550. O. von Richter p. 106 sq. ² See above, p. 604.

and Afka, which were fully in sight; and of the wild gorge beyond the basin running down west. Here the formation already referred to was very distinct, viz. the chasms of the streams below, with several villages along them; and then the higher terraces on each side, between these chasms and the mountains. The valley from 'Akūrah is Wady el-Mugheiyreh; that from Afka and Muneitirah is called Wady el-Muneitirah; and this last name is applied also to the whole valley below the junction. This however is merely a local appellation, for it is there strictly the valley of the Nahr Ibrahim; and the name Wady el-Muneitirah would properly belong only to the branch valley from that place. On the terrace below us on the south of the stream, was the little village Lāseh, bearing northwest, about a mile distant; and north of the Wady and somewhat further down, was Kartaba.¹

From this spot we turned back, and went E. S. E. for ten minutes, to a mound on the southern brow of the same table land, called Dhuhūr el-Hawa. Here the guide had told us of ruins; but they proved to be merely a few rude stones. We now at 7.35 turned our course W. S. W. and descending from the table land joined the road and our mules at 7.45. Our path continued in the same direction, high along the flank of the mountain on our left, and also high above Lāseh. Indeed we seemed here to be on a second higher and narrower terrace. We kept on ascending very gradually; and the road was said to lead to 'Ain el-Hadid. After about an hour, at 8.50, we quite unexpectedly turned short off, and began to ascend the high and very steep ridge on our left. About half an hour west, we could see a village on the south side of Nahr Ibrahim, called 'Amhāz. The ascent was long and wearisome, but not particularly difficult. It took us fifty minutes, till 9.40, to reach the top. Here we were nearly as high as on the ridge of yesterday between Ard 'Aklūk and 'Akūrah; snow was lying around us; and Jebel Sūnnin was now towering in majesty directly overagainst us, and apparently quite near.

Immediately before and below us was a long, deep, and tolerably even valley, called Wady Shebrūh, belonging to the basin of the Nahr el-Kelb, and running up still some distance on our left. We immediately began to descend into it along a steep ravine, and reached the bottom at 10 o'clock. The water-bed was now dry. We followed it down, southwest, for half an hour; when it opened into the irregular and uneven basin of the Nahr el-Kelb; here it sweeps round to the west and goes to form the northern branch of that river. The basin is intersected by

¹ For these two villages see also Seetzen, *Reisen* I. pp. 243, 244.

two other streams from the two large fountains Neba' el-'Asal and Neba' el-Leben, with high plateaus or terraces along the sides of each. At 10.35 the village of Meirûba was about two miles west of us, on the high terrace north of the stream. We here turned southeast, along the same plateau, into an angle or nook of the mountain ; and came at 11 o'clock to Neba' el-'Asal (Honey fountain), one of the main sources of this branch of the Kelb.

This is a considerable fountain of very cold water, bursting forth under the very base of the high ridge, which here runs off southwest. The stream foams and rushes along its channel with a very rapid descent. The other great fountain, Neba' el-Leben (Milk fountain), issues from the foot of the same ridge, about forty minutes further southwest ; there being between them a low spur or plateau running out from the mountain. The streams from the two fountains unite below ; that from Neba' el-Leben forming just above the junction a high and noble cascade, leaping over an elevated ledge of rock. The united stream then runs into the continuation of Wady Shebrûth, nearly opposite to Meirûba ; and thus is formed the Nahr es-Salib, the northern branch of the Nahr el-Kelb. We crossed this branch further on.

The scenery of this basin is wild, rocky, and desolate ; with little of cultivation, and at this season no verdure. There are here few of the elements of beauty and grandeur, which exist in such profusion at Afka and the cedars. The mountain ridges which immediately surround the basin, are less elevated and comparatively tame.

Leaving Neba' el-'Asal at 11.10, we went on about west ; and ascending to the intervening plateau, came at 11.40 to the chasm of the stream from Neba' el-Leben. This chasm is spanned by the famous natural bridge ; which, if found elsewhere, and by itself, would excite astonishment as one of nature's wonders ; but here, amid the vastness of the surrounding magnificence, it makes comparatively but a feeble impression. The traveller, if not upon the watch, might easily pass along the road and cross the bridge, without becoming aware of its existence. It is called Jisr el-Hajr (Stone bridge), or sometimes Jisr el-Bughâleh. A road from Zahleh crosses it, leading to various parts of the coast ; and the road which we followed from the bridge to the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb, was very direct and much travelled.

The fountain Neba' el-Leben is a quarter of an hour higher up, under the very base of the ridge in the southeast. Like the other fountain, it bursts forth at once from under the naked rock, without any accompaniment of trees or verdure. A large and

foaming stream comes rushing down from it; the channel of which is crossed in several places by ridges and ledges of rock, through which the stream has worn its way in a chasm of fantastic features. Just above the bridge, one such ledge is cut through by a very narrow chasm with perpendicular walls. Then follows a ledge of very considerable breadth; the lower or northwest part of which is cut away by the stream, as if regularly chiseled into almost architectural forms, of columns, pilasters, buttresses, battlements, and the like. Over the upper or southwestern part, the natural bridge remains, spanning the gulf below. Looking at it from the south, the bridge presents the appearance of a lofty and tolerably regular circular arch, of not less than a hundred and twenty-five feet span, as we judged; and from eighty to a hundred feet above the stream. The breadth of the bridge (or roadway) in the narrowest part is about one hundred feet; in some places it is broader. The thickness of the rock above the arch is about thirty feet. On the north side the chasm is narrower, being about seventy-five feet. The arch does not extend through under the whole bridge; but on the north the roof is angular in the middle. Then follow, below the bridge, the architectural forms along the chasm, not unlike a street of mighty ruins.¹ The elevation of the bridge above the sea is given by Wildenbruch at 4926 Paris feet; which is higher than Ehden.²

At this season a large stream was foaming and dashing impetuously under the bridge. Yet a canal of good size is carried off from the fountain westwards for miles, for the purposes of irrigation. Mr Robson, my companion, had been here in September, 1846; and at that time the fountain was small; the water being all taken off by canals, and the bed of the stream beneath the bridge quite dry.

We had now completed our visit to the sources of the northern branch of the Nahr el-Kelb; and would gladly have continued our journey to the main source of the southern branch, high up under the southwestern parts of Jebel Sünnin, above Biskinta. But we found, that we could not well accomplish this object and reach Beirût the next day. We therefore set our faces at once towards the latter city.

Leaving the natural bridge at 12.15, on a course W. S. W. we almost immediately crossed the low ridge, which separates the great basin of the Nahr es-Salib from a smaller and shallow

¹ The numbers given in the text are not measurements; but estimates made on the spot, and in which both Mr Robson and myself agreed.—The following are Mr Thomson's earlier *measurements*, as published by him in the *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1848,

p. 3: Span of the arch, 163 feet. Elevation above the stream, 70 to 80 feet. Width on top (roadway) 120 to 160 feet. Thickness above the arch, 30.

² W. M. Thomson in *Biblioth. Sac.* l. c.

valley running southwest to the southern branch of Nahr el-Kelb, or Dog river. A large canal from Neba' el-Leben is carried across this water-shed far to the W. S. W. along the southeastern side of the gentle declivity and near its top. Our road continued for miles along the course of this canal, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. After descending gradually for some time, we struck across the fields on our right, by a short cut, to reach the ruins of Fukra. We came first, at 12.40, to the northernmost, the remains of an ancient square tower standing on the very water-shed, and looking down, on the one side, into the deep gulf of the Salib; and on the other, into the open valley in which we now were. It is commonly spoken of as "the castle."¹ The top is gone, and a portion of the sides fallen down. It was built with great solidity; some of the stones are five or six feet long. The entrance is from the east, and leads to narrow passages within. There is a narrow spiral staircase leading to an upper story; and also to a small square chamber in the middle of the building, covered with hewn stones. There is nothing vaulted; and the staircase also is ceiled with large stones. The whole is without mortar.

On the stone over the doorway is the fragment of a Greek inscription, containing the name of the emperor Tiberius Claudius. On one of the large stones in front, at the northeast corner, is another inscription in large Greek letters, coarsely cut; but we could make nothing of it.²

The construction of this tower seems to exhibit no reference to military purposes; and I am disposed to agree with Seetzen in regarding it as a sepulchral monument. Near by it is a well, walled up with hewn stones.

Just east of the tower is a heap of ruins, apparently those of a small temple. Some of the stones are carved, as if once belonging to cornices, or pedestals, or the capitals of pilasters. A few rods south of these remains, are several large sculptured stones, lying by themselves.

The principal remains are those of a large temple, five minutes south of the tower. Just west of the tower, near the top of the water-shed, begins a singular tract of the usual limestone rocks, which runs down S. S. E. beyond the road we had left. This tract is some ten or twelve rods wide. The singularity is, that the strata are perpendicular, and have been worn

¹ Seetzen heard for it the name el-Kubbeh; *Reisen* I. p. 248 sq.

² These inscriptions were copied by Seetzen, *Reisen* I. pp. 248, 249; by O. v. Richter, pp. 553, 554; and the last by Mr Thomson, *Biblioth. Sac.* 1848, p. 3. The emperor referred to is supposed to be

Claudius; though Gesenius understands Tiberius; see *Corpus Inscr. Græc.* Vol. III. Par. 26, pp. 240, 241, Nos. 4525, 4526. Gesen. *Notes on Burckhardt*, I. p. 525.—Nothing further has been made out in either inscription.

away by-time and weather, so as to present various forms of columns, needles, blocks, and ridges, separated by narrow clefts, chasms, passages, little chambers, and recesses ; the whole rising up some twenty or thirty feet or more, and all exceedingly wild and rugged. It reminded me of the celebrated labyrinth of Adersbach in eastern Bohemia ; though in miniature. The stream of water from Neba' el-Leben strikes the eastern wall of this tract ; and finds its way through some cleft, so as still to flow on westwards beyond it. On the eastern side, the rocks were cut away for a space large enough for the temple and a portion of its court. The walls of rock thus formed, served towards the front as sides of the court ; but the remaining part of the court, further east, was built out with walls of a yellowish coloured limestone, with an entrance in front by a portico of many columns, all from the same kind of stone. Indeed, the whole front of the court seems to have been highly ornamented. The body of the temple stood further back, among the rocks ; and on a terrace higher than the court. It was built of the same yellowish limestone.¹ The stones are large, and were laid up without cement. The noble portico on the eastern front was composed of either four or six large columns of rose-coloured limestone, three feet nine inches in diameter, with Corinthian capitals. From long exposure these columns now appear blue on the outside. The temple we judged to have been not less than one hundred feet long by fifty feet broad. But so entire is the prostration and confusion, that accuracy is out of the question.²

A few rods east of the temple, in the open field, is a small and singular enclosure of very large hewn stones ; as to which I could come to no other conclusion, than that it had once been a tomb. It is only fourteen feet square on the outside, without a roof, and having an entrance on the south side. The stones of the walls are from two to three feet thick. One stone is thirteen feet long, three feet broad, and twenty-two inches thick. Another one is not so long ; but is four and a half feet thick. There is no ornament of any kind.

There are two other enclosures of walls, or rather of foundations ; of which we could make nothing definitely. One of them is half way between the tower and the temple. The other is south of the temple, and beyond the road ; indeed, we saw it only after we had returned to the road. South of the temple,

¹ Seetzen speaks of this stone as "eine Art umbrabrauner (Kalkfelsen), welche weit weniger fest, aber leichter zu bearbeiten ist;" *Reisen* I. p. 248. M. Guys calls it "a yellowish sandstone;" *Ritter Erdk.* XVII. p. 520.

² M. Guys gives the following dimensions of the temple in Paris feet : Length 95 ; Breadth 43 ; Stones 3 by 2½ ; The court, 116 feet long by 92 wide. See *Ritter* I. c. p. 519.

and along the road, are also the indefinite remains of a former town of considerable extent.

Seetzen was the first traveller to visit these ruins in modern times ; and many others have since passed this way.¹

Setting off from the ruins at 2.30, we returned at once to the road, which was near by. It passes on through a gap in the tract of limestone rocks ; the same formation being seen also on the left of the road. We followed again the canal from Neba' el-Leben ; which keeps along high up on the right hand slope. In two places we came upon low spots in the ridge ; and at both the canal is divided ; the water being carried along on both sides of the ridge, several hundred feet above the valleys on each side. The Salib was now flowing along its deep gulf nearly parallel to our course. The road seemed much travelled ; the direction varied between W. S. W. and W. by S. all the way to the mouth of the Dog river. At 3.30 we came to the beginning of the very extended and straggling village of Mezra'ah, which stretches along the road for two miles or more. At 4 o'clock a village and convent were on our left, beyond the broad valley, a mile and a half distant ; but I did not learn the name. The whole valley on our left and along our road was under cultivation, with many orchards of mulberry trees. The heights of Sünnin were still ever in view, towering majestically ; but we were rapidly leaving them behind us.

At 4.15 we turned short to the right, through another part of the village of Mezra'ah ; and crossing over the low watershed, soon began to descend into the very steep, wild, and deep gulf of the Nahr es-Salib. This descent was a very formidable one ; being by far the steepest, as well as one of the longest, that we had yet encountered. The path, bad in itself, conducted us down by short zigzags ; and it needed but little, at every turn, to throw us headlong down the declivity. We came, however, safely to the bottom at 4.55 ; and looking back on our road, it seemed fit only for goats and gazelles. The river is here of considerable size ; and has a rapid descent and a very rocky bottom, over which it rolls loudly murmuring and white with foam. The valley is very narrow ; the sides steep and often precipitous, very high, and mostly clothed with shrubs of stunted oak. The margin of the stream is fringed with poplars and plane trees. For the most part, there is room at the bottom only for the bed of the stream ; but where the bottom is a little wider, it is carefully cultivated, and is here and there occupied by a house. The whole chasm reminded me much of the gorge of the Litâny between Bürghüz and Belât ; but it is wilder and

¹ Seetzen, *Reisen* I. p. 248 sq. O. v. in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1848, p. 3. Ritter XVII Richter, pp. 101, 102. W. M. Thomson pp. 513-520.

deeper ; the sides here being from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred feet high ; in some parts certainly not less than the latter number. The stream also is larger.¹

We stopped for five minutes at the bridge. Here are narrow patches of tillage on terraces ; and there are other patches further down, with mulberry orchards and a house or two. The bridge itself is narrow, with one large arch ; and is overhung with plane trees. There is a pretty view, looking up under it from the south ; the stream is seen through the foliage dashing and foaming along its steep descent beneath the bridge. The course of the gulf is here from E. N. E. to W. S. W.

We left the bridge at 5 o'clock. The ascent on the other side is much less difficult. The path ascends obliquely and very gradually along the steep side ; so that without any great apparent rise of its own, it comes to be high over the valley below. Near the top, however, there is quite a steep ascent for some distance. We reached the top at 5.30 ; having enjoyed the rather unusual phenomenon of seeing the sun appear to rise in the west. Below, in the valley, it had long been sunset ; but as we approached the summit, the sun began again to be seen in the west, and continued to rise apparently, till it became an hour high or more.

At 5.45 the village of Kulei'at was just on our left. Our road now continued about W. by S. over a broad elevated tract of uneven table land, very rocky and stony, and fully planted with mulberry trees. Indeed, we hardly met with any cultivation other than mulberry orchards, until we came quite near the coast. At 6 o'clock, through an opening in the lower mountains, we had a glimpse of the sea south of Beirut. Twenty-five minutes later we passed through the village of Reifün. At 6.40 we wound around the great convent of 'Ajeltün, situated in the midst of another singular region of projecting limestone rocks. They rise up at irregular intervals in fantastic forms, sometimes with architectural regularity, resembling columns, blocks, houses, towers both square and round, castles, fortresses, and the like ; some of them forty or fifty feet high. The road passes through the midst of them, in some places by very narrow clefts.

We were now on the lookout for a spot to encamp for the night ; but the region was so rocky, and the soil everywhere so stony, and given up to mulberry orchards, which were all fresh ploughed, that we sought long in vain. At 7.05 we came to the western part of the very extensive and scattered village of 'Ajeltün ; here were two open public places, where the turf had once been green. On one of these we encamped for the last time, thoroughly wearied out after a long day's journey.

¹ See above, pp. 386, 387.

Saturday, June 19th.—We were now in the rich district of Kesrawân, the chief seat of the Maronites. It lies mostly on the broad plateau of the mountain, here extending from the foot of Sûnnin to near the coast, and everywhere deeply gashed by the chasms of the Dog river and its deep branch valleys. That river is the southern boundary of Kesrawân. The southern branch has its source in a large fountain, Neba' Sûnnin, some distance above Biskinta, and under the southwestern flank of Jebel Sûnnin. It flows down westwards; and is joined by the northern branch, the Salib, below Shuweir. After their junction the deep chasm cuts down through the plateau, first west, and at last northwest, to the sea. Below the junction, and about two hours from the sea, are situated the famous caves of the Nahr el-Kelb; being a succession of caverns and tunnels worn away by the action of the stream, and through which its waters now flow.¹

The direction of Shuweir was pointed out to us; it lies south of the Kelb, in the basin of a valley running to that river, but was hidden from our sight by a ridge.² Somewhat further west Bukfeiya was visible, bearing south, about two miles distant, as we judged.

The surface of Kesrawân is exceedingly rocky and rugged; and we could trace the outline and course of the deeper chasms. The view from our tent was varied and fine, extending over valleys and ridges in full cultivation. Every spot where earth can be found or scraped together, is carefully tilled. The plantations of mulberry trees are very numerous. We could now see many pines around and before us; though we did not ourselves come upon sandstone until an hour further on. The villages are numerous; indeed the region towards the coast swarms with them. The houses are widely scattered; each house usually standing by itself in its own garden. This gives them a pleasanter aspect; adds to their comfort, cleanliness, and cheerfulness; and testifies that here these Maronites dwell in security and quiet, far from hostile Druzes and marauding Arabs. The open place in 'Ajeltûn, on which our tent was pitched, was not unlike the square of a rural village in New England; except that the dwellings were not painted, and the church, the schoolhouse, the country tavern, and perhaps the blacksmith's shop, were wanting.

This was to be my last day of travel in Palestine. We started at 7 o'clock; and after five minutes had a splendid view

¹ For a description of these caves, see W. M. Thomson in the *Missionary Herald*, 1841, p. 31. Ritter XVII. p. 526 sq.

² For the village Shuweir, see Seetzen, *Reisen* I. p. 255. For the neighbouring Greek Catholic convent, Mâr Yohanna Shuweir, with its printing-press, see

Seetzen I. c. p. 251 sq. O. v. Richter p. 98. Ritter XVII. p. 765 sq. Here Volney resided for several months, and has described the printing establishment; *Voyage* II. pp. 174–184, comp. I. p. viii. See also Schnurrer *Biblioth. Arab.* p. 379 sq.

of the sea, and of the whole peninsula and city of Beirût. Our course was W. by S. and very direct, quite to the bridge at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb; the road gradually but continually descending by a very stony and much travelled path. At 8.10 was the village of Bellûneh; where we began to get nearer views of the coast and of the villages below us. The great chasm of the river was seen on the left. In a shallow Wady or rather plain on our right, running to the sea, was 'Ain Tûrah, commonly pronounced 'Antûrah, hardly more than half an hour distant, bearing N. 20° W.¹ On a low hill beyond it, a little more to the left, was the great convent Mâr Eliâs er-Râs, bearing W. N. W. In a plain running down north of this convent, and northwest of 'Ain Tûrah, was Zûk Mûsbah; and in the next valley beyond was Zûk Mekâyil, the chief village of Kesrawân, bearing N. W. by N. Before us, on the high point of a ridge projecting westwards along the north side of the Kelb, was the large convent of Deir Tanneis, bearing west.²

The road on coming to this ridge divides. The great and more travelled path descends on the north side into the plain to 'Ain Tûrah; and thence passes down to the shore north of the mouth of the river, and so to Beirût. A more direct, but less travelled path keeps along on the southern brow of the ridge, and descends to the river above the bridge. We followed the latter. At 8.50 the convent Deir Tanneis was on our right, looking much like a fortress. We now began to descend, as it seemed, into the chasm of the river; but on turning around an angle on the right, the hill sunk down at once into a fine plain; which however is still high above the river. At 9 o'clock we were in the plain; and ten minutes later the large village Zûk el-Khurâb was close on our right. We kept on over the plain; and came suddenly upon the brow of the deep and precipitous chasm of the Nahr el-Kelb. The descent was sharp, very steep and zig-zag, and as romantic and wild, perhaps, as any we had encountered. We reached the bottom at 9.35; followed down the now fordable stream to the modern bridge, which we crossed at 9.40; and came to the foot of the pass at 9.45. Here we stopped to examine again the ancient sculptures on the rocks. The bridge, and the pass itself, as well as the road between them and Beirût, have been already sufficiently described, in connection with my excursion to the spot in March.³ Between the bridge and the pass, there is a small Khân.

¹ For the village and convent of 'Antûrah, see Burckhardt pp. 183, 187. Ritter XVII. p. 757 sq.

² Burckhardt says: "One hour from 'Antûrah is Deir Luweiz [on the way to Beirût]. Between it and the village Zûk

Mekâyil lies the village Zûk Mûsbah, with Deir Mîr Eliâs. South of Deir Luweiz half an hour is the village Zûk el-Khurâb; half an hour east of the latter, Deir Tanneis." Trav. p. 189.

³ See above, pp. 12, 13.

The rocky ridge which forms the south side of the chasm of the river, projects for a considerable distance into the sea. The present pass, around and over this point, was cut in the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, in the latter part of the second century. The road is some six feet in breadth, irregularly paved with large uneven stones; on the northern side quite steep; and at the top about a hundred feet above the sea. A more ancient road crossed the point at a higher elevation. This is still quite distinct on the northern side; and along it are the best preserved sculptures. On the southern side of the pass, this earlier road cannot now be traced; in consequence, very probably, of the tumbling down of rocks from above in the course of many centuries, or as the effect of earthquakes. This ancient path can now be climbed only on foot.

In going from the bridge to the foot of the pass, there is, first, in a field near the bridge, on the face of a low rock, a long Arabic inscription. The storms and casualties of three centuries have done their work so effectually, that at present a large portion of the inscription is defaced; and the characters of the remainder are so interwoven and complicated, that the best Arabic scholars have not yet been able to make out the sense of the whole. Enough remains to show, that it refers to a Sultan Selim, probably the first of that name, about A. D. 1517, apparently as the restorer of the bridge.¹

Further on, at the left, upon the face of a rock by the path, is the Latin inscription commemorative of the cutting through of the present road. It is still quite distinct; with the exception of a word or line purposely erased after *per*. I have merely separated the words, which in the original run together; and have added dots to mark parts of words.

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIVS
ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS
PART. MAX. BRIT. MAX. GERM. MAXIMVS
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS
MONTIBVS INMINENTIBVS
LICO FLVMINI CAESIS VIAM DELATAVIT
PER
ANTONINIANAM SVAM²

¹ For a copy of the remains of this inscription by Mr Wildenbruch, see Monatsbericht d. Ges. für Erdk. in Berlin, N. Folg. I. p. 89, and Taf. IV.

² This inscription (as also the following one) has been copied by Maundrell, Seetzen, Burckhardt, Wilson, and others. The copy in the text is that of Burckhardt. The form *delatavit* for *dilatavit* belongs probably to the stonecutter.—The epithets

Parthicus, Britannicus, and Germanicus, belong to the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who died A. D. 180. The latter title was given him after the death of Verus, on occasion of the war with the Marcomanni, which ended in A. D. 176. We have therefore a close approximation to the date of the inscription: and of the road; some ten years later than the inscriptions at Abila. Comp. Ritter XVII. p. 530.

From this inscription it appears, if all other evidence were wanting, that the Nahr el-Kelb is the river *Lycus* of the ancients ; the wolf having given place to the dog.

A little further towards the sea is another brief Latin inscription, less legible. The following is Seetzen's copy partially corrected :

INVICTE IMP.
ANTONINE PIE FELIX AVG.
MVLTI ANNIS IMPERA

In proceeding now to speak of the tablets sculptured on the rocks, I can of course only give the impressions made upon my own mind after two rather cursory examinations. My studies have not been specially directed to the field either of Egyptian or Assyrian archæology ; nor was I at the time sufficiently acquainted with the recent literary history of these tablets, to have my attention drawn to all the particulars, which still need investigation. But as both Lepsius and Layard, leading discoverers in Egypt and Assyria, had already visited the spot and examined the sculptures for themselves, we may well for the present rest in their general conclusions ; until the progress of discovery shall throw more light upon the hieroglyphics of the Nile and the arrow-headed characters of the Tigris.

There are nine tablets in all ; of which three have been regarded as Egyptian and six as Assyrian.¹ They occur at different intervals upon the rocks, along the upper side of the most ancient road. There is a difference in the size of the tablets ; but they are all of sufficient magnitude to contain figures as large as life. Some of the tablets are surrounded by a moulding, more or less ornamented. Five of them are square at the top ; of which at least the three regarded as Egyptian are surmounted by an ornamental cornice. The remaining four tablets are rounded at the top ; and all contain Assyrian figures. In two instances an Egyptian and Assyrian tablet stand side by side, with hardly an interval between them.

Commencing at the northern foot of the pass, the first three tablets are on the rocks adjacent to the present road, below the point where the earlier road separated from it. The following is the order of all the tablets.

No. 1. *Egyptian*.—Square at top ; no figure ; apparently no cultpue.

No. 2. *Assyrian*.—Square at top ; Assyrian figure with right hand elevated ; very much worn away and indistinct.—This tablet is a short distance from No. 1.

¹ Layard says *seven* Assyrian ; which is probably a slip of the pen ; as he also specifies three Egyptian tablets ; Discover. in Nineveh and Babylon, p. 211. n.

No. 3. *Assyrian*.—Square at top ; Assyrian figure, indistinct. A short space from No. 2.

No. 4. *Assyrian*.—Rounded at top ; Assyrian figure, not very distinct. This tablet is on the ancient path, some distance from No. 3.

No. 5. *Assyrian*, higher up the ancient road.—Rounded at top ; Assyrian figure, with uplifted arm ; perhaps something in the hand.

No. 6. *Egyptian*, adjacent to No. 5.—Square at top ; no figure ; apparently no sculpture.

No. 7. *Assyrian*, higher up and alone.—Rounded at top ; Assyrian figure, with uplifted arm ; the most distinct of all.

No. 8. *Egyptian*, near the top of the pass.—Square at top ; no figure ; apparently no sculpture.

No. 9. *Assyrian*, adjacent to No. 8.—Rounded at top ; Assyrian figure, with uplifted arm. The whole figure and tablet covered with a cuneiform inscription.¹

In all the Assyrian figures, so far as they are distinguishable, the left arm lies horizontally across the body, while the right arm is uplifted. Each hand may have held something ; but this cannot now be well made out. The position, costume, cap, and beard, so far as they can still be traced, have a striking resemblance to the royal sculptures disintombed at Nineveh.²

In the corners of the three Egyptian tablets, there are holes, as for metal cramps ; as if a metal plate or marble tablet, perhaps with sculptures or an inscription, had been fastened within the border, covering the interior surface. In that case, the rock surface of these three tablets was never sculptured. I must here express my assent to the negative testimony of Mr v. Wildenbruch, in which Dr Eli Smith and consul Schultz concurred, that he was able to distinguish on these three tablets no hieroglyphics ; although he thought the sunken human figures could be recognised.³ I must confess, that for myself, on neither of my visits, although both were made at midday and under a brilliant sun, could I distinguish either hieroglyphics or other figures.⁴ It may be possible, however, that with the sun in another direction, with a different condition of light and shade, and less of glare, such outlines can be traced. But then, how

¹ In one of the plates illustrating his work, M. De Saulcy has given rather imperfect representations of all the nine tablets.

² See in Layard's volumes, especially the king, Nineveh II. p. 7 [13] ; also Sennacherib, Nin. and Babylon p. 150. Comp. also the first note in his Nineveh, p. 400. [304.]

³ In Monatsb. d. Ges. f. Erdk. in Berlin, Neue F. Bd. I. p. 87.

⁴ M. De Saulcy affirms the same still more strongly, in his work ; and cites also the like testimony of M. Oppert ; Narrative, II. pp. 655, 656. But he has since taken it all back ; see L'Athenæum Français, Sept. 1854, No. 38, p. 902.

are the cramps at the corners to be accounted for? ¹ At any rate, I cannot but think, that fancy has had much to do in making out the reputed *copies* of these Egyptian tablets.

Lepsius has treated of the Egyptian tablets; once from the reports of others,² and again after a personal examination on his return from Egypt in November, 1845.³ According to him, they all three bear the cartouche of Rameses II, the Sesostris of Herodotus. They are dedicated, the middle one (No. 5) to *Râ*, Helios, the highest Egyptian god; the southernmost (No. 8) to the Theban *Ammon* of Upper Egypt; and the northernmost (No. 1) to the Memphitic *Phtha* of Lower Egypt. Lepsius supposes the three tablets refer to different expeditions.—We learn from Herodotus,⁴ that the conqueror Sesostris, in his expeditions to Asia Minor and Thrace, left behind him *stelæ* and *figures*,⁵ as monuments of his exploits. These had mostly already disappeared in the days of the father of history; yet he had himself seen some of them in Palestine or Syria, with inscriptions.⁶

In like manner, Layard at first spoke of the Assyrian tablets on the report of others;⁷ but afterwards, in 1851, examined them for himself on his way to Europe the second time.⁸ He regards them as the work of Sennecharib, the king represented in the rock sculptures at Bavian and the founder of the palace at Konyunjik; but the inscription is so much injured, as hitherto to have defied transcription.⁹ Layard appears to regard all the Assyrian sculptures as referring to Sennecharib. It seems, however, hardly probable, that one monarch should cause six similar tablets to be executed on one spot, and during one expedition. And as not less than five Assyrian sovereigns invaded Syria and Palestine, or passed through them into Egypt, some of them more than once, why may not the tablets belong to different sovereigns, or at least to different expeditions? If the highest tablet with the inscription (No. 9) refer to Sennecharib, why may not the rest belong to his predecessors? The features and figures are too indistinct to permit us to say defi-

¹ It has been suggested, that the cramps served for hanging doors, in order to protect the tablets. But nothing of the kind is elsewhere found; and besides, in that case, the cramps would have been inserted on the borders of the tablets, and not *within* them.

² Notice sur les Bas-reliefs Egyptiens et Persans de Beirût; par R. Lepsius. Rome 1838.

³ Briefe aus Aegypten, etc. von R. Lepsius, p. 402.

⁴ Hdot. 2. 102, 106.

⁵ Gr. *στήλαι, τύποι*.

⁶ Gr. *ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ*, c. 106. Comp. Ritter XVII. p. 533. It does not appear that Herodotus had ever himself visited the monuments at the Dog river.

⁷ Nineveh, II. pp. 144, 182, 400. n. [115, 145, 304. n.]

⁸ Discov. in Nin. and Bab. p. 210. n.

⁹ Slight specimens of this inscription, which is in the Assyrian type of cuneiform letters, are given by Wildenbruch and Dr Wilson; see Monathsber. I c. p. 88, and Taf. III. Lands of the Bible, II. p. 412.

nately, that they all represent one and the same person.¹ This earlier pass may well have been a terror to armies; and to surmount it successfully, was an exploit not unnaturally deemed worthy of commemoration by every passing conqueror.

The epoch of Sesostris covered the last half of the fourteenth century before Christ;² and was three centuries earlier than the accession of David. Sennacherib is supposed to have ascended the throne in 703 B. C.³ Between the tablets of the former conqueror and those of the latter, therefore, there intervened a period of not less than six centuries. And looking back from our day, the Assyrian tablets have continued to commemorate the progress of the Assyrian hosts for more than five and twenty centuries; while those of Egypt, if proceeding from Sesostris, have celebrated his prowess for thirty-one centuries. They reach back to hoary antiquity, even to the earliest days of the Judges of Israel, before Jerusalem was known.

We have seen, that the three Egyptian tablets are square at the top; while of the six Assyrian, four are rounded and two are square. The square form, therefore, would at first view seem to be the Egyptian type; and the round, the Assyrian. This is quite striking where the two are placed side by side. The suggestion arose in our minds while on the spot, as it had done to others before us,⁴ whether the Assyrian conquerors, in their "pride of power," may not have purposely defaced the Egyptian monuments erected six centuries before, and then boastfully have caused their own to be sculptured side by side with them.⁵ The thought also occurred to us, whether perhaps the Assyrian artist may not have sometimes facilitated his work, by executing it within a former Egyptian tablet. This might account for the square form of some now containing Assyrian figures; and, if I recollect aright, No. 4 especially, though now rounded, bears traces of some such after-sculpture. I mention this idea, without venturing to lay much stress upon it; but it may at least be worth further examination upon the spot.⁶

¹ The following are the Assyrian kings who invaded Syria and Palestine, or passed through against Egypt: *Pul*, 2 K. 15, 19. 1 Chr. 5, 26. *Tiglath-pileser*, 2 K. 16, 7-10. 1 Chr. 5, 26. 2 Chr. 28, 20, 21. *Shalmaneser*, 2 K. 17, 3-6. 18, 9-11. *Sargon*, Is. 20, 1. *Sennacherib*, 2 K. 18, 13 sq. 2 Chr. 32, 1 sq. Is. 36, 1 sq.

² His accession is placed by Wilkinson in 1355 B. C. Wilkinson's *Mod. Egypt* and *Thebes*, II p. 428.

³ Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 614, 620.

⁴ So Leveigne and Sir W. Gell; see Ritter XVII. p. 536. The reasons assigned by M. Guys against this suggestion, appear to me to be of little weight; and

seem to rest very much upon a prepossession of mind; see Ritter *ibid*.

⁵ It has been suggested, that another Egyptian tablet once stood by the side of the Assyrian tablet No. 7; and has been destroyed by the falling away of the rock. We noticed nothing of the kind. Ritter *ib.* p. 544.

⁶ M. de Saulcy regards the two square tablets adjacent to Assyrian ones, as strictly belonging to the latter, and connected with them; as intended, indeed, merely for Assyrian inscriptions. But in one of these cases the inscription is still extant upon the Assyrian figure and tablet. Nor does this explanation apply at all to No. 1, which stands alone.

These rock sculptures were first brought to notice in modern times by that acute observer, Maundrell, in A. D. 1697. He and his party were driven away by a violent storm of thunder and rain; yet he for the first time took note of the more ancient path and the tablets above it; and evidently climbed to the highest sculptures. As he had just visited and examined the tombs and sepulchral monuments along the coast south of Tortosa; and as Lebanon is full of sarcophagi; it is no wonder, that these figures seemed to Maundrell to be "perhaps the representation of some persons buried hereabouts, whose sepulchres might probably also be discovered by the diligent observer."¹ Maundrell could not know, that the sepulchres of those 'persons' were then buried along with mighty Nineveh; and that after the lapse of another century and a half, they with Nineveh itself would be disinterred.

Pococke passed this way, but hardly took notice of the sculptures. To him they were nothing more than "some small figures of men in relief, cut in different compartments, but very much defaced by time."² Niebuhr went from Sidon to Tripoly by water. No other traveller of note seems to have taken this route, until Seetzen; at least no one has described the tablets.³

In the first years of the present century M. Guys, son of the French consul at Beirût, and afterwards his successor, took copies of the sculptures.⁴ These in September, 1805, he exhibited to Seetzen among others; who briefly mentions the sculptures in his letters to Europe, and in his journal.⁵ Burckhardt passed this way, and copied the Latin inscriptions; but says not a word of the sculptures.⁶ A cast of the tablet with the inscription,

¹ Maundrell under March 17th: "We observed, in the sides of the rock above us, several tables of figures carved; which seemed to promise something of antiquity: to be satisfied of which, some of us clambered up to the place, and found there some signs as if the old way had gone in that region, before Antoninus had cut the other more convenient passage a little lower. In several places hereabouts, we saw strange antique figures of men, carved in the natural rock, in mezzo relievo, and in highness equal to the life. Close by each figure was a table plained in the side of the rock, and bordered round with mouldings. Both the effigies and the tables appeared to have been anciently inscribed all over; but the characters are now so defaced, that only the footsteps of them were visible; only there was one of the figures, that had both its lineaments and its inscriptions entire." The tablet thus described is the highest of all.

² Pococke II. i. p. 92.

³ Volney resided for several months in the convent Mâr Yohanna at Shuweir; but seems to have known nothing of the sculptures. He even confounds Nahr es-Salib with the Beirût river; Voyage II. p. 169. See above, p. 616.—Browne also was here; but does not speak of the tablets; p. 378.

⁴ H. Guys Relation d'un séjour à Beyrout etc. I. pp. 251–271. Ritter XVII. p. 532.—Ritter has here undesignedly done some injustice to Maundrell, when he says it was M. Guys who first discovered and copied, not the lower sculptures along the present road, which every passing traveller must see, but those higher up and more remote from the modern way. The language of Maundrell, as quoted in a preceding note, is conclusive to show, that he discovered all the tablets.

⁵ Seetzen in Zach's Mon. Corr. 1806, Bd. XIII. p. 549. Reisen I. p. 235.

⁶ Trav. p. 190.

made by Mr Bonomi, is now in the British Museum ;¹ and copies of the sculptures were obtained by M. Bertou about A. D. 1838. On these materials have mainly rested the researches of archæologists ; except that both Lepsius and Layard have since visited the spot, as above related.*

At the top of the modern pass, on the side next the water, is a kind of pedestal ; near which lies the fragment of a round column with an illegible Latin inscription. It was apparently a Roman milestone.² But popular tradition, in accounting for the present name of the Nahr el-Kelb, 'Dog river,' relates, that the image of a dog once stood upon this pedestal ; from which it has been thrown down into the sea. This supposed image is still pointed out below ; being a single rock just rising to the surface of the water.

Here my Syrian journey was virtually at an end ; as I had already travelled over the rest of the way to Beirût. Our horses now became more spirited on approaching the city ; and we did not restrain them. Leaving the top of the pass at 10.40, we reached the open place before Beirût at 12.50 ; and five minutes later dismounted at the Mission house. With feelings of gratitude for the protection of a kind Providence, I repaired to my former home ; and rejoiced to find all our remaining friends well. Some of them had already left the city, and others were preparing for their summer flight to 'Abeih and Bhamdûn on Lebanon.

I had now travelled around the whole of Mount Lebanon, between the great castles esh-Shükîf and el-Husn, without having anywhere crossed its main ridge. The general character of its eastern declivity, as also of Anti-Lebanon, I have already described.⁴ A few remarks upon its western slope may here not be out of place.

The western declivity of Lebanon is much broader and less steep than the eastern ; its elevation from the base is on this side three thousand feet greater than on the other. It lies in broader plateaus, with a richer soil and far more of cultivation, and teems with villages ; while the eastern side has almost none. A main difference is in the number and character of the streams. While on the eastern slope these are comparatively few and small, the western declivity is broken and furrowed by the magnificent basins and chasms of large rivers. In passing from north to south, I had now seen the Kebir in much of its upper part ; had crossed the rivers of 'Akkâr and 'Arka and the Bârid, near

¹ Layard's *Nineveh*, II. p. 400. [304. n.]

² For a summary of the literary history relating to the sculptures, see Kitter XVII. pp. 531-546.

³ M. de Sauley copied some words of

this inscription ; *Narrat.* II. pp. 650, 651. Comp. S. Wolcott in *Biblioth. Sac.* 1843. p. 86.

⁴ See above, pp. 546, 547.

the base of the mountain ; and had traversed the amphitheatres where the Kadisha, the Ibrahim, and the Kelb have their sources, high up under the main ridge of Lebanon. The basin of the Beirût river I had before viewed from Deir el-Kul'ah ;¹ and that of the Dâmûr from the ridge above 'Abeih.² The Auwaly I had crossed near the sea, and had missed a view of its upper basin only because of the rain.³ I had visited the Zaherâny in its remotest source ;⁴ and traced the Litâny in its wildest chasms.⁵ All these features impart to the western slope of Lebanon a character distinct, picturesque, and remarkable.

In my former work, I called attention to the temples then already known on Lebanon ; which, however, were at that time but six in number.⁶ In the present volume, likewise, I have often had occasion to speak of the temples scattered, not only on Lebanon, but also on Anti-Lebanon and in the Bûkâ'a.⁷ I had now myself visited the remains of no less than thirteen such temples ; only one of which was among the six above referred to as known. This enumeration does not include the ruins of Ba'albek, nor the rude remains at Kûl'at Bustra and Zawârib.⁸ We heard of several others ; and in all probability there are yet many more to be discovered.

On Tuesday afternoon, June 22d, my friends accompanied me to the steamer, which was to leave for Smyrna. After some tergiversation on the part of the agent, I received permission to spend the quarantine at the latter place on board of the steamer ; an arrangement granted only to three passengers on each trip, and greatly to be preferred on the score of comfort, as well as of expense. That evening my eyes lingered for the last time upon the receding summits of that goodly mountain, Lebanon. The steamer called, as before, at Larnaka and Rhodes ; but, being now in quarantine, as coming from Beirût, we could not land. We reached Smyrna late in the afternoon of Saturday. Our quarantine of five days, in the occidental mode of reckoning, would have lasted till the same hour on the following Thursday. But according to the oriental rule, we were let out at sunrise on Wednesday morning ; having actually been in quarantine only three whole days and small portions of two others. This well

¹ See above, p. 15.

² Ibid. p. 20.

³ Ibid. pp. 36, 40.

⁴ Ibid. p. 45.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 386, 421-424.

⁶ See Vol. II. p. 493. [iii. 441.]

⁷ See above, pp. 432, 438, etc.

⁸ The following is the list : Deir el-

Kûl'ah, see above, p. 15 sq. Hibbâriyeh, p. 417 ; Neby Sûfa, p. 426 ; 'Aihâ, p. 433 ; Rûkhleh, p. 435 ; Deir el-'Ashâyir, p. 437 ; el-Fijeh, p. 476 ; el-Kefr, 478 ; Mejdal 'Anjar, p. 493 sq. ; Deir el-Ghûz I, p. 501 ; Nahleh, p. 529 ; Afka, p. 605 ; Fukra, p. 612.

illustrates the three days, during which our Lord is related to have lain in the sepulchre.

The families of Messrs Riggs and Benjamin had retired for the summer from Smyrna to the pleasant village of Bournabat, northeast of the city. I now found a home in the family of the latter; and well it was for me, that kind friends and careful attention were at hand. On Monday evening I had felt feverish on board the steamer; but it passed away, and I thought no more of it. During Wednesday night, however, the fever returned, as a tertian, with great violence; and left me prostrated. Dr Wood, the Frank physician, prescribed large doses of quinine; and the effect was such, that there was afterwards but little recurrence of the fever. On Monday, July 5th, by advice of the physician, though still quite weak, I embarked in the regular steamer for Trieste.

The next year, 1853, Messrs Riggs and Benjamin removed to Constantinople, as a more eligible position for the printing establishment of the Mission. There, in January 1855, Mr Benjamin was called to his rest. He fell a victim to typhus fever. He was a man amiable in character and pleasing in address; an able, faithful, and devoted labourer in the missionary work.¹

We lay twenty-four hours at Syra; and thus fulfilled our quarantine between Asia and Europe. The further voyage was without any special incident. Being in a slow vessel, we did not arrive at Trieste until the following Monday at noon. I secured a place for the next day in the diligence for Laibach, then the southern termination of the railway; and on repairing to the office on Tuesday to take my seat, whom should I encounter in the same vehicle, but my friend Mr W. Dickson of Edinburgh, whom I had met two months before at Nábulus?² He had arrived the preceding evening in the steamer from Alexandria. We continued together next day upon the railway, through all the splendid Alpine scenery along the Save and the Sann, as far as to Bruck. There I left the cars, and rested for a day. The next evening I took the *malle poste* for Salzburg, through a beautiful region of country; and reached that city very early on Saturday, July 17th. I found there my family, residing temporarily in the charming park of Aigen. In this quiet retreat, and in journeying amid the magnificence of the Austrian Alps, my health was speedily and firmly restored.

On the 8th of October we embarked at Bremen on board the steamer for New York; left Southampton on the 13th; and arrived at New York, Oct. 27th, 1852.

¹ Mr Benjamin died January 27th 1855. An obituary notice of him, with a brief account of his life, is given in the *Missionary Herald* for the month of May 1855, p. 142 sq.

² See above, p. 300.

NOTES.

NOTE I.—Page 10

COMMERCE OF BEIRUT.—The following statement of imports and exports at Beirût in A. D. 1853, in the vessels of different nations, was obtained for Dr Smith by Mr Tabit, the intelligent dragoman of the British consulate.

IMPORTS.

Vessels.	Loaded.	Empty.		Value of Cargoes.
Austrian,	36	1	.	France 6,643,231
American,	1	2	.	25,000
French,	58	6	.	8,276,157
Jerusalem,	6	1	.	92,042
Greek,	9	15	.	162,870
English,	62	2	.	6,803,212
Norwegian,	1	1	.	6,750
Dutch,	1	.	.	58,125
Russian,	1	1	.	
Sardinian,	8	.	.	756,400
Tuscan,	1	.	.	57,009
Turkish,	35	43	.	1,627,000
Total	219	72	.	France 19,507,296

During the same year the imports at ALEPPO were about 20,000,000 fr

EXPORTS.

Vessels.	Loaded.	Empty.		Value of Cargoes.
Austrian,	29	7	.	France 5,465,719
American,	1	2	.	120,000
French,	26	33	.	1,749,375
Jerusalem,	3	4	.	273,900
Greek,	7	17	.	53,957
English,	65	.	.	1,382,425
Norwegian,	.	2	.	
Dutch,	.	1	.	
Russian,	1	.	.	8,837
Sardinian,	3	5	.	30,750
Tuscan,	1	.	.	193,750
Turkish,	27	51	.	1,117,750
	163	127	.	France 10,845,963

NOTE II.—Page 91.

ITINERARY FROM 'AKKA TO TYRE.—The following Itinerary is that of the late Capt. Newbold in 1845; and is copied with some abridgement from an article by him in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII. p. 359–361. Taken in connection with our route between Tyre and Beirût, and the Itinerary of Dr Smith from 'Akka to Yâfa in Note XL, at the end of Vol. II, it completes a full Itinerary between Beirût and Yâfa.

Route from 'Akka to Tyra.

	R. M.
From 'Akka along the plain :	
Jezzâr's aqueduct crosses the road, . . . . .	.20
Semirieh, with gardens and fig orchards, . . . . .	.45
Ancient foundations, gardens, . . . . .	.15
Rivulet of el-Mabshûk, stone causeway, . . . . .	.25
ez-Zib (Ecdippa), $\frac{1}{4}$ m. on left, near the sea, . . . . .	.35
el-Bûssah, a mile on right, on flank of promontory, . . . . .	.45
'Ain el-Musheirifeh, south of Râs en-Nakûrah, . . . . .	.10
Foot of Râs en-Nakûrah, . . . . .	.09
Top of promontory, . . . . .	.08
Bottom of first steep descent, . . . . .	.12
Descent more gradual to rivulet, with Roman bridge, . . . . .	.16
Bottom of second descent, . . . . .	.15
Khân and village en-Nakûrah, village on right, . . . . .	.15
Along the plain to 'Ain Iskanderiyeh (Alexandroschene), with massive ruins. Just beyond begins the ascent of Râs el-Abyad (Promontorium Album),	1.10
Top of ascent; Kûl'at Shema' on right, . . . . .	.20
Bottom of descent, . . . . .	.12
Rivulet of Wady el-'Azziyeh; foundations of an ancient site; village el-Mansûry on right, . . . . .	.15
Râs el-'Ain,	1.06
Tyre,	1.
Total	8.33

General course from 'Akka to Râs el-'Ain, N. 10° E.
 “ “ “ Ras el-'Ain to Tyre, N. 15° W.

NOTE III.—Page 92.

STATISTICS OF THE PROVINCE OF 'AKKA.—The following statistics of the province of 'Akka, comprising eight districts, were obtained for us by Mr Jirjis Jemâl, American consular agent in 'Akka; see Text.

1. *Villages.*

The Sâhil, Jebel, and Shâghûr,	38
Shefa 'Omar,	18
Nazareth,	25
Tiberias,	26
'Atlit and Haifa,	42
Safed,	11
	<hr/> 160

2. *Population: Number of Males.*

	Musl. and Druz.	Chr. and Jewa.
'Akka, the city,	2378	793
Distr. of Shâghûr,	2795	762
“ the Sâhil,	2077	644
“ the Jebel,	2081	544
“ Shefa 'Omar,	2767	763
“ 'Atlit and Haifa,	6184	588
“ Nazareth,	8013	1915
“ Tiberias,	8521	691
“ Safed,	8612	942
	<hr/> 28428	<hr/> 7642
	7642	
Total	<hr/> 86,070	

3. *Yokes of Oxen.*

The Sâhil, Jebel, and Shâghûr,	1500
Shefa 'Omar,	700
Nazareth,	900
Tiberias,	900
'Atlit and Haifa,	1200
Safed,	700
	<hr/> Total 5900

4. *Taxes in Money.*

	Piastres	On Property.	On Persons.
The Sâhil, incl. 'Akka,	172213.01	26750.27	
Shâghûr,	206642.21	24323.13	
The Jebel,	122936.26	27940.02	
Shefa 'Omar,	237071.05	38988.05	
'Atlit and Haifa,	299964.16	77126.23	
Nazareth,	205774.03	65715.20	
Tiberias,	88826.04	59282.23	
Safed,	155497.15	49686.28	
	<hr/> 1488925.11	<hr/> 369813.21	
		1488925.11	
		<hr/> 1858738.32	
From customs, excise, rents, and villages farmed,		1357850.	
Total: Piastres	3,216,588.32		

5. *Taxes in Produce.* (Incomplete.)

	Wheat.	Barley.
The Sâhil, Kilo.	6673½	Kilo. 12980
The Jebel,	5126	8726
Shâghûr,	3996	7546
Nazareth,	8129	25106
Safed,	2200	4290
Tiberias,	9490½	14212
Atlit and Haifa,	8041	8179
Shefa 'Omar,	8421	14146
In the prov. } Um el-Fahm,	1100	
of Nâbulus. } el-Murussus,	283	
Total: Kilo.	53459	95185

6. *Products of Agriculture, etc.*

Wheat, Kilo.	1,500,000 at	12½ Pinstres.
Barley,	500,000 "	7 "
Millet,	400,000 "	7 "
Beans,	50,000 "	7 "
Lentiles,	20,000 "	8 "
Hûmmus, (chick peas),	10,000 "	10 "
Castor oil beans,	1,500 "	13 "
Sesame, Okes	200,000 "	1½ "
Cotton, Kuntârs	2,500 "	750 "
Oil,	5,000 "	650 "
Wool,	100 "	750 "
Tobacco,	750 "	1000 "
Silk,	300 "	100 "
Kersenna, (vetches), Kilo.	7,500, }	not exported, nor brought to market

7. *Mosks, Churches, etc.*

Mosks. In 'Akka *six*; in Haifa *two*; in Safed *three*; in Tiberias *two*; in Nazareth, Tershiha, and ez-Zib, each *one*. In every village there is a house used as a mosk.

Greek Churches. There is *one* Greek church in each of the following places: 'Akka, Haifa, Nazareth, Tiberias, Kefr Yâsif, el-Mekr, el-Birweh, Sha'b, 'Abilin, Sukhnin, el-Bussah, er-Râmeh, Tershiha, el-Bukei'a, Kefr Sumei'a, el-Bâneh, Abu Sinôn, er-Reineh. In all 18.

Greek-Catholic Churches. There is *one* Greek-Catholic church in each of the following places: 'Akka, Haifa, Shefa 'Omar, Nazareth, Tiberias, el-Mekr, ed-Dâmôn, 'Abilin, Sukhnin, 'Arrâbeh, 'Ailîbin, Deir Hanna, Tûr'an, el-Mughâr, er-Râmeh, Suhmâta, Futa, Tershiha, Ma'li'a, 'Asfieh, Safed. In all 21.

Maronite Churches. In 'Akka *one*; in Nazareth *one*.

Frank Latin Churches. In 'Akka *one*; in Haifa *one*; in Tiberias *one*.—*Frank Convents* in 'Akka, Nazareth, and on Carmel.

Jewish Synagogues. Of these there is *one* in each of the following places 'Akka, Haifa, Tiberias, Safed, el-Bukei'a. In all 5.

NOTE IV.—Pages 167, 185, 208.

THE TYROPŒON AND CERTAIN REMAINS IN JERUSALEM.—The letter of the Rev. George B. Whiting, from which the following are extracts, was published in full in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1848, pp. 94–96; also in German by Rödiger, *Zeitschr. der morgenl. Ges.* II. p. 231 sq. Mr Whiting was for several years a resident in the Holy City; and his judgment is entitled to great weight. I insert here the greater part of the letter, as having a direct bearing upon several of the topics discussed in the text.

“*Abeih in Lebanon, Aug. 22, 1847*

“MY DEAR SIR:—A few months ago I read with deep interest your two articles in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1846) on the Topography of Jerusalem. Being then about to visit the Holy City, I resolved to examine anew some points, on which much stress is laid, in respect to the Tyropœon valley and the course of the second wall.

“One of these points, and perhaps the most plausible, is the alleged fact, that along the street running eastward from the Yâfa gate, at the northern base of Mount Zion, where you find the commencement of the Tyropœon, *there are no traces of a valley to be found*; and that the street called Harat en-Nusâra, or ‘Christian street,’ which leads out of the street last named towards the north, *is perfectly level*. Now, it must be conceded, that this ‘Christian street’ is, at the point where it leaves the other (the Yâfa gate street), nearly or quite level; and yet, as you go northwards, there certainly is a gradual ascent through almost the whole length of the street.

“But a more conclusive answer to the argument is the fact, that there is undoubtedly a large accumulation of rubbish all along the northern base of Zion, by which the old valley has been filled up. This fact is not only rendered extremely probable by the existence of a great depth of rubbish and old buildings on all the northern parts of Zion, as was found to be the case in digging for the foundations of the English church, and for those of the barracks erected by Ibrahim Pasha; but it is now proved by *excavations actually made* at different points in the valley itself. So that the argument upon the present level appearance of the ground in question, is literally an argument resting upon rubbish. It has no solid foundation.

“While walking in company with the late Prof. Fiske, through the enclosure once occupied by the great palace or hospital of the knights of St. John, our attention was arrested by a large heap of rubbish freshly thrown up, lying near by the little Greek church in the south-west corner of the enclosure. On entering the yard of this church, we found people digging for foundations, on which to erect additional buildings. They had already excavated to the depth of some fifteen or twenty feet, as we estimated, through nothing but rubbish; and had just then come upon the top of a vaulted room, the depth of which could not yet be seen. The men said it was understood there was an ancient *chapel* there, long since buried beneath the ruins and rubbish of other buildings. Whether the vaulted room, the top of which we saw, was the said chapel or not; or whether it belonged to the first, or the second, or

the third story of a structure long since buried and lost, we of course could not tell. But supposing it to have been on the first or lower story, the original foundations must have been at least thirty or forty feet below the present surface. They may have been much deeper than that. Now this spot is within a few yards of the Yáfa gate street; precisely where, on your theory, we should look for the Tyropœon valley filled up with rubbish. I need not tell you, how much we were interested in this discovery.

"I proceed to mention another fact of the same sort. On this same Yáfa gate street, at a point further up towards the gate, a large new building has recently been erected. It stands opposite the castle, on the corner of the street leading north from the main street towards the Latin convent. Of course, then, this building stands directly over the bed of your Tyropœon valley; and here also we should look for a considerable accumulation of rubbish. I inquired of a European merchant, who occupies a part of the building, and who said he was present when it was erected, whether in digging to lay the foundations much depth of rubbish was found. 'A very great depth,' he replied. 'How deep do you think the excavations were?' 'Oh, I don't know,' he said, but *very* deep. Look at the height of that castle wall; the depth of our excavations was equal to that.' The part of the castle wall to which he pointed, cannot be less than forty or fifty feet high. 'Are you sure,' I said, 'your foundations were so deep?' 'Yes,' he answered with confidence, 'quite as deep as the height of that wall.'

"Our English friends in Jerusalem, like ourselves, were much interested in these facts; and regarded them as proving beyond all controversy, that there was formerly a deep valley or ravine along the course of this street.

"Much has been said about some supposed ancient remains, near the corner formed by the Yáfa gate street and the street running north through the bazars; as also about a supposed 'pier of an ancient gateway,' in the open grounds on the west of the bazars. Both of these points I took some pains to examine, in company with Prof. Fiske. The remains first mentioned are nothing more nor less than a *square corner*, in a good state of preservation, of the celebrated palace of the knights of St. John. You may recollect a row of arches, almost entire, along the north side of the Yáfa gate street, extending from near the bazars almost up to the 'Christian street.' This row of arches, I believe it is on all hands admitted, belongs to the crusades, and evidently formed the south basement of the great palace of the knights. The square corner alluded to, is a continuation, or, more correctly, the termination of this row of arches. It is exactly on a line with them, and built in the very same style; the stones being of the same shape and size with those of the arches and buttresses.

"Looking northward from this corner of the old palace, we noticed exactly in a line with the eastern face of it, and about midway between it and the north side of the palace enclosure, Mr Williams' 'pier of a gateway,' which he says is in its style of architecture different from any thing he had seen in Jerusalem, and, as he thinks, of high antiquity. Now had he carefully compared this relic with the row of arches above mentioned, he would have found, that the style of architecture is pre-

cisely the same in both. Even the shape and dimensions of the stones are the same in both. The stones are mostly of an oblong form, three or four feet in length, and perhaps a little less than two feet in breadth and thickness. And further, if he had looked from the top of the corner, already described, across the open ground to this 'pier of a gateway,' he would have been satisfied, that both the 'pier' and the corner are part and parcel of one and the same building, and that the old palace of the knights of St. John. I think you have suggested, that this was one of the gates of the said palace; and it seems to me that no one, who carefully compares the several remains now alluded to, can doubt for a moment that such is the fact.

Most truly yours,

G. B. WHITING.

NOTE V.—Page 384.

DRUZE LETTER OF PROTECTION.—The following is a translation of the letter given us by the chief Druze Sheikh residing in Hasbeiya, directed to the marauding party of Druzes stationed near Baniâa.

"To their Excellencies the respected Sheikhs of the Shûf, now in these parts; may God most High preserve them

"First, the multiplication of abundant longings to behold you in prosperity and health. And then, we inform you that our friend, Mr Thomson, is proceeding, on the part of the British government, to visit certain places; and it is expected of you, that no one will interfere with him, or stand in his way. Further, you need not that we should insist in this matter. May your lives be long.

Your sincere friend,

MUHAMMED KEIS. (L. S.)

"Sha'bân 6, 1268. [May 24, 1852.]"

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ITINERARY.

I. FROM BEIRÛT TÓ 'AKKA. (SEC. II.)

WITH HORSES.

General rate of Travel, 8 Eng. M. the hour.

Monday, April 5th, 1852.

	H. M.
From Beirût	
1. Nahr Ghôdîr,	1 05
2. Khân Khulda,	1
3. el-Ghûfr,	20
4. Nahr Dâmûr, mouth,	1
5. Neby Yûnas, el-Jiyeh,	1 10
Total	4 35

Tuesday, April 6th.

From Neby Yûnas,	
1. Cape, highest point,	30
2. Wady Shehim,	30
3. Râs Rumeileh,	25
4. Nahr Auwaly, ford,	20
5. Sidon,	25
To Sidon	2 10

From Sidon,	
6. Mejdîl Yûn,	N. 85° E. 45
7. Brow of hill,	about E. 25
8. High point,	{ 30' S. 77° E. 50
9. Kefr Fâlûs,	{ 20' S. 70° E. 15
	abt S. 74° E.
To Kefr Fâlûs,	2 15

Wednesday, April 7th.

From Kefr Fâlûs,	
1. Wady Shemmâs, bott.	45
2. Rûm. From K. Fâlûs, N. 86° E.	55
3. Kaitûleh,	1 35
4. Zehiltah.	55
5. Jebâ'a, (5 min. on right)	1 05
6. Jerjû'a,	1
Total	6 15

Thursday, April 8th.

Detained by weather.

Friday, April 9th.

From Jerjû'a,	
1. 'Arab Sâlim, (10 min. on left,) S. 15° W.	35
2. Nahr Zaherîny, bridge,	35
3. Tell Habbûsh. From Jerjû'a, S. 39° W.	20
4. Nebâtiyeh, Lower,	30
5. Arnûn, abt S. 55° E.	1 10
6. Kûl'at esh-Shûkîf, S. 28° E.	20
To the castle	3 30

From Arnûn,	
7. el-Humrah, about W.	30
8. Zautar, East, about W.	25
9. Zautar, West, about W.	10
10. Jiar Ka'ka'iyeh, about W. by S.	1
To the bridge	2 05

Saturday, April 10th.

From bridge,	
1. Point in W. Hu-jeir, about S. by E.	35
2. Wady Selûky, mouth, S. by E.	45
3. Kûbrikhah, abt S. E.	55
4. Tâlin, S. 87° W.	40
5. Sauwâneh, S. 4° W. (circuit.)	50
6. W. Hujeir, road to Tibnîn, S. W.	20
7. Khirbet Silim, abt N. N. E.	10
8. Tibnîn, about S. S. W.	1 10
Total	5 25

Monday, April 12th.

From Tibnîn,	
1. Hârta, S. 60° W.	55
2. Seribbln, S. 45° W.	45

3. W. el-'Ayûn, opp. its angle,	S. 45° W.	15	<i>m. m.</i>
4. High point,	N. N. W.	15	
5. Yatir, about	N. N. W.	30	
6. W. el-'Ayûn, return, abt	S. S. E.	40	
7. Hazireh, ruin,	S. 25° E.	1 00	
8. Head of Wady, about	W. S. W.	30	
9. Rameh,	N. 60° W.	30	

Belât N. 74° W. 1 m. Total 5 20

Tuesday, April 18th

From fork of road to 'Aiteh,

1. W. el-'Ayûn, plain below Rumeiah, about	S. 30° E.	1	
2. Rumeish,	S. 10° E.	20	
3. Kefr Birim, about	S. E. by E.	1 25	
		Total	2 45

Wednesday, April 14th

From Kefr Bir'im,

1. Low ridge, angle of Jeb. Jermûk,	S. 15° E.	1 20	
2. Meirôn,	S. 15° E.	40	
3. E. brow of mount'n, abt	N. 60° W.	30	
4. W. " " "	N. W.	30	
5. Beit Jenn, (1½ m. direct,)	S. 70° W.	1 15	
6. Brow above Râmeah,	S. S. E.	30	
7. er-Râmeah,	S. 50° W.	1	
8. el-Mugh'ir, (3 m. direct,)	S. 30° E.	1 40	
about			
To Hâzûr 35 min. and to top of Tell 20 m.		Total	7 25

Thursday, April 15th.

1. Top of diagonal ridge, ° S. 65° W.	55	
2. Deir Hanna	S. 45° W.	25
3. 'Arrâbeh,	{ 20' S. W.	35
	{ 15' S. E.	
	Total	1 55

Friday, April 16th.

Remained at 'Arrâbeh.

Saturday, April 17th.

From 'Arrâbeh,		
1. Sükhniin,	N. 67° W.	45
2. Top of a ridge,	N. 38° W.	1
3. Wady Sha'ab, bottom,	N. W.	25
4. Kûbarah, about	N. E.	45
Return to No. 3.		
5. Sha'ab, vill. about	W.	30
6. Tell Ya'uin, on left,	W. by N.	15

7. Tell Birweh,	W. by N.	1	<i>m. m.</i>
8. 'Akka, S. gate,	N. 75° W.	1 30	
	Total	6 10	

II. FROM 'AKKA TO JERUSALEM.
(SEC. III.)

WITH HORSES.

Monday, April 19th.

From 'Akka,		
1. Tell Kisûn,	S. 60° E.	1 45
2. Bir Tîreh,	S. 35° E.	30
3. Tûmrah,	S. 65° E.	30
4. Top of first ridge, about	S. 80° E.	40
5. Kaukab,	S. 51° E.	45
6. Jefât,	S. 89° E.	45
7. Kana, about	E. S. E.	40
8. Kefr Menda, about	W.	40
	Total	6 15

Tuesday, April 20th.

From Kefr Menda,		
1. Seffûrieh,	S. 11° E.	1 15
2. Brow of a low hill,	S. 80° W.	1 05
3. Beit Lahm,	S. 80° W.	45
4. Jeida,	S. 30° W.	40
5. Tell esh-Shemmâm,	S. 23° W.	55
	Total	4 40

Wednesday, April 21st.

From Tell esh-Shemmâm,		
1. Tell eth-Thôrah,	S. 19° E.	25
2. Tell el-Mutsellim,	S. 7° E.	1 30
3. Lejjûn, about	S. W. by S.	15
4. Top of Pass towards Ramleh, about	S. 35° W.	1 10
5. Um el-Fahm, about	S. (?)	30
6. High point,	S. 5° E.	20
7. High brow, about	S. 20° E.	1 30
8. Ya'bud,	S.	40
	Total	6 20

Thursday, April 22d.

From Ya'bud,		
1. Hill 15' S.W. of Ya'bud,	S. W.	15
2. High point,	S. 65° W.	1
3. Fork of road to 'Attîl, about	S. 60° W.	1 30

4 'Attl,	about	S.	40
5. Top of side Wady, from			
W. Müssin,	about	S. 70° E.	1 45
6. 'Anebta,		S. 80° E.	40
7 Ramin,		S. 47° E.	1
Total			6 50

Friday, April 23d.

From Ramin,			
Nábulus,	S. 55° E.	2 45	

Saturday, April 24th.

From Nábulus,			
1. Ráfidieh,	about W. N. W.	25	
2. High point,	N. 68° W.	15	
3. High point,	S. 70° W.	20	
4. Kuriet Jit,	S. 70° W.	50	
5. Funduk,	S. 55° W.	55	
6. High point,	about W. S. W.	40	
7. 'Azzún,	about S. 70° W.	1 15	
8 Hableh,	about W. S. W.	1 50	
Total			6 30

Monday, April 26th.

From Hableh,			
1. Mejdél Yába,	S. 16° W.	1 40	
2. Neby Tháry, Wely,	S. 67° W.	35	
3. Renthieh,	S. 13° W.	25	
4. Ludd,	S. 20° W.	1 45	
5. On a ridge,	S. 26° E.	25	
6. On a ridge,	about S. 35° E.	50.	
7. el-Kubáb,	S. 32° E.	45	
8. High point,	S. 70° E.	25	
9. Yálo	about { S. 62° E.	1	
	or E. S. E.		
Total			7 50

Tuesday, April 27th.

From Yálo,			
1. Angle of ridge, about	N. 65° W.	30	
2. 'Amwás,	S. 47° W.	15	
3. Látron,	S. 47° W.	20	
4. High point,	S. 8° W.	20	
5. Beit Süsin,	S.	20	
6. Sür'a, Zorah,	S.	45	
7. 'Artáf,	S. 62° E.	30	
8. Yeshü'a,	N. 20° E.	30	
9. High point,	about N.	35	
10. Mihsir,	about E.	35	
11. Sâris,	about E. N. E.	1	
12. Kuriet el-'Enab, about	E. S. E.	50	

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13. Küstül, on ridge 5'			
on our right, about	S. 62° E.	45	
14. Kulónia,	E.	30	
Total			7 45

Wednesday, April 28th.

From Kulónia,			
1. Top of ascent,	S. 80° E.	45	
2. Jerns, Yáfa Gate, abt	S. 75° E.	45	
Total			1 30

III. EXCURSIONS FROM JERUSALEM. (SEC. VI.)

WITH HORSES.

Wednesday, May 5th.

From Jerusalem,			
1. Convent of the Cross,			
3 min. on right, abt	W.	20	
2. High point, about	W. by S.	30	
3. 'Ain Yálo, about	W. by S.	25	
4. 'Ain Hüniyeh, about	W.	25	
5. Bittir,	S. 45° W.	40	
6. Khirbet el-Yehûd,	N. 45° W.	15	
Total			2 35

RETURN.

From Bittir,			
1. Fork of roads,	N. 45° E.	20	
2. Point $\frac{1}{2}$ m. E. of			
Welejeih, about	N.	15	
3. Top of ridge, abt	N. by E.	15	
4. Above 'Ain Ká-			
rim, about	N. E. by N.	20	
5. Brow of Rephaim, abt	E.	50	
6. Jerusalem, Yáfa			
gate, about	N. 60° E. (?)	30	
Total			2 30

Friday, May 7th.

From Jerusalem,			
1. Mâr Eliâs,		50	
2. el-Khamis, ruin,		25	
3. Kübbet Râhil,	S. 47° E.	10	
4. Ürtâs,		50	
5. el-Burak,		25	
6. High point,	S. 40° W.	10	
7. High point,	about S. 35° W.	1 05	
8. High point,	about S. 35° W.	15	

		n. m.
9. Kûfîn, at reservoir,	S. 37° W.	45
10. Opp. Kheirân, about	S. 20° W.	25
11. Hill north of Beit Sûr,	S. 42° W.	25
12. Beit Sûr,	S. 36° W.	10
13. 'Ain edh-Dhirweh,	N. 80° E.	07
14. Angle of road, about	S.	35
15. Bir el-Khûlîl, about	E.	07
16. er-Râmeah, about	N. N. E.	06
17. Halhûl,	N. 9° E.	25
Total		7 15

Saturday, May 8th.

From Halhûl,		
1. 'Ain edh-Dhirweh,		12
2. High point, about	N.	20
3. Beit Ummar,	N. 2° E.	30
4. Merrîna, about	N. 20° E.	45
5. Top of ridge,	N. 15° E.	30
6. Beit Sakârieh,	N. 21° E.	13
Return over the neck:		
7. Point, from neck abt N. E. by E.		25
8. High point, about N. E. by E.		30
9. High point, about E. N. E.		10
10. el-Khûdr, about E. N. E.		35
11. Jerusalem, Yâfa Gate,		2
Total		6 10

IV. FROM JERUSALEM TO BEISÂN.
(SEC. VII.)

WITH HORSES.

Monday, May 10th.

From Jerusalem,		
1. er-Râm, by usual road,		1 40
2. Kubûr el-'Amâlikah, abt	E.	55
3. Khirbet el-Haiyeh, abt E. by N.		30
4. Jeb'a (Geba),	N. 65° W.	45
5. Mûkhmâs,		45
Total		4 35

Tuesday, May 11th.

From Mûkhmâs,		
1. Rûmmân, { 40' N. 50° E.		1 50
	{ 1.10' N.	
2. et-Taiyibeh, on right,	N. 1° E.	45
3. Deir Jerûr,	N. 5° W.	15
4. Kefr Mâlik, abt { N. 54° E.		1 20
	{ or N. E. by E.	
5. el-Mughaiyir,	N. 53° E.	1 45
6. Daumeh,	N. 28° E.	45
Total		6 40

Wednesday, May 12th.

From Daumeh,		n. m.
1. Mejdêl,	N. 7° W.	40
2. 'Akrahah, about	N. by W.	1 25
3. High point, about	E.	10
4. Yânûn,	N. 30° E.	30
5. 'Ain Yânûn,	N. 30° E.	20
6. High ridge, about	N.	15
7. High point, about	N. 50° W.	20
8. Beit Fûrik,	N. 49° W.	15
9. Nâbulus, about	N. 50° W.	1 25
Total		5 20

Thursday, May 13th.

From Nâbulus,		
1. 'Askar, about S. E. by E.		25
2. Angle of mountain,	about N. 35° E.	1
3. Tûllûzah, about	N. 40° W. ?	45
4. Burj el-Fâri'a,	N. 74° E.	1 10
5. Tûbâs, { 50' N. 70° E.		1
	{ 10' N. 20° E.	
6. Teyâsir, abt { 25' N. 75° E.		50
	{ 25' N. 5° E.	
Total		5 10

Friday, May 14th.

From Teyâsir,		
1. Kûsr el-Mâlih, abt	S. 50 E.	1 05
2. Khirbet el-Mâlih, abt	E. S. E.	30
3. Sâkût (Succoth) { 40' abt N. E.		1 25
	{ 45' abt E. by N.	
4. 'Ain el-Beida, abt	N. 35° W.	50
5. Berdela, ruin, abt	N. (?)	30
6. 'Ain Mak-hûz, abt	N. (?)	20
Total		4 40

Saturday, May 15th.

From 'Ain Mak-hûz,		
1. Ridghah, about	E. by S.	25
2. Ford of Jordan, near Sâkût, about	E. by S.	1
3. W. Yabis, mouth, abt	E. by N.	30
4. Brow of 1st plateau, about	N. 65° E.	1 15
5. Another brow, about	N. 50° E.	50
6. Kefr Abîl,	E.	10
Total		4 10

RETURN:

From Kefr Abîl,		
1. High point, abt	N. 50° W.	1 30
2. Angle of road, about	N. 50° W.	15

3. Fahil (Pella), about	S.	15
From no. 2,		
4. Ford to Bei- sân,	{ 45' abt N. 50° W. 15' abt S. S. W.	1
5. Beisân,	N. 62° W.	1 15
Total		4 15

V. FROM BEISÂN TO HASBEIYA. (SEC. VIII.)

WITH HORSES.

Monday, May 17th.

From Beisân,		
1. Beit Ilfa,	N. 76° W.	1 30
2. Kûmieh,	N. 24° W.	1 25
3. en-Na'ûrah,	N. 2° E.	1
4. Tûmrah,	N. 25° E.	25
5. S. E. foot of Tabor, W. Sherâr, about	N by E.	50
6. Sûk el-Khân, about	N. N. E.	1
7. Lûbieh direct	N. N. E.	1 10
Total		7 20

Tuesday, May 18th.

From Lûbieh,		
1. Hajar en- Nusrâny, abt E. N. E. † E.		1 10
2. Irbid, N. 6° W.		45
3. Khân Min- yeh, abt N. E. by E. † E.		2 10
4. Tell Hûm, abt N. E.		50
5. Bîr Kerâzeh, abt N. W. (slow)		1 05
6. Angle of road, N. 30° W.		30
7. Damascus road, about W. N. W.		45
8. Ja'ûneh, about N. by E.		1 10
Total		8 25

Wednesday, May 19th.

From Ja'ûneh,		
1. Mughâr, about	N. 25° E.	40
2. Kasyûn, about	N. by E.	2
3. Angle of roads, abt	E.	50
4. Angle of roads, abt { N. by W. or N. N. W.		1 15
5. el-Khureibeh,	S. 60° W.	25
6. Kedes,	N. 4° E.	50
7. Meis el-Jebel, abt	N.	1 20
Total		7 20

Thursday, May 20th.

From Meis el-Jebel,		
1. High point, about	N. 31° E.	1
2. Hûnin,	N. 5° E.	30
3. N. E. part of Merj 'Ayûn, about { N. N. E. or N. by E.		2 30
4. Tell Dibbin, about	N. N. W.	35
5. Brow of W. et-Teim, abt	N. E.	1 15
6. Ford of Nahr Hasbâny, abt	N. E.	55
7. Hasbeiya, lower part, " upper part,	abt S. E.	30 10
Total		7 25

VI. FROM HASBEIYA TO BÂNIÂS AND BACK. (SEC. IX.)

WITH HORSES.

Tuesday, May 25th.

From Hasbeiya; upper part,		
1. Ford of the Hasbany, abt	N. W.	40
2. Notch of ed-Dahar, abt	S. W.	45
3. Above Jîr Bûrghûz,	N. 26° W.	20
4. Belât, abt	S. W. by S.	1 15
5. Dibbin, abt	S.	25
6. Judeideh,	S. 15° W.	15
7. Tell Dibbin, abt	S.	25
8. Khiyam,	S. E.	1
Total		5 05

Wednesday, May 26th.

From Khiyam,		
1. el-Ghûjar, abt	S. 2	
2. Tell el-Kâdy,	S. E.	50
3. Difneh,	S. 12° W.	25
4. el-Manstry, abt	S. S. W.	20
5. Junc. of 3 streams, abt	S. W. by S.	1

RETURN:

From el-Manstry,		
6. Khân Duweir, abt	N. E.	45
7. Bâniâs, abt	E.	35
Total		5 55

Thursday, May 27th.

From Bâniâs,		
1. 'Ain Kûnyeh,	S. 69° E.	1
2. Lake Phiala, Birket er-Râm, abt	E. by S.	1
3. Top of ridge, abt	N. N. W.	25
4. Wely Sheikh 'Oth- man Hâzûry, abt	W. by N.	1

5. Kūl'at es-Subeibeh,	N. 75° W.	^{N. M.} 25
6. Bāniāa,	S. 71° W.	50
Total		4 40

Friday, May 28th.

From Bāniāa,		
1. Brow of terrace, abt W. N. W.		15
2. S. W. corner of mountain,	N. W.	35
3. 'Ain Khūrwa'ah, abt N. 10° E.		35
4. Kūl'at Bustra,	E. by S.	45
Return to no. 3.		
5. W. es-Seraiyib, abt	N. by E.	40
6. W. el-Khureibeh, abt	N. by E.	30
7. Rasheiyet el-Fūkhār,		35
	abt N. N. E.	35
8. Hibbāriyeh	abt N. 75° E.	1
9. 'Ain Jūrfā,	N. 40° W.	45
10. Top of ridge S. of Hasbeiya,		
	abt N. N. E.	20
11. Hasbeiya,	abt N.	25
Total		6 25

VII. FROM HASBEIYA TO DAMASCUS. (SEC. X.)

WITH HORSES.

Monday, May 31st.

From Hasbeiya,		
1. W. et-Teim, channel, abt	N. 25° W.	25
2. Top of ridge ed-Dahar, abt	W. S. W.	45
3. Do. fork of road, abt	N. E.	1
4. Yūhmur, abt	N.	15
5. el-Kūweh, (natural bridge,) abt	N.	30
Return to Yūhmur:		
6. Libbeiya, abt	E. by N.	1 15
7. Neby Sūfa,	N. E.	35
Total		5 45

Tuesday, June 1st.

From Neby Sūfa,		
1. Angle at Damascus road, abt	E. by N.	80
2. Angle at fountain	N. E. by E.	1 50
3. Rāsbeiya, E. end,	S. 25° E.	40
4. 'Aiha, abt	E.	30
	or E. by S.	
5. Kefr Kāk,	N. 20° E.	1

6. Angle of road, genr. abt	E. N. E.	^{N. M.} 1 30
7. Rūkhleh,	30' S. S. E.	
	5' W. S. W.	35
8. Deir el-'Ashā-yir,	15' N. E.	
	10' abt N.	1 45
	30' abt N. E.	
Total		8 20

Wednesday, June 2nd.

From Deir el-'Ashāyir,		
1. Khān Meithelūn,	E. N. E.	1
2. Dīmāa, about	E. by S.	50
3. Khān el-'Ar-rād,	50' abt E. by S.	1 55
	1° 05' abt E. S. E.	
4. Mezzeh, abt	E. by S.	2
5. Damascus, S. W. gate,	E.	35
Total		6 20

VIII. FROM DAMASCUS TO BA'AL-BEK. (SEC. XI.)

WITH HORSES.

Monday, June 7th.

From Damascus,		
1. Wely above Sālhiyyeh,	W. N. W.	45
2. Dummar, about	N. W.	40
3. Angle, N. W. side of Sahra, about	N. W.	1 40
4. Bessīma,	S. W.	30
5. el-Fijeh, fount'n, abt	N. W.	35
6. el-Kefr,	abt N. W. by W.	1 20
7. Bridge above the Sūk,	abt N. W. by W.	40
8. S. E. corner of plain, abt	W. N. W.	30
9. Encampment on the Barada, abt	N.	15
Total		6 55

Tuesday, June 8th.

From encampment,		
1. 'Ain el-Funduk 10 m. north, about	N.	1 10
2. Angle opp. Bustān, abt	S. S. W.	35
3. 'Ain Barada, head,	W. by S.	15
4. Batrūny,	S. S. W.	50
5. Top of high ridge,	S. S. W.	35
6. Western brow, abt	W.	20
7. Angle, mid-plateau, abt	N. N. W.	30
8. E. side of Judeideh, abt	N. W.	15
9. Wady Zarir, mouth,	N. N. W.	20

10. Water-shed, head of		H. M.
W. Zarir,	N. W.	10
11. Tree, Zardr,	N. N. W.	20
12. Khân, mouth of W.		
Harir,	abt N. W.	50
13. Mejdal 'Anjar,	N. N. W.	20
14. 'Anjar, ruin,	abt N. E.	40
15. Neba' 'Anjar,	E.	15

Total 7 25

Wednesday, June 9th.

From Neba' 'Anjar,		
1. Neba' Shemain, about	N. E.	20
2. Kefr Zebad, about	N. 40° E.	1
3. el-Kuseiyeh,	N. 40° E.	55
4. Deir el-Ghūzāl,	N. 40° E.	30
5. Wady Sahûr,	N. 40° E.	25
6. Masy,	about N. 40° E.	25
7. Neby Shît,	about N. N. E.	1 15
8. Opp. Bereitân, about	N. N. E.	1 45
9. Fork to fountain,	abt N. N. E.	1 25
10. Ba'albek, about	N. N. W.	25
Fountain of Ba'albek,		
15 m. E. by S.		
Total		8 25

IX. FROM BA'ALBEK TO EL-HUSN.
(SEC. XII.)

WITH HORSES.

Thursday, June 10th.

From Ba'albek,		
1. Nahleh,	N. E.	1 20
2. Wady from Yânin,	{ 15' N: W.	1 10
	{ 55' N.	
3. Opp. Resm el-Hadeth,		
½ m. on left, about	N. by E.	1 10
4. Top of ridge, water-		
shed, about	N. by E.	55
5. Neba' Lebweh, 15m.		
E. of vill about	N. N. E.	1 05
Total		5 40

Friday, June 11th.

From Neba' Lebweh,		
1. 'Ain, about	{ 15' N. by E.	50
	{ 35' N. E.	
2. el-Fikeh, about	N. E.	50
3. Râs Ba'albek, abt	N. E.	35
4. Angle, on road to		
Hûrmul,	N. by W.	2

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5. Neba' el-'Âsy, abt	N. W. by N.	H. M. 40
6. Kâmt'a el-Hûrmul,	S. 65° E.	1
7. Ribleh,	N. 48° E.	2 45
Total		8 40

Saturday, June 12th.

From Ribleh,		
1. Angle of road,	abt N.	45
2. el-Buweidah, ruin,	abt N. W.	1 15
3. Height of land,	abt N. W.	2 15
4. W. Khâlid, mill,	abt N. W.	50
5. Mouth of Wady		
Khâlid, abt	N. W. by N. ½ N.	50
6. Encamp under		
el-Husn,	N. by W. ½ W.	3
Direct, 2 h.		
Kûl'at el-Husn,	W. by N.	55
Total		9 50

X. FROM EL-HUSN TO BEIRÛT.
(SEC. XIII.)

WITH HORSES.

Monday, June 14th.

From el-Husn,		
1. Deir Mâr Jirjis,	N. 60° W.	40
2. Intermitting foun-		
tain, abt	W. N. W.	20
3. Angle of road, abt	W: N. W.	15
4. Tell el-Haush, abt	S. W.	1
5. Jisr el-Abyad, abt	S. S. W.	2 30
6. Angle of road, abt	S. S. W.	15
7. Angle of road, abt	{ 15' S. S. E.	40
	{ 25' S.	
8. Nahr 'Akkâr, or	{ 30' S. W.	1 15
N. el-Khureibeh,	{ 45' S. S. W.	
9. Sheikh Muhammed,		
foot of hill, abt	S. by W.	35
Total		7 30

Tuesday, June 15th.

From Sheikh Muhammed,		
1. Tell 'Arka,	S. 40° W.	55
2. Nahr el-Ba-	{ 35' abt W. S. W.	
rid,	{ 50' abt S. W. ½ S.	1 45
	{ 20' abt S. 10° W.	
3. W. Hâlân, brow, abt	S.	1 40

4. 'Ayûn 'Ashâsh, abt	S. W.	^{N. M.} 40
5. Zûgharta, abt	S. W. by W.	1
6. Opp. Kefr Yâshit, ½ m. dist. abt	S. S. E.	1 05
7. Angle of road, abt	S.	55
8. W. Heirûna, foot, abt	S. E.	50
9. 'Ain Heirûna, abt	S. S. E.	50
Total		9 40

Wednesday, June 16th.

From 'Ain Heirûna,		
1. Ehden, abt	S. S. E.	1 10
2. Ridge, low point, abt	S. E.	1 15
3. The cedars, abt	E. S. E.	1 30
4. Bsherreh, abt	W. by N.	1
5. Hasrûn, abt	W. by S.	1 30
From the cedars, abt	W.	
Total		6 25

Thursday, June 17th.

From Hasrûn,		
1. Bdâmân, abt	W. by S.	1
2. Top of ridge, abt	S. S. W.	40
3. Top of a pass, abt	S. W.	2 45
4. Highest ridge, { 1 30' abt	S. W.	1 45
15' abt	S. E. by E.	
5. el-'Âkûrah, abt	S. E. by S.	1 10
6. Neba' Ruweis, abt	S. by E.	35
7. Angle of road,	S. S. W.	1

8. Fountain of Afka,	S. E.	^{N. M.} 30
9. Afka,	W.	15
Total		9 40

Friday, June 18th.

From Afka,		
1. ez-Zuwarîb, ruin, abt	W.	40
2. Dhuhûr el-Hawa, abt	E. by S.	10
3. Angle of road, base of high ridge, abt	W. S. W.	1 15
4. Top of high ridge, abt	S. S. W.	50
5. W. Shebrûh, bott. abt	S. S. W.	20
6. Angle of road, abt	S. W.	35
7. Neba' el-'Asal, abt	S. E.	23
8. Natural bridge, abt	W.	30
9. Fukra, ruin, abt	W. S. W.	25
10. Mezra'ah, middle, abt	W. S. W.	1 45
11. Nahr es-Salib, bridge, abt	W.	40
12. Top of ascent,	W. S. W.	30
13. 'Ajeltûn, W. part, abt	W. by S.	1 30
Total		9 35

Saturday, June 19th.

From 'Ajeltûn,		
1. Bellûneh,	W. by S.	1 10
2. Zûk el-Khurâb,	W. by S.	1
3. Bridge of Nahr el-Kelb, W. by S.		30
4. Beirût (rapidly),		2 05
Total		4 45

INDEX I.

ARABIC NAMES AND WORDS,

CHIEFLY GEOGRAPHICAL.

Names beginning with *Abu*, *Um*, *Beit*, and *Keft*, are in every case to be sought under these words. In respect to names beginning with *Ain*, *Bir*, *Deir*, *Tell*, and the like, the arrangement is not so uniform; and some of them will be found under the second part of the name.

The reference to pages is not always full; the more important passages only being cited, where a name occurs more than once. Yet the entry is always sufficiently full, to serve as a General Index for all the Arabic names and words found in the body of the work.

For the significancy and pronunciation of the several consonants and vowels, the reader is referred to the specifications immediately following the Preface in Vol. I; as also to Dr Smith's Essay on the Pronunciation of the Arabic, in the first edition of the Biblical Researches, Vol. III. App. pp. 89-111.

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